Interface

A journal for and about social movements

Volume 10 Issue 1-2
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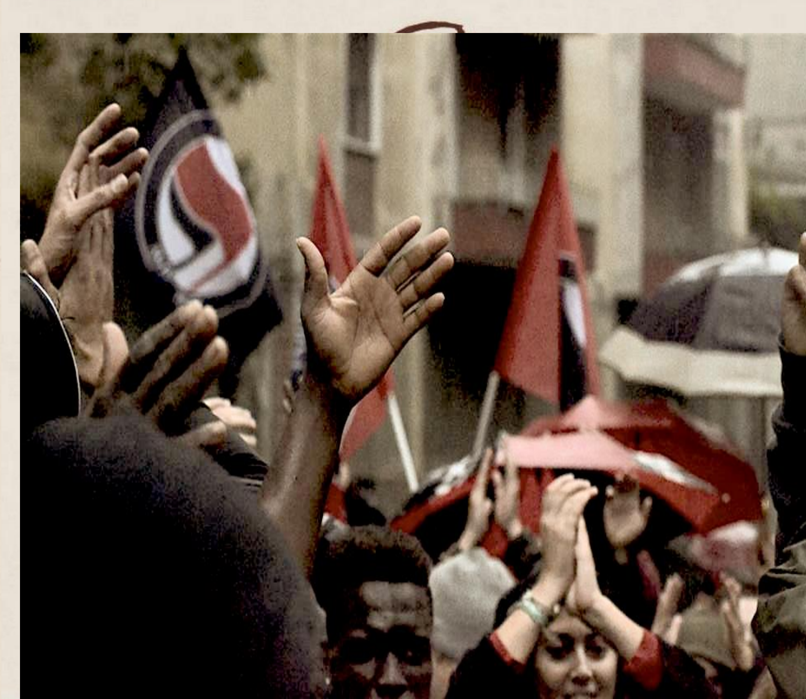
WATER IS LIFE
STOP THE BAYOU BRIDGE PIPELINE

POLIZIA
GUARDIA di FINANZA

FRONTIÈRES
=
REPRESSION

MAI 68
DEBUT D'UNE LUTTE PROLONGEE
ATELIER POPULAIRE



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Open issue

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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 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.

Open issue

Lesley Wood, Laurence Cox

Editorial

After a long wait, we are delighted to release the latest issue of *Interface*, covering both our normal issues for 2018 and marking the end of our tenth year publishing. This issue arrives in a world seemingly more turbulent than ever. It features pieces on movements in Malta, Western Sahara, Ireland, Italy, Mexico, China, Australia, the US, Canada, the UK, Egypt, Tunisia and Turkey.

2018 was a challenging year for *Interface* as for many other people in movements. As organizers, we often found that (as EP Thompson once said) there were too many bloody things to resist. As human beings in late capitalism, many of us found the pressures of precarity or productivity squeezed more than we could give out of our lives. And as an organization we struggled to absorb the losses of 2017, notably the death of Peter Waterman but also a series of people who left us for pastures new.

In the meantime we have welcomed a new cohort of editors, achieving at least one of our long-term goals: not to represent an activist or academic generation frozen in time. Our editorial spokescouncil still represents – as it always has – people involved in and researching movements across the world, with many different movement emphases as well as political and theoretical traditions; and it includes people who have come to social movements at many different points in time. The dialogue we seek to represent on our pages is one we are also working out among ourselves as we collaborate to bring *Interface* out.

It is worth saying that *Interface* is a sheer labour of love. Because of this, we sometimes lose editors to more "respectable" – academic – pursuits, as well as getting submissions from people who seem surprised that we don't have a team of copyeditors and layout people to do the menial work on the intellectual "substance". We also don't have the career-building prestige (and ratings etc.) that would attract established intellectuals with more time to give to building the journal: but we are very happy to be a mix of people in relatively secure jobs, people just starting out and independent scholars – all weaving our way in and out of activism and the rest of our lives.

Interface has been a pathbreaker, not only in terms of pushing for more dialogue between activist theory and movement research, but also in terms of open access, which we have been from day one: something made possible by not being owned by a publisher and *doing the damn work ourselves*. We have received precisely two donations in all our time: a small donation from Peter that helped us renew our website many years ago now, and a small grant from York University secured by Lesley which is helping us update the software that runs our site. Everything else, we do ourselves: the only way to own the "intellectual means of production" is to do the work.

In this issue

We start with a piece on this very topic. Working to understand the challenges of developing and maintaining autonomous media, Canadian scholar-activists, Sandra Jeppeson and Kamilla Petrick draw on six focus groups with eighty-nine media activists in their piece, "Toward an intersectional political economy of autonomous media resources", which looks at how intersectionalism can complement political economy approaches.

This is followed by two pieces on the intersections of art and activism. The first, by Tiffanie Hardbarger and Cindy Maguire, offers "Explorations of an arts-based activism framework: ARTifariti International Art and Human Rights Meeting in Western Sahara." This piece proposes a framework that bridges Community Cultural Development (CCD) and Socially Engaged Art (SEA). They base this work on ethnographic and practice in the Saharawi Arab Democratic Republic (SADR) refugee camps located near Tindouf, Algeria. Looking at the Italian context, Simone Maddanu's piece "The theater as a common good: artists, activists and artivists on stage," uses interviews with political activists and artists and ethnographic observation during and after an occupation of the Teatro Valle, in Rome, an historical national theater. It finds that the artistic struggle for the commons outlasted the occupation itself, transforming praxis, identity and the conception of the political.

In a world riven by climate chaos, it is perhaps unsurprising that this issue includes three different pieces on the climate justice movement. Neil Gunningham "Mobilising civil society: can the climate movement achieve transformational social change?" speaks of the importance of grassroots 'webs of influence' in changing behavior and attitudes. There are two empirical investigations of the 2014 Peoples Climate March in New York City – the largest climate change march in human history. A team ethnographic project by Danielle Falzon, Samuel Maron, Robert Wengronowitz, Alex Press, Benjamin Levy, and Jeffrey Juris analysed the 2014 event from multiple angles, arguing that the features of recursivity allowed for the event to be a transformative one.

Lauren Contorno also writes on this event in her piece "Turtles & teamsters revival? Analyzing labor unions' environmental discourse from the 2014 People's Climate March." She sought to better understand the barriers that stop the labour movement from fully engaging in the climate justice movement, and analyses 19 in-depth interviews with labor leaders and rank-and-file members who participated in the march. While she finds that the majority of these labor activists contend that climate change is a result of systemic political-economic arrangements, and mobilize around climate change under the master frame of environmental justice, many others in the labour movement remain wedded to a reformist *mitigation*.

Three pieces take a historical lens. Mike Aiken analyzes the oral histories of English activists in his piece on the role of emotion, ideology and autobiographical stories in activists' political trajectories in his piece, "Tales we tell, speaking out loud: understanding motivations of social movement activists

through auto-biography and story". In a different vein, Phil Hedges writes a follow up to his radical history piece in *Interface* 9/1 on the Campbell House Rent Strike (WHN). This postscript examines the ethics of using hashtags for historical research, focusing on the hashtag #NoCapitulation, created during the 2018 University and College Union strike over cuts to the USS (Universities Superannuation Scheme) pension for its education workers in the UK. Looking further back in time, Tomás Mac Sheoin continues his terrific series of bibliographies on social movements, offering one on "Rural agitation in Ireland 1710-2010".

Investigating both a movement, and a country that are rarely analysed in social movement terms, Michael Biguglio and Chistabelle Caruana describe participation in "Joining the Maltese men's rights movement."

Interface doesn't often report on actual experiments – but in "All the protestors fit to count: using geospatial affordances to estimate protest event size," Austin Choi-Fitzpatrick, Tautvydas Juskauskas and Md. Boby Sabur try using drones to estimate protest size, and discuss the ethical and safety dimensions that unfold. They locate their results within a fascinating review of methods to estimate the size of demonstrations.

Finally, our book review editors Bjarke Skærlund Risager, Sutapa Chattopadhyay, and Dawn Paley have been hard at work to bring us a crunchy selection of ten of the newest books on social movements.

Farewells and welcomes

In this issue we say farewell to Bjarke Risager, who has made great contributions to *Interface* as reviews editor.

We are delighted to welcome our new editors Sutapa Chattopadhyay, Helge Hiram Jensen, Melanie Kryst, Elisabet Rasch, Brecht de Smet and Todd Wolfson. Sutapa joins the Transnational group from Windsor, Canada; having lived, organized and done research in India, the Netherlands, France, the US and Canada. Helge is an experienced scholar activist in Norway, and joins the Western European team. Melanie Kryst and Brecht de Smet join us from Belgium. Melanie is working on and studying strategies for labour governance and Brecht is involved in supporting and/or researching Egyptian and Belgian struggle. Elisabet Rasch joins the Latin American team, while working against extractivism and for peasant and indigenous movements. Todd Wolfson joins the US/Canada crew, and researches media and movements, while organizing and teaching in Philadelphia. We are delighted to have them all aboard.

This issue concludes with a call for papers for issue 11/2 (November – December 2019) on understanding right wing movements. Our next issue (11/2, May – June 2019) is an open issue, and we welcome submissions on any theme.

Call for papers volume 11 issue 2 (Nov-Dec 2019)

Understanding and challenging right-wing movements

Lesley Wood, Heike Schaumberg, Sara C. Motta, Laurence Cox and Irina Ceric

The November-December 2019 issue of the open-access, online, copy left academic/activist journal *Interface: a Journal for and about Social Movements* (http://www.interfacejournal.net/) will focus on the theme of understanding and challenging right-wing movements. Contributions on other themes, as always, are also welcome.

The Volume 11, issue 1 (May-June 2019) issue will be a general issue, open to all contributions relevant to the journal.

Understanding and challenging right-wing movements

In country after country, right wing social movements appear to be on the increase. They take different forms; there are the street politics of La Meute in Quebec, the neo-fascist squatters of Italy (CasaPound), Brazilian homophobes attacking LGBTQ folks, and Czech skinheads organizing concerts and publications. There are the Confederate statue defenders and the Proud Boys in the US. There is the complexity of the alt-right on the subreddit sites. There are also deep resonances and connections with the new men's movements and shared strategies of doxxing and swarming employed against their SJW (social justice warrior) enemies. There are forms of community organising with impoverished white working class neighbourhoods including the provision of food, community centres and other services otherwise absent laced with deeply dehumanising discourses about the raced 'other'. There are anti-migrant attacks in Saudi Arabia, South Africa and India alongside attacks on women, queers, Jews, Muslims and the homeless. There are the dozens of far right, anti-immigrant, anti-Semitic and anti-Muslim political parties moving from the fringes to the mainstream and gaining power.

These movements are premised on logics of exclusion, separation and elimination. They racialize and gender "community", legitimise violence against those that they dehumanize and express feelings of hate and resentment. They are changing and multiple, and expand the terrain of political logics and subjectivities in both old and new ways. They develop on and through complex affectivities with alt-right communities articulating and bringing sense to their practices, strategies and beliefs through both discourses of hate, anger and resentment towards the Other(ed), and love, community, loyalty and patriotism in relation to their own 'imagined' political and cultural community..

At the same time, conservative voices often interpret right wing activities as "movements" in misleading ways, inflating online phenomena and "astroturfing", exaggerating spontaneity and the level of popular participation where more careful research shows events dominated by the wealthy and powerful and populated by members of long-standing conservative traditions, and underplaying the dialectic between right wing parties and policies, right wing media, religion and publishing and right wing movements. Often, too, journalism accentuates reporting on right wing movements where larger left wing phenomena gain little attention.

On the other hand, social liberals and central left 'progressives' present disdain, shock and deeply classed and moralistic narratives about the 'imagined' figures who populate the new right. This both legitimises and elides the role of Third Way political parties and governments across the 'West' in the construction of a deeply anti-popular. post-antagonistic and racialised/ist neoliberal hegemony. Their role in this process, along with more obvious conservative forces, has created the conditions of political disarticulation, social-economic exclusion and feelings of betrayal, abandonment and loss in now impoverished white working class communities and undercut the conditions for unity across different sectors of the working classes and broader subaltern. Right wing movements and governments are arguably not a rupture with but a continuation of the practices, strategies, narratives and policies of the broader neoliberalised political elite.

As engaged social movement researchers, there are methodological as well as ethical reasons for researching the movements we sympathize with, and challenges (including at times physical danger) of researching right wing movements. However, there are important strategic reasons why we must understand these movements, their appeal, their strategy, their form, their impact and their contradictions, particularly within white working class and subaltern communities so as to contribute to strategy building with which to offset and push back against their growth and consolidation. Interface is uniquely positioned to provide a forum for this work that is international, multi-lingual, comparative and engaged.

Some general questions seem to be particularly important:

1. Can we understand right wing movements using the same theoretical and conceptual frameworks that we use to understand left wing movements?
2. What is the relationship of right wing movements with the 'official' neoliberalised political elite?
3. What is the relationship between the alt-right and the men's movement?
4. Is populism a helpful way of theorising right wing movements?
5. How do online networks and offline organizing intersect in these movements?
6. What are the new (and old) forms of political subjectivity emerging?

7. What is the role of affect in the emergence and consolidation of identification with alt-right and right wing narratives and ideas amongst working class communities?
8. How do mainstream and social media help the rise of right wing movements? How and why?
9. What relationship is there between right-wing grassroots movements and the political establishment especially with regards to electoral processes?
10. How do right wing movements draw on resources of power, wealth and cultural privilege to develop?
11. Are there any specific historical, social and economic conditions/ forces that favour right-wing movements today?
12. What are the complexities and weak points of right wing movements?
13. What kinds of strategies and pedagogies might be developed to disrupt right wing organising in working class and subaltern white communities?
14. What distinguishes short-term or fractured right wing movements from those which have a greater strategic and political capacity?
15. How can right wing movements be resisted and defeated?

In this issue, we would particularly encourage event analyses, comparisons and practice analyses focussed on understanding the strategies of the right, and the counter-strategies of anti-fascist, anti-racist, migrant justice, Jewish, feminist, LGBTQ and indigenous movements.

Principles for contributions

Interface is a journal of practitioner research, meaning that we welcome work by movement activists as well as activist scholars, and work in a variety of formats which suit these different kinds of writing as well as our very varied readership – which includes activists and researchers across the world, connected to many different movements and working within very different intellectual, theoretical and political traditions.

We are interested in pieces in many formats – peer-reviewed articles and interviews with movement activists, research and teaching notes, book reviews and key documents and other formats that work well for their purposes – that tackle some of the questions raised above.

All contributions (including those for the special issue and the special section) should go to the appropriate regional editors by the deadline of May 1, 2018. Please see the editorial contacts page (http://www.interfacejournal.net/submissions/editorial-contact/) – and use the appropriate template. Please see the guidelines for contributors (http://www.interfacejournal.net/submissions/guidelines-for-contributors/) for more indications on content and style.

General contributions

As always, this issue will also include non-theme related pieces. We are happy to consider submissions on any aspect of social movement research and practice that fit within the journal's mission statement (http://www.interfacejournal.net/who-we-are/mission-statement/). Pieces for *Interface* should contribute to the journal's mission 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 Bengali, Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian, Czech, Danish, Dutch, English, Finnish, French, German, Hindi, Italian, Mandarin Chinese, Norwegian, Polish, Portuguese, Russian, Slovak, Spanish and Swedish. Please see our editorial contacts page (http://www.interfacejournal.net/submissions/editorial-contact/) for details of who to send submissions to.

Deadline and contact details

The deadline for initial submissions to this issue, to be published in late 2019, is 1 May 2019. For details of how to submit pieces 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 (http://www.interfacejournal.net/submissions/guidelines-for-contributors/) and should be used to ensure correct formatting. *Interface* is a completely voluntary effort, without the resources of commercial journals, so we have to do all the layout and typesetting ourselves. The only way we can manage this is to ask authors to use these templates when preparing submissions. Thanks!

Toward an intersectional political economy of autonomous media resources

Sandra Jeppesen and Kamilla Petrick

Abstract

This paper presents results of a co-research project with autonomous media activists to analyze the challenges they face when mobilizing resources, and the myriad strategies they deploy to overcome these challenges. Drawing on qualitative data from six focus groups with eighty-nine media activists, and sixteen semi-structured interviews, four key media practices emerge. First, we find that media activists cultivate funding sources based on ethical relationship building. Second, they negotiate a complex ethics of paid vs. unpaid labour practices. Third, they mobilize a wealth of immaterial or intangible resources. Fourth, they develop innovative anti-oppression media practices challenging intersectional systemic oppressions. We argue it is imperative to engage intersectionality in conjunction with political economy to deepen our understanding of autonomous media resource practices, as intersectional anti-oppression strategies can contribute to sustainability.

Keywords: Autonomous media; media activism; intersectionality; anti-oppression; political economy.

"How to resource alternative media is a crucial democratic question of our times" (Fuchs & Sandoval 2015, 173). Alternative media can offer critical interventions in public debate and tend to support social movements working toward positive social transformation. However they are faced with a perpetual lack of funding based on an inherent contradiction—how to work as anti-capitalists in a capitalist society. In addition, alternative media are often working within and as part of anti-racist, feminist, anti-colonial and LGBTQ+ movements, and yet the economic systems they must work within to mobilize resources tend to be racialized, gendered, colonial and heteronormative. How do they address this dearth of resources and the intersectional oppressions that shape access? Few scholars have researched with autonomous media activists to document, analyze, understand and share their strategies for developing material and immaterial resources in the face of these tensions and contradictions. Our research team has set out to do this. Specifically, we research with and from within intersectional feminist grassroots autonomous media movements; most of us, in addition to being involved in research, are also engaged in such movements.

In our work, we use the term 'grassroots autonomous media' rather than the term 'alternative media' (cf. Pajnik and Downing 2008; Atton 2007, 2002; Fuchs 2010; Rodriguez 2001; Bailey, Cammaerts, and Carpentier 2008) for

several reasons. The term 'alternative media' is ambiguous or even contradictory in its claims (Jeppesen 2016, 55-56). Recently the term 'alternative' has been co-opted by the so-called alt-right, which produces purportedly "alternative" media, including fake news, which reproduces misogynist, racist, colonial and homophobic discourses of 'intersectional hate' (Ghanea 2013). Contrary to these media forms, our research participants' projects emanate from a segment within alternative critical (left) media, and are quite distinct from alt-right media. They focus on social justice perspectives, referencing a body of scholarship and activism grounded in militant multi-issue movements such as autonomous Marxism, social anarchism, feminism, Indigenous self-determination and more (Langlois & Dubois 2005; cf. Dyer-Witheford 1999; Dean 2005, 2014; Cohen 2017; Downing 2001; Costanza-Chock 2012; Kidd 2016). We therefore adopt the term 'grassroots autonomous media', with reference to the following definition:

> First, they are part of broader grassroots anti-authoritarian, militant or autonomous social movements. Second, they are anti-capitalist not just in content but also in funding models, which are both anti-corporate and not for profit.... And third, they exercise collective autonomy in their political, cultural and decision-making models, structures and practices, which are prefigurative, directly democratic, horizontal and rooted in anti-oppression politics on issues of race and colonialism, class, gender, sexuality and disability. (Jeppesen 2016, 385)

Specifically, we are interested in how anti-capitalist media groups develop resources in ways that account for these multiple political commitments.

This paper focuses on participatory grassroots autonomous media activism and presents findings on resource mobilization to support media activist projects. Media activists are facing problems such as whether to use advertising, where to get grant money from, how to use mutual aid or sharing economies, how to develop donation streams, and whether to offer services for a fee, all of which play a role in the ethics of media activist resource mobilization. Often projects will put ethical and political concerns ahead of financial ones, which results in a great deal of unpaid or underpaid labour. At the same time resources may be easier to access for some people than for others, breaking down across race, Indigeneity, class, sex and gender. Questions of who gets paid or how to generate and distribute resources equitably can inadvertently result in the development of hierarchies based on race, class, and gender, even in ostensibly non-hierarchical groups. Beyond material resources, immaterial resources such as time, capacity, emotional labour and more can also contribute to the sustainability of media activism; however, they are also not always equitably distributed. How are these inequities addressed by grassroots autonomous media groups?

Analyzing the anti-capitalist approaches of media activist projects toward the development of material and immaterial resources, we use a critical political economy approach typically reserved for analysis of mainstream media. Political

economy, like grassroots autonomous media, takes a critical approach to capitalism. We also found that when media activists talked about resources, they directly connected them to labour practices, including who does paid, unpaid, underpaid, and emotional labour. These labour questions can be elucidated using political economy theories, however the activists we worked with also use intersectionality theory to address resources and labour. Intersectionality can account for movement and media resource practices that address interlocking systems of oppression and power engaged by or differentially impacting women, racialized or BIPOC (Black, Indigenous and People of Colour) groups, as well as LGBTQ+ and non-binary[1] groups and networks (Breton et al. 2012; Daring et al. 2012; Eslami & Maynard 2013; Jaggar,2014; Costanza-Chock et al. 2017). These two theoretical approaches thus dovetail nicely to help us better understand the empirical interview data from the intersectional anti-capitalist perspectives that are widespread among the activists interviewed.

With the objective of making our results useful to activists and academics alike, our research addresses four gaps in the literature on media activist resources. First, the literature emphasizes the under-resourcing of alternative and autonomous media work (Fuchs & Sandoval, 2015; Kurpius et al., 2010; Skinner, 2012), but few studies use a political economy approach to understand the complexities of resource and labour structures within autonomous media projects (Atton 2007; Fuchs 2010; Kozolanka, Mazepa & Skinner 2012). Second, while the need for sustainable resources is well documented, specific autonomous media labour practices regarding resource accumulation and distribution within collective projects remain understudied (Salter, 2014; Cohen, 2017) with the exception of the Indymedia network (Kidd 2003; Hanke 2005; Pickard 2006; Milioni 2009; Lievrouw 2011; Wolfson 2013). Third, while the literature focuses on the importance of material resources and labour to sustainability, the impact of immaterial resources and immaterial labour has largely been overlooked (Gill & Pratt 2008; Dowling 2007). And fourth, while scholars emphasize economic issues in autonomous media projects, which is the primary emphasis in the research on Indymedia, the free open source movement, and technopolitics (Fuster Morell 2012; Kurban, Pena-Lopez & Haberer 2017; Toret 2012), and some even note the dominance of cis-white-males (Costanza-Chock 2012), few researchers have investigated how specific activist media practices may either differentially impact women, LGBTQ+ and/or BIPOC people within groups and projects, or be generated by these marginalized groups to address differential impacts. This gap in the research exists despite these uneven practices being acknowledged for many years within media activist spaces (Jeppesen et al., 2014; Costanza-Chock et al., 2017). Our research therefore examines strategies used by media activists to address a range of resource problems, including labour practices, as well as how they

[1] We will use 'LGBTQ+' or 'queer and trans' to refer to LGBTQQIP2SAA (lesbian, gay, bisexual, trans, queer, questioning, intersex, pansexual, Two-Spirit, asexual, and allies) and non-binary groups and individuals in this article. We acknowledge the terminology changes quickly and that this acronym may fall out of use.

address the unequal distribution of resources within projects and work to challenge hierarchies that can be created or exacerbated by inequitable resource mobilization across structures of oppression.

Our paper is organized as follows. First, we describe our Participatory Communicative Action Research (PCAR) methodology, which is rooted in radical anti-capitalist intersectional social movements and media activism. We then map out a theoretical framework that brings together political economy and intersectionality theories, explaining how these have emerged both from the interviews and the literature and are directly useful in analyzing media activist resource strategies. Empirical findings on material and immaterial resources and labour practices are then presented from our interview data with media activists across Canada. We also discuss three anti-oppression practices that are attentive to colonialism, racism, and gender oppression with respect to media activist resources which emerged from the interviews.

We argue that intersectional anti-oppression resource strategies are key to the economic sustainability and resilience of grassroots autonomous media because they allow feminist, LGBTQ+ and BIPOC media activist projects, groups, individuals and networks to put intersectional anti-capitalist politics into practice whereby their media content and organizational functioning become more consistent, particularly with respect to the way resources are mobilized, including where they come from and how they are utilized. These intersectional media resource practices, though not without challenges of their own, have strengthened both the content and the organizational processes of media projects that use them by challenging and mitigating the impacts of interlocking systemic oppressions with respect to material and immaterial resources and labour practices.

Methodology

This research was conducted by a horizontal intersectional feminist collective co-researching with and as grassroots autonomous media activists. Collective members are students, media activists, social movement participants, faculty, and/or community members. We have developed a Participatory Communicative Action Research methodology, in which activist-researchers build relationships with and *as* media activists working together in researching toward transformative social justice objectives. We are active within communicative action networks, or networks of social movement action in which communication is itself a form of social action and can also spark future communicative and movement actions.

Findings are based on two sets of empirical interview data. In 2014-15 we invited media activists who identify with our five research pillars—intersectional feminist, queer & trans liberation, anti-racist, anti-colonial and anti-capitalist—to participate in workshops to discuss challenges, successes and future directions for media activism. Through the workshops we reached 89 media activists in Toronto, Ottawa, Halifax, Vancouver, Victoria and Montreal. The

workshop data-set was analyzed within the research collective, then shared and validated with research participants, and finally used to generate new research and interview questions. These activist-derived interview questions were the basis for our second data-set, which consists of 16 semi-structured interviews with four members from each of the following:

(1) The Media Co-op, a member-run multi-stakeholder solidarity cooperative, founded in 2007 and producing "grassroots news [which] covers those directly affected" on their website and in *The Dominion* magazine (Media Co-op, n.d.);

(2) Ricochet Media, a "public service investigative journalism" video news website that emerged out of the Quebec Student Strike, with French and English editorial boards (Ricochet, n.d.);

(3) Rabble, an independent and progressive journalism website with the objective of "reporting on stories from civil society while providing a counterbalance to corporate-owned media," established in 2001 (Rabble, n.d.);

(1) A network of campus and community radio stations that includes: CKUT in Montreal (CKUT, n.d.), Queer Radio Hour at CILU in Thunder Bay (Queer Radio Hour, n.d.), and the national independent community radio news show GroundWire (Groundwire, n.d.).

We prioritized projects that had existed for a minimum of six months, with a decision-making collective. Moreover, we sought to ensure that taken together, the projects produced a range of media genres (radio, print, video, and online). We have intentionally used our resources and work as researchers to support media activist projects and movements by participating and sometimes organizing radical media movements, conferences and events, and integrating media activists into our collective in different ways. Through this methodology, which envisions research itself as a form of communicative action, our participants created movement dialogues and built relationships not just with our research collective but also among their/our media activist networks and communities. The methodology takes elements of activist-led research (Kuyek and Choudry 2012), militant ethnography (Juris 2005), feminist community research (Cahill 2004; Jaggar 2008; Fine 2006) and anti-authoritarian feminist research within social movements (Breton et al. 2012a, 2012b).

Integrating these social movement methods into our research on media movements thus contributes a new methodology that focuses on the interstices between media and social movements and blurs the boundaries between research and activism. It provides results that emerge directly in the moment of the research, through media activist dialogues, research conversations, and networking, as well as contributing to the literature on media activist practices. It also offers space for critical reflection on best practices in the political

economy of material and immaterial resources and labour through a consideration of intersectional media activism projects and networks.

Theoretical framework

Following the lead of our research participants, our theoretical approach to analyzing our interview data uses both political economy and intersectional theory. We augment the anti-capitalist thinking of earlier alternative media scholarship—particularly with reference to the Indymedia network, free and open culture, and technopolitics as mentioned earlier—through a consideration of intersectional forms of oppression that articulate to capitalism. Conversely, we also ground intersectionality theory in the material and immaterial impacts in on-the-ground grassroots autonomous media practices. We see neither political economy nor intersectionality as the foremost theoretical perspective, but rather consider both as equally important and reveal ways in which they can be mutually informing.

Political economy

A political economy approach to media activist resource practices foregrounds the intertwined structures of communicative capitalism in which, as Jodi Dean argues, the compulsion to communicate and participate in ubiquitous social and other forms of media, rather than principally driving democracy forward by providing avenues for digital political participation, instead drives and amplifies capitalist accumulation, on the one hand, with little to no response from government regarding progressive policy frameworks, on the other (Dean 2005, 53). Moreover, Nick Dyer-Witheford warns of the intensifying commodification of communication technologies and practices in cyber-capitalism, that is to say, capitalism integrated into the digital circuits of communicative action (Dyer-Witheford 1999). As well, Curran, Fenton and Freedman (2012) suggest that the original sociopolitical promise of the internet for improving people's lives and society in generally was somewhat technologically deterministic and that this promise has not been fulfilled for reasons based in political economy. Thus, we critically analyze the political economy of activist media with respect to communicative labour practices, which includes the mobilization or input of material and immaterial resources to fund and support projects, as well as the mobilization or output of these resources toward material and immaterial labour.

Robert McChesney (2000) notes that there are two main relationships in the political economy of media. The first is the "relationship between media and communication systems on the one hand and the broader structure of society" on the other (2000, 110). In this sense we will consider how the communication systems of activist media projects generate content to challenge structural oppressions within the broader society.

The second key relationship in the political economy of media inheres in the internal structure of media organizations, which is to say the relationships among ownership, support and advertising policies, including labour and other structural processes in the production of media (McChesney 2000, 110). All of the media projects in Canada that we studied are collectively owned and self-managed, structured as neither public (state) nor private (capitalist) but independent (anti-capitalist).

We add a third relationship, which is the link between these two. In other words, we consider how the political content of media activist projects that challenge societal structures of domination shape and are shaped by the internal media organizational structures and vice versa. This is a pivotal question within autonomous media and a key site of action and political change that bears further examination.

Autonomous media activists critique labour structures in mainstream journalism which, according to Nicole Cohen, has long been "a gendered model of employment based on a male citizen-worker who enjoys 'full-time continuous employment' for one employer, works on the employer's premises, and receives employment-based benefits" (2015, 515). As such, women have long been marginalized in journalism, occupying increasingly precarious positions, with unpaid internships "further entrench[ing] class, race, and gender inequality in media industries" (526).

Within media employment in Canada, inequities across race and gender do exist, with only 4.8% of board members and executives coming from racialized groups, who are also under-represented among journalists or hosts and interviewed experts (Cukier et al. 2011, np). In terms of gender, although the numbers of men and women employed have more or less equalized (with studies failing to account for non-binary genders), in news media, women are paid less in similar positions as men, and are under-represented in upper management (Gasher et al. 2012, 284). These realities suggest the need to augment political economy with intersectionality theory to better account for not only these exclusions in the Canadian mediascape, but also the important contributions of women, BIPOC, and/or[2] LGBTQ+ people in grassroots media projects attempting to correct for systemic oppressions and exclusions.

Intersectionality theory

Several scholars address social movement resource mobilization around issues of race, class or gender through social justice approaches to media from a participatory research perspective similar to that of our research project, however, without necessarily directly addressing intersectionality theory. Charlotte Ryan provides strategies for obtaining positive coverage of activist campaigns in mainstream media (1991; 2010). Ryan, Carragee & Meinhofer propose frames for collective action to advance movement objectives in TV news

[2] The term 'and/or' is used to indicate the intersectional nature of these identities.

(2010). Deborah Barndt has developed community arts projects in Toronto and Nicaragua to put media production tools and skills in the hands of marginalized communities (2002). Barndt and Reinsborough use similar participatory strategies toward decolonizing research in Mexico and Panama (2011, 162). Harlow and Guo research with immigrant advocacy activists in Austin, Texas, finding that digital media is a supplement rather than a replacement for face-to-face organizing (2014). In general, researchers address social movement media strategies engaging one axis of oppression. However few scholars study the resource-based digital divide at a higher level of granularity, for example by assessing the impacts and strategies used by activists to address multiple intersecting axes of oppression through media (Costanza-Chock et al. 2017). Building on elements of these community research projects, our research collective takes up similar strategies to Costanza-Chock's research with the Transformative Media Organizing Project (2017) to explore how intersectionality is integrated into resource mobilization practices of grassroots autonomous media projects.

Intersectionality theory was developed by Black feminists to better understand lived experiences of sexism in the context of racism (Crenshaw 1989; hooks 1981). Patricia Hill Collins and Sirma Bilge (2016, 2) offer the following definition:

> Intersectionality is a way of understanding and analyzing the complexity in the world. … When it comes to social inequality, people's lives and the organization of power in a given society are better understood as being shaped not by a single axis of social division, be it race or gender or class, but by many axes that work together and influence each other.

Sherene Razack (1989) suggests that intersectional *interlocking* systems of oppression are key to understanding the structures that shape individual and collective experiences. We see a deepening understanding of interlocking systems of oppression within anarchist scholarship to account for oppressions of the state through, for example, the gendered effects of immigration and deportation and racialized police brutality (Dupuis-Déri 2017). Moreover, Collins and Bilge (2016) suggest that intersectional identities and practices are always-already coalitional, connecting issues by necessity, whereby for example, women of colour might form coalitions within or across anti-racist and feminist groups to contest racialized-gendered state and economic oppressions.

Addressing critiques that intersectionality theory does not provide a methodological approach (McCall 2005; Nash 2008), we use an intersectional participatory communicative action research methodology to examine ways in which grassroots media activist projects have made interventions against interlocking intersectional structures of oppression when considering resource mobilization, such as how to generate and utilize resources. These strategies simultaneously respect, reinforce and recognize the strengths of intersectional

marginalized identities, experiences and self-representations developed through media activism while being particularly attentive to how they are affected by and can better develop resources.

Critical analysis of findings

Our interviewees pointed to several best practices of resource mobilization, yet they also indicated that they faced a range of contradictions and tensions. Primarily, media activist projects face an inherent resourcing tension articulated by Fuchs and Sandoval:

> On the one hand, their self-management renders them more independent from the interests of the power elite whose domination activists want to challenge, but on the other hand, alternative media face … the problem of mobilizing resources without state support and [capitalist] advertising. (2015, 173)

So where do these resources come from, who can (and who cannot as easily) access them, and what are some of the related media practices?

Mobilizing material resources for autonomous media

A key concern in the political economy of media is an examination of power structures through monetary flows. This is particularly salient when it comes to media activist resourcing decisions. A classic example of an alternative media resource controversy was Indymedia's rejection of a $50,000 grant from the Ford Foundation, arrived at via a collective decision-making process (Kidd 2003; Hanke 2005; Pickard 2006; Milioni 2009; Lievrouw 2012, Wolfson 2013). Indymedia took a political economy view as they were concerned not just with the economics of the grant but also with Ford's business practices, including how they treat their workers, as well as how the funds would impact the volunteer labour model on which the network was formed, including their relationships with communities, social movements and Indymedia users. While some attention was paid to differential access to resources in global locations, an intersectional view of material resource access was not pervasive within Indymedia at that time and did not enter into the analysis in the scholarly literature.

Here we explore five key resource streams identified by media activists in Canada, analyzing the political, structural and relational impacts beyond advertising and economic effects, to account for the ways in which these resources tend to shape and be shaped by autonomous media structures, including relationships among media activists or producers, advertisers, sponsors, audiences, communities and social movements.

1. Donations. Donations are generated from media supporters and audiences through crowdfunding, launches, funding drives, events, and online donation buttons. When activists have needed equipment, such as video cameras or sofas, they have solicited in-kind donations from community members. Ricochet has run successful crowdfunding campaigns, including one for Indigenous reporting. Ricochet and the Media Co-op rely on monthly sustainer contributions; Rabble accepts online donations; while campus and community radio stations run annual funding drives. Donations can be anonymous but nonetheless they foster a relationship between the donor and the media project based on shared values rather than censorial expectations.

2. Mutual Aid. Some media projects have used co-presentations and sponsorships in lieu of advertising. Sponsorships appear at the end of a program saying 'this program brought to you by'. CKUT radio would "seek out co-presentations with local concerts, protests, [and] grassroots community-based events" (Aaron Lakoff[3]) where they would promote each other's work. Sima, a media activist with Rabble, explained the importance of the relationship co-presentations help to build: "organizations give us a certain amount of money; for that, we help to amplify the work that they're doing. They're all organizations that are progressive and that believe in the same stuff we do." Sponsorships and co-presentations with groups who share social justice values go further than donations in developing on-going inter-group coalitions and mutual support networks.

3. Fee for service. Some media groups receive funds for services which may be specific to their genre. Campus radio stations in Canada receive an annual student fee levy from students who are in essence paying for the service of having a campus radio station. This levy provides on-going funding that gives programmers a degree of stability and autonomy. For print media, subscriptions and sales paid to obtain the zine, magazine or journal generate funds that partially offset printing costs.

In these three types of funding the media users are in effect funding the project, creating a mutual relationship of care and a dialogue concerning shared social justice values and social norms expressed through news content, organization and production. These relationships may arise within but also extend beyond social justice movements.

However, the following two funding sources come from outside social movements and are more fraught with concerns that the structures, social

[3] Some research participants chose to have their comments attributed to a pseudonym, consisting of a first name only, while others opted to use their real first and last names.

norms and values of the funding bodies may be at odds with the intersectional anti-oppression politics of autonomous media projects.

4. Advertising. Grassroots autonomous media policies regarding advertisements tend to emphasize both editorial independence and social justice values. First, in terms of editorial independence, Carolin Huang, a media activist with CKUT 90.3 FM, suggested that if a corporation wanted to dictate content, "There's just a straight-up 'no' to that kind of funding." Similarly, Jesse from Ricochet explains that they let their advertisers know "they won't be able to have editorial input."

Second, in terms of social justice values, decisions regarding who can advertise are also made on political grounds. A complex debate occurred at CHRY radio regarding Western Union as a potential advertiser, a corporation that, as Omme Salma-Rahemtullah (a long-term program host with GroundWire Community Radio News and the former CKLN and CHRY Community Radio stations) pointed out, "has gouging rates and they exploit people of colour and they exploit third world dependency." Immigrants in Toronto (and other cities in the global north) often use Western Union to send money earned in the global north home to family in the global south. They are charged very high rates for this service. When family members might not have access to mainstream bank accounts, Western Union may be the only service available to them. Salma-Rahemtullah's analysis links the political economy of autonomous media funding to the interlocking global oppressions of neocolonial capitalist corporations, and further connects these systems of oppression to potential audience members' experiences of intersectional racialized capitalist exploitation due to forced immigration. If CHRY wants to cultivate a relationship with immigrant communities, then while they may have been an attractive advertising site from Western Union's perspective, the radio station did not want to encourage their listeners to use Western Union or to appear to be supporting business practices that exploit immigrants and refugees.

At the same time, not all advertising is considered bad: some advertisers were seen to be conducive to the development of positive community relationships. For example, Rabble has hosted ads for "gay sex parties" (Kayden); *The Dominion* has placed ads from labour unions; and Jules, a media activist with CILU's Queer Radio Hour, explained how they ran paid-for ads for The Hunger, a fundraiser to benefit the local community art gallery, and also "provided volunteers to help with setup [of the fundraiser event] and to help with the door or other types of tasks." These advertising relationships thus can go beyond a simple economic business exchange to include working together on campaigns or events around interlocking struggles such as queer and trans, the labour movement, and cultural spaces that promote alternative image or representation systems.

Sometimes, the choice to accept or reject an ad is more complicated and may not be a simple yes or no decision. Tina from Rabble describes how they

accepted an ad despite having mixed feelings about the company, with a predictable and ultimately positive result. She says, we did "have a large ad-buy from American Apparel, and we took it. And American Apparel was deconstructed on our discussion boards" regarding the company's sexism[4]. "And," she added, "I think that's great." The ad helped Rabble to have an explicit dialogue and debate about advertisers directly with their audience, and indirectly with the advertiser as well. In this sense the decision was a double win—it provided much-needed funds for Rabble, and also drew people to their site for this meta-discussion of ads in autonomous media.

Thus ads can be seen as quite a complex source of funding and site of debate that play into the political economy of both media activist content in terms of: first, aiming for a kind of political consistency between advertising and journalistic content; second, creating project structures including specific relationships among producers, advertisers and audience members; and third, developing an understanding of how advertising decisions shape and are also shaped by the relation between these first two.

5. Grants. Grants are also a desirable but contradictory source of funds for autonomous media projects. Some participants saw them as tentatively acceptable if there were no strings attached, while others raised critiques regarding the granting system that forms part of the racialized-gendered exploitative NGO industrial complex (Dempsey 2009).

Huang explains how radio stations in Canada receive grants from the state. She notes that although CKUT's policy was to reject corporate ads, the station does "get a grant from the [Canadian] Community Radio Fund, which is a pool of money that actually comes from commercial radio. So in a way it's still tied to corporate funding," which is in turn derived from advertising. The Fund is meant to redistribute the wealth from the private sector in order to facilitate community radio and as such it also redistributes the relationship from being between a radio station, advertisers and the audience (no ads are heard on the radio) to being an economic contribution from the state to the station. However, Huang notes that the source of the funds must nonetheless be put into question.

While some media projects shared critiques of corporate funding, state funding was embraced in certain cases. For example, Jesse, a media activist with Ricochet, believes that "the money that people pay in taxes should be supporting independent media projects." As such, Ricochet applied for and received a grant from the City of Vancouver "to document homelessness and the tent city in Vancouver" (Javed). However, in the workshops some media activists who might be anarchist or anti-authoritarian expressed that they would reject state funding altogether, seeing it as a conflict of interest when they are engaged in anti-state political organizing, for example around 'no border networks' or

[4] Practices include objectification of women in ads and sexual harassment in the workplace; sexual harassment charges against CEO Dov Charney led to his removal as CEO in 2014.

police brutality. Others thought that taking state funding and using it to create journalism that critiques the state would be acceptable.

At the same time, many participants found state or government grants inaccessible, time-consuming, and unrealistic in requiring a level of professional experience impossible to acquire without first having a substantial grant. Salma-Rahemtullah notes that grants are "like you're funding your own job." A grant obtained through the precarious labour of submitting an application is used to fund the journalist-as-grant-writer's next position. As she wryly adds, "that's not a good model." Moreover, she observes how grants "racialize and feminize this kind of work, by not providing stability or benefits to workers," further entrenching already marginalized media activists in precarious labour, and intensifying the impact of interlocking oppressions. Whereas cis-white-male media activists and projects were seen to gain access to grants more easily, LGBTQ+, women, and BIPOC groups and projects experienced a double oppression in this regard. First, they were more likely than people in dominant groups to be in precarious labour situations that might include having to write grant applications to try to self-fund their employment in a high-stakes competition; and second, they were less likely to receive the grants in the end due to systemic issues within the granting system. Some participants in the workshops noted that the decision regarding who to hire with grant money was also fraught and could cause tension within groups. Thus, the political economy of grant funding, for many of the activists we interviewed, was seen through an intersectional lens to be contradictory both to desire and acquire. And once acquired there were then questions regarding what to do with the funds, most often circling around labour practices.

Resourcing labour in autonomous media

Within autonomous media labour practices, Arielle Friedman identifies a key tension: "It's like an alternative economy that we're trying to build that unfortunately has to have a capitalist structure because we live in a capitalist society." This tension points to a structural contradiction in the political economy of autonomous media—working as anti-capitalists in a capitalist world. This tension is connected to a set of intersectional concerns that are key to the alternative economy Friedman points to. This alternative or social economy is structured around not just economics but also organizing labour collectively and fairly, so that it generates a media and knowledge commons that represents and provides access to media production for the whole population, not just the corporate, media and political elite. In other words, autonomous media covers and thereby engages in the struggles, identities, experiences, and politics within the everyday lives of marginalized groups experiencing invisibilized oppressions and fighting for equal rights and improved living conditions. Autonomous media projects are therefore part of the emergent media commons that articulates with the broader movement toward establishing a social economy that includes workers co-operatives, community gardens, DIY bike repair skillshare shops, collectively run cafes, tech and hacker

collectives, and many other radical socioeconomic configurations (Ostrom 2000, Carlson & Manning, 2010; Cafentzis & Federici 2013; De Angelis & Harvie 2014; Jeppesen et al. 2014; Vlachokyriakos et al., 2017).

Considering media as a common good, access to being able to produce journalism and to be paid for it within autonomous media becomes a key issue in terms of who has the power to speak, whose voices and issues are heard, and who is able to make a living and develop a professional practice producing media outside and against the constraints and structures of mainstream media power. These media labour questions were articulated by our participants not just through discussions of economic concerns but also in terms of intersectional politics, oppression and privilege with respect to paid, unpaid and underpaid labour. What also emerged was the importance of the often invisible emotional, affective, immaterial and intangible labour performed, it would seem, more often by those in systemically oppressed groups.

Paid (and underpaid) labour. Autonomous media projects can offer paid admin staff positions and may also attempt to pay contributors, with practices ranging from structured to informal. Campus radio stations are more structured, with studios on campus and the student fee levy providing for paid, albeit precarious temporary part-time labour contracts for staff, whereas radio program producers are unpaid volunteers, with the exception of GroundWire, which has raised funds when possible to pay producers. The other three projects presently have no office space and their labour policies are less formal and more malleable. Rabble is committed to "paying everyone who worked at Rabble, whether they were writers or editors or tech staff or administrative staff or fundraising staff" (Tina). Ricochet staff and contributors are paid, whereas "editors are on the board and they're volunteers" (Jesse). Media Co-op labour is more ad hoc; as noted by Geordie Dent, a media activist in Toronto: "we get volunteer content that just pours in, in a massive amount, and then we will use that content for the [magazine]. We might pay for some of it, kind of after the fact." At the same time in most projects, "there is always the thing of how many extra hours do people put in on the job" (Sima), resulting in *under*paid labour.

It seems that decisions on paid labour may be shaped by internalized oppression, or "the incorporation and acceptance by individuals within an oppressed group of the prejudices against them within the dominant society" (Pheterson 1986, 148). Perhaps materializing the effects of internalized oppression, some female, queer, trans and/or BIPOC activists felt conflicted about asking for decent wages for their own labour, while at the same time they worked hard to ensure that journalists other than themselves from marginalized groups were adequately compensated. Not a definitive finding, this matter would bear further investigation.

Unpaid labour. Kayden acknowledged the unspoken assumption that "you can't be in activist media and not do unpaid labour." Some participants

characterized unpaid media activism as a labour of love, as Aaron Lakoff from CKUT explains regarding program volunteers: “everyone knows from the get-go they're putting in their labour because it's a labour of love and passion.” Similarly, “with CILU, a lot of people who participate do it because they're passionate about the type of music or the way they can use this platform” (Jules). This is not unique to radio: “There are a lot of volunteers involved in the Media Co-op and they do important work in exchange for recognition and credit” (Arielle Friedman). Javed mentioned that when Ricochet was starting up, everyone put in unpaid hours, motivated by “a sense of personal achievement and doing things that are valuable.” As with a great deal of activist labour, it is undertaken because people feel strongly committed to work toward social transformation.

One of the negative impacts of unpaid labour is a pervasive structural and personal unsustainability. As Morgan points out, this is further complicated by a gender “pay gap” specific to autonomous media, where women take on more of the unpaid labour, and this extends to LGBTQ+ and/or BIPOC individuals as well.

Reliance on unpaid labour poses a challenge to the horizontal power dynamics key to autonomous media, insofar as it creates a hierarchy based on how much people are paid, on the one hand; on the other hand, this hierarchy is further affected by the amount of ‘free time’ people have available to contribute unpaid labour in the first place. Media activist May from Ricochet elaborates that unpaid labour “can't be our main gig because we all need to perform other work in order to put food on the table.” Precarious and invisibilized labour situations, such as reproductive labour or domestic labour (Jarrett, 2014), which tend to be racialized and gendered as mentioned above, absorb a great deal of time and energy, making it harder for individuals from systemically oppressed or excluded groups to take on unpaid labour. This in turn creates unbalanced reporting:

> When you have journalism that relies on free work then you start to shrink the pool of who is doing journalism to people who have external resources.... That whittles down the field of what we're getting in terms of journalism to a very narrow and privileged perspective. (Jesse)

Some grants impose age, citizenship, student identity, or other restrictions, which “excludes a lot of people, and we would rather not have those restrictions. ... Obviously who we hire affects our media output” (Friedman). Hiring constraints have impacted media content by providing space for the paid journalist’s perspective; reducing space available for unpaid journalists; and forcing unpaid journalists to support themselves through paid labour elsewhere. This has an impact not just on the individuals who are further marginalized, but also on the media project’s structure.

Who is paid, underpaid or unpaid further creates an unequal power dynamic within autonomous media projects, despite ostensibly horizontal organizational structures. Being attentive to these power dynamics, through observing the relational, or what Collins and Bilge call the 'coalitional' character of intersectional identities, is a key strategy within autonomous media. As Collins and Bilge argue, seeing intersectional identities "as already coalitional creates possibilities for political organizing that attends to intersecting power differentials within the group" (3). Being attentive to these intersecting power differences reveals how a reliance on unpaid labour constrains participation in activist media for systemically oppressed groups—the very people autonomous media aims and claims to be empowering.

Strategies that mitigate these constraints are therefore fundamental within autonomous media structures and processes with respect to labour. "Understanding identity as a coalitional location stresses in-group and inter-group power differentials. In other words, conceptualizing identity *coalitionally* highlights the coalitional labour that is *already at work* within the group before deploying it for building inter-group alliances" (Collins and Bilge, italics in original). This highlights the importance of the way activists articulated their understanding of autonomous media labour as always-already in relationship—to the audience, within social movements, to other autonomous media projects and so forth. The relational aspect of autonomous media labour is perhaps even more foundational to their immaterial labour practices.

Mobilizing immaterial resources

If intersectional concerns regarding the structural material resource and labour practices can shape media projects, how do contributions of immaterial resources serve to support intersectional autonomous media projects? Our participants identified six dimensions of immaterial resourcing to which media project participants and allies have contributed. Unlike material resources, all of the immaterial resources people discussed were valued within the alternative social economy logic. However there were still inequalities in tendencies and capacities to contribute these resources that broke down along intersectional lines.

Emotional labour. Emotional or affective labour refers to practices of mutual support and care that involve feelings, sociality, relationships and reproductive labour (Gill & Pratt 2008). Feminists, anarchists and antiauthoritarians, who emphasize interpersonal relations as a site of social transformation, emphasize the importance of affective labour (Apoifis 2017; Dowling 2007). Participants recognized that emotional labour supported their projects but doing too much of it could also be personally exhausting where the contribution of time and labour came with a cost: "People's time isn't free, it's costing them a lot just to do the labour, whether it's emotional or physical" (Morgan). This cost is also gendered and racialized, and several media activists narrated how white cis-

male activists sometimes took on managerial decision-making roles, leaving administrative reproductive and affective labour to women. Morgan said, "I felt like the female labour was being exploited … And I got really burnt out trying to change it." On one hand, women's affective labour, including BIPOC women, in trying to change gender and racialized inequities within projects can lead to burnout and withdrawal from media work, having the reverse effect of tending to further marginalize them. On the other hand, some intersectional feminist, LGBTQ+ and BIPOC participants suggested affective labour contributed to highly valued experiences of friendship and pleasure that kept activists involved. These emotional labour relationships of care can be understood as part of the coalitional nature of intersectional identities that can either intensify or mitigate structural oppressions within the mediascape. While media activists noted a tendency toward increasing feelings of emotional and social isolation, emerging research notes troubling impacts of social media and smartphones on mental health within society (Twenge 2017), an avenue of research that bears further investigation with respect to social movement and media activist projects.

Networks. Linked to emotional labour, personal and professional networks among intersectional media activists constitute a key intangible resource. As Collins and Bilge (2016) suggest, "community based organizations form networks or coalitions of like-minded groups, drawing upon intersectionality to shape the logistics of how they organize as well as the political agendas they pursue." Ricochet has collaborated with *Briarpatch Magazine*, *À bâbord*, and other independent media. Kayden mentioned tech-oriented discussions using IRC to chat with other 'hacktivists' in a work pattern of mutual aid. Rabble is part of a digital resource-sharing network, In Cahoots. Tina stressed cultivating connections among women in leadership roles to break the isolation typical of digital labour mentioned above, a challenge noted in the 'radical media mixers,' as most projects did not have their own or even a shared physical space. Networks are notably more effective if they can happen in person; as Harlow and Guo (2014) found in research with immigrant rights advocates in Austin, Texas, digital "technologies could not create the personal connections that are the core of activism" (473). Sharing meeting spaces, converging at gatherings like the People's Media Assembly or the Allied Media Conference, and forming informal networks strengthened the resilience of individuals who could share knowledge and draw on these community resources, and in turn also strengthened the media projects within which they worked or volunteered.

Time. Increasingly, time is perceived as a scarce resource (Hassan, 2009; Rosa, 2013, Tomlinson, 2007). Attention to the temporal dimensions of collective action (McAdam & Sewell 2001; Pietrzyk 2013; Scheuerman 2009) can reveal structural and intersectional conditions attached to time availability that can constrain some activists' capacities to participate. Javed describes experiences with respect to time in the early days of Ricochet:

> It just seems natural to us, to give what [time] we have for something that we believe in. One of our editors is expecting a baby, the other one has two kids and does a different bunch of contract work, plus I am in a different country with 10 hours of time difference, having a full-time job, others in Montreal have their own commitments. But none of that has affected the pace at which we edit stuff and publish articles. Even though sometimes we have no choice but to take our time, there was never a significant slowdown.

This observation reveals multiple intersectional time pressures influenced by race, class, gender, geographical location, parental labour and so on. While some media activists created media in their so-called "spare time," others identified the scarcity of time as a challenge, or noted the impacts of the fast pace of publishing, versus wanting to 'take our time'. The immaterial resource of time is not evenly distributed, where women, BIPOC and/or LGBTQ+ people, particularly those who engage in reproductive, affective or caring labour, tended to face added time pressures. Acknowledging the intersectional impacts on availability of time and providing mechanisms within the political economy of media activist labour to account for these impacts, not just on internal power dynamics but also on who comes to voice, was a key media activist practice.

Capacity. Having the capacity to participate builds on having the time but also means working to develop capacities with respect not just to media production, horizontal decision-making, self-confidence, and emotional capacities. As Collins and Bilge note, activists see "building institutional capacity as an important dimension of race/class/gender" (2016). Many activists noted a difference between urban and rural settings in the relationship to capacity, where people in urban settings are more emotionally taxed, pay higher rents and day care costs, and spent more time in paid labour to cover these costs. Individual capacity was sometimes seen as a privilege accruing to heteronormative couples: if one had a full-time paid position, the other had greater capacity for unpaid media labour. Collective capacity may be lost when individuals leave a project after a short time because "to build with people, to build capacity, to build skills, it takes much longer" (Lakoff). The political economy of capacity building is therefore intersectional across race, class, gender, BIPOC and LGBTQ+ identities as well as rural vs urban locations and family or living structures such as being single, a couple, parenting, etc. Addressing the impact of differential access to capacity, some projects asked volunteers for longer-term commitments to build individual and institutional capacity; others added more volunteers, as more people meant less capacity required per person.

Skills. To build capacities, a range of skills can be developed through the activist practice of skillsharing, or the hands-on exchange of knowledge through

non-hierarchical workshops. This process is based on an acknowledgment that not everyone has the time or capacity to undertake a university or college degree or diploma, and at the same time people without post-secondary education also have many different kinds of skills and expertise, often garnered through experience in social movement organizations or milieus. For example, CKUT staff and volunteers took part in mandatory radio production skillsharing with experienced programmers, anti-oppression training from the Quebec Public Interest Research Group (QPIRG), and social media skills development from The Centre for Community Organizations (coco-net.org). GroundWire provided honoraria for autonomous radio producers to facilitate skillshare workshops for less experienced participants. Anya, a media activist with Rabble, was involved in a feminist media-maker conference in 2015 in Vancouver called Fierce Voices, to facilitate skillsharing among young women. Thus skillsharing took place within media projects or was offered from one organization to another to build capacities among supportive coalitional networks sharing social justice values and movement objectives.

Mentorship. The sharing of organizational, production, technical, and content development skills of more experienced activists with less experienced people is an informal type of activist mentorship. At Rabble, Sima received external mentorship on website development from consulting group, Tech Soup, addressing the gendered digital divide. At Ricochet, Javed found that when writers wanted to know "how to see [their] articles in terms of data and numbers, that help was always available by people who were more technically aware," in a form of internal mentorship. In turn he was called on to mentor fellow autonomous journalists on foreign policy, including his "knowledge of South Asian, Middle-East and diaspora and racial issues" (Javed). He felt respected for his specific experience, a non-traditional valuing and centering of grassroots knowledge found in autonomous media projects (Lievrouw 2011). Indigenous media expert Leena Minifie mentioned that Ricochet engages in mentorship, as through the

> Indigenous Reporting Fund there is a concerted effort on developing writers. We hold people's hands who are new Indigenous writers and other writers, through the edits of their work, often giving it back, inserting suggestions or helping do some extra research.

This includes working with an awareness of where the new writer is coming from, in that they may not feel entitled to speak, or may be sensitive to critiques of their work. She was also attentive to different ways of using language that derive from the modes of thought and value systems of Indigenous communities and cultures. In these three examples, we see mentorship in autonomous media accounting for and challenging structures of oppression across gender, racialization and Indigenous cultures.

Complex inequalities of power and access have emerged in this analysis, wherein undervalued intangible, affective labour falls more often on the shoulders of individuals with marginalized intersectional identities, and on the contrary, material resources are more easily accessed by those with dominant intersectional identities, such as cis-white-hetero-males. Building on this analysis of immaterial and material resources and labour practices, we now highlight three key intersectional anti-oppression media practices.

Challenges to media power through anti-oppression media resource practices

Below we analyze three intersectional anti-oppression media resource practices that have been used to challenge specific media power inequalities by foregrounding a specific axis of oppression when considering how to best mobilize resources within a project.

Decolonizing media resource practices

Decolonizing media and society (Tuhiwai Smith 1999) is a multifaceted personal and political process. As Indigenous media activist and journalist Starlight writes:

> Colonization has brought more than the racism, displacement, resource extraction, and environmental destruction that we witness and experience (and which our ancestors have witnessed and experienced). Colonization is also responsible for the enforcement of the gender binary, trans antagonism, heterosexism, ableism, ageism, classism, speciesism, and a plethora of complex and contradictory forms of oppression that play out in our lives. (Starlight, 2016)

Using an intersectional anti-oppression approach to decolonizing media, Indigenous media expert Leena Minifie explains Ricochet's approach: "The Indigenous Reporting Fund at Ricochet Media is set up to prioritize paying emerging journalists and experienced writers who are Indigenous, two-spirited or youth." She lists these intersectional Indigenous identities, and also adds that compensating them "is more important than giving myself compensation as an Editor," a political commitment shared among Ricochet's editors in their approach to structuring their labour. Prioritizing paid labour for Indigenous journalists challenges the deep social effects of colonialism, building in time, space, mentorship, skills and capacities for foregrounding Indigenous knowledge through media production (Tuhiwai Smith 1999).

Similarly, in putting together *Warrior Up!*, the Indigenous land rights issue of *The Dominion*, the Media Co-op collective decided that all writers and editors would be Indigenous people, and they were all paid for their media labour. The attempt to raise funds for this issue, however, was challenging, as Friedman explains:

> [Lands rights] are struggles that most of the time are fighting against large-scale industrial projects like mines, pipelines, the tar sands, and so on. So this time we didn't have the same interest from unions in funding this project, with the exception of the postal workers union [CUPW] ...It's not always in the interest of unions to be taking a public stance against industrial projects and a lot of workers are working for these projects. ... I think that maybe points to a need to reimagine ways that unions can function, and that the class struggle can function, that also incorporates an anticolonial framework.

This complex decolonizing intersectional analysis of the political economy of Indigenous media labour, gender, social class, youth, and the labour movement by activists at Ricochet and Media Co-op shaped their specific media practices regarding who to prioritize for paid labour, and who should be writing about marginalized groups, a political approach also taken up in some antiracist media practices.

Antiracist media resource practices: the resource of the space to speak

As noted above, the Canadian mediascape suffers from a latent racialization of access to paid media work, and this also impacts media activist spaces. Carolin Huang makes the following observation:

> A lot of work is stolen from certain writers, if it's their social media. And that's often women and people of colour expressing ideas in social media, and then the people who benefit off of those ideas can often be white men.

Three dimensions of exploitation are at work in this scenario: first, the capitalist exploitation of social media data mining which generates mass profits from women and/or BIPOC individuals for the platforms without paying content producers where the primary beneficiary is the social media platform itself (Cohen 2015). Second, she highlights the white cis-male appropriation, for profit, of content produced by women and/or BIPOC media labour. Third, there is also the exploitation of the resource of having the space to speak, which systemically accrues more readily to white heterosexual cis-men. Even as many BIPOC and/or women are taking the space to speak in social media, often social and economic capital for producing this content does not accrue to them. Thus in this moment the coalitional aspect of intersectional media work is lost through the failed exploitative social relationships facilitated through capitalist social media.

Autonomous antiracist media activists were attentive to who has access to the resource of the space to speak in public. The autonomous media practice of creating self-representations by, of and for marginalized groups, is reflected in

the media policy of Black Lives Matter Toronto (BLM-TO), explained by Taylor from GroundWire:

> Black Lives Matter had specifically asked that media only centre Black voices when reporting on Black Lives Matter actions. And this one [radio] producer submitted something to us, and wanted to include a white bystander, and was mansplaining what balance is.

Using the term *mansplaining* here, Taylor identifies an intersectional racialized gendered dynamic. While Taylor expresses coalitional support for BLM-TO, respecting their policy to center only Black voices, they had to confront the producer who was *mansplaining* the concept of media balance about which Taylor was in fact better informed, as follows: Autonomous media projects see their role as correcting a pre-existing imbalance in which mainstream media over-represent dominant groups and misrepresent marginalized groups, therefore autonomous media intentionally amplify *only* marginalized groups and perspectives. We saw this in Rabble's 'about us' where they aim to provide a 'counterbalance to mainstream media'. This anti-oppression media practice is at the root of the BLM media policy which Taylor had to walk the programmer through, rejecting the inclusion of the white bystander speaking about Black Lives Matter. This policy and practice is an approach to equalizing media representation that can only be accounted for through mapping political economy to intersectionality in practice on the ground in grassroots media, which media activists themselves do.

LGBTQ+ & feminist 'non-mixt' media spaces: the resource of emotional labour

Intersectional gendered and heteronormative power dynamics in media can be simultaneously exclusionary and more demanding of women, LGBTQ+ and BIPOC people (Costanza-Chock 2012). Media activist Morgan mentions that in their experience, "a lot of the work ended up just falling along gendered lines, where female labour would do all of the editing," for example, but the male labour wanted the recognition, and in practice were sometimes even paid for work that had been completed by unpaid female media activists, causing an exhausting and exploitative gendered power imbalance.

Addressing these kinds of systemic issues, a strategy used by marginalized groups was the caucus or 'non-mixt' meeting that both reduced the amount of emotional labour required by marginalized people in mixed groups to challenge unfair power imbalances, and provided the space to foreground the collective self-care among marginalized groups. This can be generative, according to Taylor, in providing support for their continued media activism:

> When I was working with prison radio in Guelph we were a collective of six queer-identified, mostly feminine people, and we were all really close friends, and so there was a lot of emotional support built into the work that we were doing, that was often very emotionally challenging.

They also note that non-mixt (feminine, queer) radio station trainings were important for "the comfort level of taking the time to go in and spend intimate time in the studio learning how to do the editing and production work. It's just more comfortable" (Taylor). Working with people who shared an identity made the experience more relaxed and conducive to learning. Taylor also observed that at GroundWire, "It was an all-woman board, and I think that that has created a space where we have created [and integrated] that … emotional support and labour into our work." These two experiences of adhoc safer spaces for building relationships of collective care and trust among media activists provided mutual support for intersectional racialized, queer, trans, and feminist media and cultural workers (Jeppesen, Kruzynski, & Guzman 2016). Moreover, the all-Indigenous reporting team, the queer feminine prison radio station training, the all-female GroundWire board, and the foregrounding of Black-only voices in reporting on BLM, were similar strategies that meant, if only in those moments and spaces, marginalized in-group media activists did not experience so-called casual or everyday colonialism, heterosexism, sexism, and/or racism.

This strategy can also have drawbacks. For example, individuals must foreground just one dimension of their identity, which presents a challenge to those experiencing multiple intersecting oppressions such as trans-of-colour, an identity that is not hybrid but integrated (Gill-Peterson 2014). The non-mixt strategy also risks giving straight, white, settler cis-men or cis-women (or other dominant intersectional groups) a pass in terms of not having to take responsibility for anti-oppression work. However, a related strategy used by people from dominant groups was to form anti-oppression groups to deconstruct privilege, such as 'men against patriarchy' or 'white anti-racist allies' in which individuals engaged in supporting each other's learning about how to be better allies through intersectional coalitional work based on 'flexible solidarity' (Hill Collins 2017).

Conclusion

Intersectional anti-oppression media resource strategies permeate the work of the autonomous media activists we interviewed, from political economy approaches to advertising and labour, to immaterial and material resource mobilization, to anti-oppression work.

If we return to McChesney's two primary relationships in the political economy of media, our analysis has shown how anti-oppression media resource practices have challenged and changed the relationship between independent media within the tripartite (private, public and independent) media system in Canada and the broader structures in society. Media content produced by autonomous

media systems has explicitly accounted for and attempted to undermine these broader interlocking structures of oppressions. It has thus micro-shifted the mediascape as the work of autonomous journalists is being taken seriously by the broader public by bringing forward important previously silenced or invisibilized perspectives. This has been achieved by media activist projects paying attention to and accounting for inequalities in resource mobilization.

Furthermore, in the second relationship defined by McChesney, among internal mechanisms of ownership, support, advertising policies, labour and structural processes within media activist projects, the intersectional resource practices articulated here conduce to a much more in-depth and nuanced understanding of the economics of grassroots autonomous media. Media activists engage in resource mobilization in myriad complex ways that go beyond advertising revenues. Moreover, in their media resource practices, they engage specific decision-making principles and policies with respect to material and immaterial paid, unpaid and underpaid labour which have contributed to important changes in the political economy of media through an attentiveness to the complexities of coalitional intersectionality.

Finally, we have demonstrated the importance of the third relationship postulated earlier in this paper, that is, the connection between the influence of content on society, and the internal structures of media operations. Within grassroots autonomous intersectional media, the focus is on developing a consistency between the multi-issue reporting of intersectional content and the internal economics-based processes with respect to ad policy, labour practices and more.

This third relationship in our intersectional analysis of the political economy of autonomous media has been articulated by activists as being crucial within media projects and to their professional development as journalists and media leaders. It is thus important to understand this not just as a best practice of media activists in resourcing multi-issue intersectional social movements today but also because of its potential in both the private and public media sectors in Canada and beyond.

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Volume 10 (1-2): 38 - 69 (2018) *Hardbarger and Maguire, Arts-based activism*

Explorations of an arts-based activism framework: ARTifariti International Art and Human Rights Meeting in Western Sahara

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Abstract

Drawing upon two threads of theory and practice – Community Cultural Development (CCD) and Socially Engaged Art (SEA), a framework is proposed to address a gap in the respective literatures and to develop ideas and tools that help us get closer to understanding the impact of arts-based activism as a tool for community development, resistance, and political activism. Utilizing an ethnographic and practice-based approach, the proposed framework is applied to a specific project, the ARTifariti International Art and Human Rights Meeting in Western Sahara, as a means of understanding the value and efficacy of this tool. The ARTifariti festival is an integral part of the arts and cultural development movement underway in the Saharawi Arab Democratic Republic (SADR) refugee camps located near Tindouf, Algeria. The intent is that the framework will be further honed and applied for further analysis of arts-based activism in the SADR refugee camps as well as other arts-based activism activities and social movements.

Keywords: Arts-based activism; community cultural development, socially engaged art, refugees, Africa, social movements, activism, human rights, Saharawi.

Introduction

> In Tifariti… the Sahrawis launched an admirable offensive in their ongoing struggle to gain independence and the right to self-determination. Armed with paintbrushes and sculptors' tools, they began to explore how art can embody peaceful expression of their history of resistance.
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> Khadijah Hamdi, Polisario Front, Minister of Arts & Culture (as quoted in Hamdi & Peraita, 2013, spelling in original, translated from Spanish to English in original, p. 58).

Drawing on ethnographic and practice-led research, this article examines the use of arts and culture as a tool for community development, resistance, and political activism in the Saharawi Arab Democratic Republic (SADR). The SADR is a state-in-exile located near Tindouf, Algeria where the Saharawi live in long-

term refugee camps. The Saharawi resistance, or what some refer to as the Saharawi *Intifada,* has a history of utilizing "nonviolent 'weapons' like symbolic protests, mass demonstrations, civil disobedience, and other forms of nonviolent defiance" (Stephan & Mundy, 2006); however, there is no literature related to the current arts-based approach. Scholarship on the Western Sahara, and Maghreb[1] studies more generally, is limited and this work addresses a gap in the literature regarding the use of art as a strategy of nonviolent resistance in response to the failure of action by the international community in addressing the ongoing colonization and oppression of the Saharawi (Burke, 1998).

An array of creative works take place at the annual ARTifariti International Art and Human Rights Meeting in Western Sahara ("ARTifariti festival"), spanning individual and collaborative work that includes performance art, visual art, and time-based media. The artwork has included sculpture, ceramics, photography, portraits, graffiti art, land art, murals, poetry, calligraphy, screen printing, fashion design, installation, performance art as well as documentary filmmaking. The projects range from solo artist to participatory models of artmaking that can include adults, youth, and children from Camp Boujdour and surrounding camps. While some of the artmaking includes community members from Camp Boujdour, much of it resides within the grounds of the festival itself (since 2013 at the Saharawi Art School) resembling an artist's residency. The ARTifariti festival is included as an example of arts-based activism in Thompson's (2012) Living as form: Socially engaged art from 1991-2011. In this text, considered both an exhibition and compilation of socially engaged art from around the world, views of what constitutes art and the role of art in society are challenged. What makes this festival compelling for research purposes, we find, is its dual focus on arts and culture towards fostering human rights, its broader socio-political aims, and the fact that it takes place in a refugee camp.

First, an overview of the research approach is outlined, followed by the Western Sahara, Saharawi, and arts-based activism context. CCD and SEA are then discussed separately before moving into an analysis of the shared philosophical and practical components. The proposed framework for exploring and assessing arts-based activism in the field, drawing on CCD and SEA, is then used to do an initial analysis of the ARTifariti festival. Lastly, a critical analysis of the framework is presented with the intent that it will be further honed by academics and practitioners to examine the use of arts and culture as a tool for social change and political activism. The framework considers aspects such as inter- and intra- power dynamics, community development, political motivations, and the value of utilizing art as a nonviolent tool.

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[1] Also often spelled *Magrib*.

Research approach

As noted above, our primary goal for this paper is to construct a framework from which it becomes possible to assess arts and cultural development projects underway in the camps. We then apply the framework to one of these projects, the annual ARTifariti festival, as a means of understanding the value and efficacy of this tool. We draw on existing literature from the fields of Community Cultural Development (CCD) and Socially Engaged Art (SEA), relevant materials produced by ARTifariti[2], and ethnographic and practice-led fieldwork. Our interest and commitment to this work arises from our individual research and practice as well as our shared experiences in the Saharawi refugee camps at the ARTifariti festival. While in the camps it became apparent that many of our ideas, questions, and even experiences followed similar trajectories, yet the language and literature of our respective fields, Community Development and Art and Design Education, were not linked. Historically, community practitioners and artists have used the arts as a tool for social change. How might our respective professional literatures and practices work and inform each other? The number of artists and art collectives engaging communities to address social issues continues to grow, and at the same time community development literature increasingly highlights the role of the arts in working towards social transformation (Goldbard 2006, Cleveland & Shifferd 2010). The two approaches associated with arts-based activism we are most interested in exploring and expanding upon are - community cultural development (CCD) arising out of community development and socially engaged art (SEA) from the art world.

Using an interpretive lens, and in line with ethnographic research, fieldwork, participant observation, and interviews were conducted from 2013-2018 utilizing an etic approach. Understanding that "reality is socially constructed" the Saharawi viewpoint grounds this work (Willis et al. 2007, p. 220). The first author conducted informal and semi-structured interviews with Saharawi and international festival participants during the ARTifariti festival (November 2013), during the FiSahara film festival (April 2015) in Camp Dakhla, and with Spanish festival organizers in Spain via online and in-person interviews (June 2015)[3]. Informal conversations and clarifications continued with participants met at these festivals via phone and email (2013-2018). Informal interviews and participant observation were conducted by the second author during the ARTifariti festivals in November 2013 and November 2014. Additionally, the second author gleaned insights through practice-based research, as an artist and practitioner, by conducting three projects with the Camp Boujdour primary school and through the development and implementation of collaborative projects (2013-2014). As such, our multidisciplinary work brings together qualitative research methods commonly found in the social sciences with arts-

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[2] ARTifariti creates a catalogue and web-based material highlighting the work at each annual edition illustrating common themes woven into the intent of the work.

[3] All interviews contained the proper consent procedure approved by the Institutional Review Board for Protection of Human Subjects in Research (IRB) and oral/written consent.

based methods to suggest an initial framework for understanding art aimed at social change (Bradshaw-Heap 2012, Gray & Malins 2004). We then began to see emerging patterns, and outliers, mapped onto the CCD and SEA literature and practices. The ARTifariti festival is the space within which we explore, document, and analyze the arts practices in an attempt to build an initial framework for understanding and assessing arts for social change projects.

The Western Sahara and Saharawi context

The Western Sahara is in the Maghreb region of North Africa; bordered by Morocco to the north, Algeria to the northeast, Mauritania to the east and south, and includes coastline along the Atlantic Ocean to the west. Historically, various tribal groups in the region that spoke this shared dialect and led nomadic and pastoralist lifestyles, came together to become a distinct people known as the Saharawi, meaning "People of the Western Sahara" or "Saharan". Perhaps the best definition of "Saharawi[4]" or "Sahrawi" is Hassaniya Arabic -speaking peoples that claim membership to at least one of the social groupings found in and around the area known as the Western Sahara (Zunes and Mundy, 2010). Many consider the Saharawi to be the indigenous peoples of the Western Sahara. According to Omar (2008), "they developed their own sociopolitical forms of…government [that] were distinctly different from the system of emirates in neighbouring Mauritania and the monarchical dynasties in Morocco"(p. 45).

Through colonization efforts by Spain in the early twentieth century, the historically nomadic population was severely impacted when borderlines were arbitrarily drawn to create what was then known as the Spanish Sahara, now known as the Western Sahara. In response to Spanish colonialism, the Saharawi developed a representative government called the Polisario Front, to first resist Spanish control, then, to resist annexation by Morocco and Mauritania. During this protracted conflict an estimated 165,000 (Mundy, 2007) Saharawi fled to the desert outside of Tindouf, Algeria where refugee camps were eventually established.

[4] The Saharawi people themselves most often utilize "Saharawi" even though "Sahrawi" is utilized most often in English and "Saharaui" in Spanish. Therefore, we utilize the spelling most closely aligned with our understanding of how the people represent themselves.

Figure 1: Map of Western Sahara and surrounding region

Figure 1: As noted on the map above, the Moroccan occupied Western Sahara, located to the left of the Moroccan-built militarized wall, noted in red, encompasses most of the land area of the Western Sahara. The Polisario held territory is to the right of the berm, including the area considered their state-in-exile (the SADR) and refugee camps in SW Algeria. Retrieved from *The Economist*: https://www.economist.com/middle-east-and-africa/2010/11/04/morocco-v-algeria

The Moroccan and Polisario controlled territories are fractured by a 4,200 km long earthen berm guarded with active land mines and armed Moroccan troops. This Wall is referred to as the “Wall of Shame” by the Saharawi and their allies, with the Moroccan occupied area referred to as the "Occupied Zone" and Polisario held area as the "Liberated[5][6] Zone". Although the international community, including the UN, the African Union, and the International Court of Justice, provides support for the Saharawi people’s right to self-determination, two-thirds of the Western Sahara nonetheless remains occupied by Moroccan forces (Farah, 2010). Since the ceasefire the Saharawi people continue to appeal

[5] Also often called the “Free Zone” by the Saharawi and their allies.

[6] From the Moroccan perspective, operationalization of such terms (i.e. “occupied”) creates tensions and ramifications, as witnessed in the “firestorm” aimed at United Nations (UN) Secretary General Ban Ki-moon when he referred to Western Sahara as “occupied territory”. (Human Rights Watch, March 21, 2016, “Dispatches: A Firestorm Over the Word “Occupation” https://www.hrw.org/news/2016/03/21/dispatches-firestorm-over-word-occupation).

to the international political community to take action on human rights and self-determination. It is often referred to as the last colony in Africa.

A ceasefire-agreement was reached between the Polisario Front and Morocco after 16 years of active conflict (1975-1991). This left tens of thousands of Saharawi living in the refugee camps as well as many more who reside in Moroccan occupied Western Sahara. The camps were meant to be temporary, however the continued stalemate regarding a UN brokered call for a referendum to self-determination has resulted in the protracted use of the camps for over 40 years. Akin to the former Berlin Wall, movement between the two geographic areas is restricted and separated by a militarized berm/wall. Due to this, many families have not seen one another in over 40 years. The Saharawi struggle for self-determination crosses geographic spaces of exile, between those in the Moroccan occupied territories, the Liberated Zone including the refugee camps, and the diaspora. Current political circumstances "do not permit the construction of a 'normal' state…[Instead, the SADR is] built more explicitly at the symbolic level" (Pablo San Martin, 2005, p. 574). The Polisario have designed a means by which the entire displaced community envisions, enacts and embodies life of a state-in-exile.

Key to the prolonged occupation is the fact that the Western Sahara is resource-rich, including phosphates, fishing, and potential iron ore and offshore oil reserves (Omar, 2008). Due to the long-term lack of media coverage (and lack of political pressure to see international law upheld and self-determination recognized), the situation of the Saharawi is presented in the European Civil Protection and Humanitarian Aid Operations 2018 Algeria Factsheet as a "forgotten crisis". Human rights organizations (e.g. Amnesty International, Human Rights Watch, Robert F. Kennedy Human Rights[7], among others), journalists, and activists continue to document abuses in Moroccan occupied Western Sahara. Saharawi activist Aminatou Haidar states, "the campaign of violence against the Saharawi people…is taking place in total silence" (2007, p. 348). Currently there is an estimated 155,000 refugees distributed amongst five major camps spread over 2,000 square miles (Mundy, 2007; Fiddian-Qasmiyeh, 2011a). The five camps are named after the main cities the Saharawi were displaced from in (now Moroccan occupied) Western Sahara - Aaiun, Ausserd, Smara, Dakhla and Camp Boujdour (formerly the 27 February Camp). The strategic naming and geography of these camps were "constructed so that it may play a role in the preservation of a collective memory" (Errazzouki, 2014, n.p.).

Most resources to the camps are provided by UN agencies and international NGOs. NGOs do not play a direct role in "management, implementing projects, or distributing aid" (Mundy, 2007, p. 286), rather outside entities work through the Saharawi Red Crescent (SRC) or a relevant SADR ministry. The hostile environment of the desert prohibits any real self-sufficiency and the camp

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[7] See the *Western Sahara: Reported Human Rights Violations July 1, 2015 – December 31, 2015* (p. 1-2).

communities remain heavily dependent upon foreign aid for survival (Fiddian-Qasmiyeh, 2011b). Since 1991 there is an increasing small market/cash economy supplied by the diaspora, 'solidarity tourism', and small businesses including payments to community members by NGOs (Mundy, 2007). Since the ceasefire in 1991, the Saharawi people and their representative government, have engaged in "virtually no violent resistance" (Chikhi 2016), choosing instead to enact various nonviolent strategies. Apart from the arts-based strategy, there have been other examples of nonviolent protest such as a hunger strike by activist and a former Nobel peace prize nominee, Aminatou Haidar, (November 2009) and the Gdeim Izik protest camp (October 2010). Although largely ignored by the media, Noam Chomsky (among others) note the protest camp as the catalyst for the "Arab Spring".

Arts-based activism as a nonviolent strategy

The SADR has strategically built a governance structure, political alliances, and the support of international NGOs. In the last two decades there have been a growing number of international solidarity events and activities, many tied directly into the use of arts and culture. While continuing to effect change via international politics, the Polisario Front has increased its partnerships with arts-based NGOs in order to utilize arts as a nonviolent resistance strategy. The Ministry of Arts & Culture coordinates with local and international NGOs in utilizing nonviolent strategies as a means of highlighting the Saharawi situation and ongoing conflict as well as to share Saharawi culture with the world. Academics, practitioners, NGOs, faith-based organizations, artists, and others work with the Saharawi (people and government) to build upon this arts-based strategy, including the crafting and utilization of Saharawi art, music, oral history, poetry, film, among others. Some of these organizations, with participants from the camps and abroad, include: ARTifariti festival, FiSahara film festival[8], Sandblast Arts[9], Sahara Libre Wear (SLW)[10], Film, Art, and Music Schools for youth and adults, a Saharawi women's ceramic cooperative, and MOTIF Art Studio & Workshop[11]. The two largest annual events, ARTifariti and FiSahara, draw participants from the camps and abroad to artistically show solidarity and, through shared community experiences, visualize a brighter future for the Saharawi people. Camp Boujdour, the site of the ARTifariti festival, is the home of three post-secondary institutions: the Abidin Kaid Saleh Audiovisual School, the Saharawi National Music School, and the Saharawi Art School. The existence of these three schools illustrates the value this community places on the arts. Our focus is ARTifariti, a festival with the stated mission to bring artists together from around the globe, to "promote intercultural relations" via an "interchange of experiences and skills between local and

[8] http://fisahara.es
[9] http://www.sandblast-arts.org
[10] http://saharalibrewear.blogspot.com
[11] A community arts space in Camp Smara created by Saharawi artist Mohamed Sulaiman Labat.

international artists," garner international support for the Saharawi cause and to "promote the development of the people through their cultural patrimony" (ARTifariti website, About ARTifariti).

Arts-based activism as a nonviolent strategy towards social transformation finds a home in multiple disciplines including art, education, activism, visual anthropology, social work and community development (Thompson 2012, Bishop 2012a, Goldbard 2006, Lacy 1994). As a strategy, arts-based activism enables the exploration of values and culture via the arts, co-constructed and shared across a community. Through this sharing and exploration of symbolic meaning with others, achieving solidarity and praxis within the community and externally for social change, is aimed for, along with the fostering of individual and collective agency and empowerment. A variety of terms are used to describe or name various manifestations of this approach including arts-based activism, community cultural development, socially engaged art, culture-based development, cultural democracy, liberation arts, community arts, participatory arts, and arts-based community development. The strategy has been globally utilized and theorized by practitioners and academics worldwide with varying degrees of success. This work is not without critique and the barriers to fostering social change through the arts are significant. The question then becomes, "how to constitute an active alternative" that thoughtfully takes these challenges into account (Bradey & Esche, 2004, p. 24). Critical to this work is an understanding that we need to move away from the model of "doing things for people and towards doing things in solidarity with them" (Quinn, Ploof, & Hochtritt 2012, p. xxi). In the following section, we first review the literature in CCD and SEA separately in order to understand and situate how our respective disciplines make sense of the role of the arts for social change.

Community cultural development

Many attempts have been made to define and redefine the exact term that is meant to capture the process of exploring the connection between art and social change. According to Crane (2011), the distinguishing factor between all of the terms involved in arts for social change/cultural development realm is assessing whether arts and culture are the means or the end. Therein lays the difference between if the community developer is using the arts or creating the arts (p. 2). The term *community cultural development* ("CCD") was conceptualized and operationalized by Australian arts organizations in the late 1980's, however the term is still ubiquitous. CCD is defined by the Manitoba Arts Council as "the range of activities undertaken by artists in collaboration with other community members to express identity, concerns, and aspirations through the arts, while building the community's capacity for action and change" (Manitoba Arts Council website, accessed August 5, 2016). In *New Creative Community*, Goldbard (2006) describes CCD identically, with the addition of "communications media", and a clarification that the building of community capacity is specifically the building of "cultural capacity" (p. 242). For Goldbard (2006), CCD includes the following meanings: *community* refers to the

participatory collaboration between artists and other community members; *cultural* refers to the broad nature of culture that works across a multitude of expressive tools and forms, inside and outside of traditional notions of art and artmaking, ranging from traditional visual and performing arts to oral history, digital media, and other less formal elements of activism that incorporate the arts; and, lastly, *development* "suggests the dynamic nature of cultural action, with its ambitions of conscientization and empowerment, linking it to other enlightened community development practices, especially those incorporating principles of self-development rather than development imposed from above" (p. 21-22).

In both physical and virtual terms, marginalized communities frequently lack the same space for cultural expression as other more privileged communities (ibid., p. 65). CCD aims to promote equality of opportunity among groups and communities and to expand active and inclusive dialogue. By doing so, CCD supports "the right of excluded communities to assert their place in cultural life, to give expression to their own cultural values and histories" (ibid., p. 51). Opening up public space for diverse dialogue and encouraging a multitude of differing community perspectives has the potential to "to foster a deeper solidarity and mutual understanding amongst individuals and groups" (ibid, p. 52-53). Such engagement with, and critical examination of, what is valuable to preserve and create as a representation of a particular culture is "a kind of reclamation work…[where] participants [are] discovering and claiming their own ethnic, gender, and class identities as a way to recast themselves as makers of history rather than passive objects" (ibid, p. 72). Realities that are too often suppressed, denied or silenced through shame, by more dominant narratives, are surfaced through the work. This reclamation of cultural knowledge through a variety of formats (audio, video, artistic) or through locally inspired and guided programs perpetuates intergenerational knowledge transfer and cultural continuance. The projects are built around learning experiences which are designed to teach art skills hand-in-hand with critical thinking skills, "thought leading to action" (ibid, p. 62).

While there is not a universally accepted framework for CCD, those working in the field have identified general unifying principles that guide their work, a few examples include:

- Culture is an effective crucible for social transformation, one that can be less polarizing and create deeper connections than other social-change arenas.
- Cultural expression is a means of emancipation, not the primary end in itself; the process is as important as the product.
- Artists have roles as agents of transformation that are more socially valuable than mainstream art world roles-and equal in legitimacy.

(Adapted from Goldbard 2006).

In a 2002 study, Sonn, Drew, & Kasat found that CCD offered a number of individual and community-level outcomes. Individual benefits included: development of personal networks, enhanced feelings of being part of a growing community, opportunities for dialogue to break down barriers, the creation of shared understandings, and a broader understanding of culture and the potential of culture for community building. Perceived benefits for the community included: creation of a shared vision, creation of common goals and purpose (expressed in the cultural plan), enhanced awareness of community resources., and a formation of partnerships to achieve the goals of the plan (Sonn, Drew, & Kasat, p. 4).

Socially engaged art

Like CCD, SEA practices aim "to generate new forms of relations in the space of everyday life" (Schlemmer, 2017, p. 10), moving community to engage, create and use culture as a means of social change. Artists working within these modalities either choose to co-create their work with a specific audience or propose critical interventions within existing social systems that inspire debate or catalyze social exchange (Helguera, 2011). Through the creative facilitation of dialogue and exchange in the art making process, as well as willingness on the artist's part for "active listening and empathetic identification," meaning occurs and is developed "in the exchange between the artist and viewers, ultimately affecting the identities of both" (Garber, 2005, p. 4). It is often assumed that by activating the audience through the arts, the work also operates as "a drive to emancipate [individuals or groups] from a state of alienation induced by the dominant ideological order - be this consumer capitalism, totalitarian socialism, or military dictatorship" (Bishop, 2012a, p. 275). This idea of emancipation is directly linked to CCD, wherein the community, through engagement with the arts, has the opportunity to build capacity for action and change. Building this kind of capacity is referenced directly in Artists Proof Studio's (APS) education program in Johannesburg, South Africa as one example. Through coursework in professional printmaking the program aims to develop "well-rounded artists-as-citizens: professional practitioners, community leaders, and empowered and self-sustaining individuals" via a rigorous artistic program (*Artists Proof Studio mission,* 2017). In organizations such as APS, the "utilitarian or practical aspect" of the artmaking "gives a sense of purpose" (Foster, 2004, p. 172) and there is an intention to consider "the ethical and the everyday" (p. 193), ultimately to make one feel versus only to think (Thompson, 2012) in relation to identified social issues.

Bishop (2012a) describes SEA as working across two axes. The first position, the constructivist gesture, is "based on a humanist ethics" (p. 275). What matters is that the art offers solutions to some posed problem, short-, mid-, or long-term. This is the lens we might find being used in CCD. In the second position, what artists, curators and critics might work with, "judgments are based on a sensible response to the artist's work, both in and beyond its original context" (p. 276). Ethics matter less as "art is understood continually to throw the established

systems of value into question… devising new languages with which to represent and question social contradiction" (p. 276), languages grounded in aesthetics. In SEA artists consciously value the "intertwining aesthetic and social implications of arts practices" (Schelmmer, 2017, p. 16) seeing both as critical to the project. Across both of these approaches is the understanding that the SEA artist's and CCD practitioner's task is to help foster community consciousness by working towards collaboration "oriented toward social change [and] by providing practical tools for activists" (Goldbard, 2006 p. 78). Such practitioners, "singly or in teams, place their artistic and organizing skills at the service of the emancipation and development of an identified community" (ibid, p. 140). Whereas in CCD authenticity is viewed as "reciprocity in the process" and is defined as voluntary participation that is "co-directed by participants and professional practitioners" (ibid, p. 149), in SEA, participants may or may not be involved across the process, from concept to finished product/event. In both approaches, however, artists can span the spectrum from formally trained to community artists, and all should be seen as legitimate and worthy actors within the process.

While there are examples of artists and activists utilizing arts and culture as a resistance and activism strategy, these approaches remain an underutilized opportunity in the community cultural development realm as well as in the area of activism especially in geographic areas of long-term oppression (Shank, 2005; McGrath & Brennan, 2011). Moreover, many artists, curators, critics and cultural workers of CCD and SEA recognize that in spite of this continued growth in practice, there is a lack of a "shared critical language and comprehensive historical documentation" (Bishop, 2012a, p. 8). The tension between the two disciplines - is it art? Is it community development? - is not easily resolved making research and critique of this work a challenge. It is important that we find ways to gain a "critical distance" on the question of the impact of the art practice noting that, to date, much of the work isn't assessed or critiqued fully in either the sociological/community or artistic/aesthetics lenses (Bishop, 2012a). Moreover, much of the literature about SEA and CCD is grounded in a U.S./European/Western perspective. These perspectives do not always take into account the nuances of other ways of knowing, being, and doing especially in Indigenous, marginalized, oppressed, assimilated, and/or refugee populations that may hold differing value systems or community and individual repercussions from historical and ongoing trauma. When working alongside such a community it is paramount to understand the historical context and to continually reflect on positionality and cultural awareness including protocols, taboo or triggering topics, etc.

By bringing together the CCD and SEA lenses, we are able to begin to sketch out the kinds of pedagogical practices and individual and community benefits of an arts-based activism strategy. With an examination of the underlying motivations of the projects we come closer to formulating criteria for critique as well as to better understand the social function of this work (Schlemmer, 2017).

Bringing it together: a proposed framework for understanding arts-based activism

The literature tells us that understanding the impact of arts-based activism, whether under the umbrella of CCD or SEA can be difficult. We are often "dependent upon first-hand experience" (Bishop, 2012a, p. 6) to fully understand it and "very few observers are in a position to take such an overview of long-term participatory projects" (p.6). Any effort that focuses solely on demonstrable outcomes will often fall short due the aforementioned limitations and factors such as the contested terrain of what defines quality in art and the use of positivist approaches to assessment of arts-based activist projects and their impact on individuals and communities. For Bishop (2012b), the most powerful or striking SEA projects "unseat all of the polarities on which this discourse is founded (individual/collective, author/spectator, active/passive, real life/art) but not with the goal of collapsing them" (p. 40). We too see the value and importance of the artistic and social being held in tension. The differences that exist between the two are often due to disciplinary norms, practices, and expectations even as intersections exist. There is something inherently subversive and lively about an art genre and community development practice that resists easy categorization and perhaps reflects our times and the impulse towards dismantling disciplinary silos. Citizens linked by common interests and collective activity can make art, participate in public debate and be agents of social change.

Goldbard (2006) and Thompson (2012) provide us with a framing of important *principles and practices* in the work of CCD and SEA, Sonn et al. (2002) addresses *outcomes and benefits*, while Helguera (2011) focuses on delineating the *pedagogy*. This exploratory framework draws across these principles, outcomes, benefits, and pedagogy, grounded in the literature of CCD and SEA. The framework emerged through the process of literature review, data collection, and analysis, a common practice when utilizing an interpretive research approach (Willis et al. 2007). We look to specific examples and observations drawn from our research and participation in the ARTifariti festival to explicate the criteria and to delve into its usefulness as a tool for understanding the processes and impact of the festival. Rather than a rigid categorical assessment tool, the framework below is meant to inspire additional contextually- appropriate exploration and dialogue in the broad areas noted.

Table 1: Proposed CCD/SEA framework

PROPOSED FRAMEWORK
Intended Goals and Audience • What are the (stated and unstated) goals of the various groups (organization/collective, community, local government/political influence, external actors)? • Who is the intended audience? ***Pedagogy, Meaning, and Participation*** • What are the intentions and meanings behind the art forms and practices produced? • What kind of socially engaged pedagogy is enacted? • Is it community focused? • Have more community members become engaged? ***Collaborative Engagement, Impact, and Action*** • Has community dialogue been expanded? • Have more external actors become engaged? • Has international dialogue been expanded? • Are there collaborative projects between the community and the artists/artwork (e.g. collectives, projects, exhibitions, blogs, films, etc.)? • Does the artmaking and dialogue translate into desired action? • What are the salient aspects (and appropriate representations) of culture, lifeways, and traditional ecological knowledge the community wants to preserve and perpetuate? ***Power Dynamics*** • Who is included/excluded? • Who is allowed to speak? • Who is listened to? • Is the work vulnerable to cooptation or instrumentalization?

Applying the framework to the ARTifariti festival

Using the framework noted above we will provide our initial analysis of the ARTifariti festival. Additional interviews and fieldwork will provide future work with additional depth.

Intended goals and audience

Consideration of the official/stated, and perhaps unofficial/unstated, intentions and goals is essential to understanding and assessing the impact of arts-based projects. The Spanish NGO, "Association of Friendship and Solidarity with the Sahrawi People of Seville" (AAPSS), headquartered in Seville, Spain, established ARTifariti in 2007. ARTifariti was initially guided by a belief in nonviolent strategies of resistance, the recognition of the power of art and artists to affect change and a desire to address human rights issues, specifically the "Wall of Shame" (in-person communication with organizers, 2013). The festival is seen as an annual direct action that is analogous to "Bienal de La Habana" in Cuba or the "Encuentros de Arte de Genualguacil" in Málaga. The festival operates as a nonviolent challenge to the Moroccan regime and is about artistic encounters for international and local artists. The inspiration for ARTifariti originated from learning about other nonviolent resistance movements, such as the Zapatista in Mexico, and from a core belief in the transformational power of art, such as the *Guernica* by Picasso (In-person interview with festival organizer by first author, translated, June 2014).

As noted on the website, "ARTifariti is an appointment with artistic practices as a tool to vindicate Human Rights; the right of the people to their land, their culture, their roots and their freedom. It is an annual encounter of public art to reflect on creation, and society, and a point of contact for artists interested in the capacity of art to question and transform the reality" (ARTifariti website, About ARTifariti). ARTifariti serves "as a main outlet for promoting visual arts within the camps and beyond with the intent to serve as a mediator between the public and the Sahrawis (spelling in original), providing mechanisms or reciprocal dialogue and expression" (Hamdi & Peraita, 2013, p. 145). During the festival, the Polisario coordinates housing, transportation, and security. They have pledged support to,

> promote ARTifariti, as a collective action against the Moroccan Wall of Shame that fractures Western Sahara in two, separating Saharawi families between occupation and exile. These encounters are a tool to reclaim the rights of individuals and peoples to their land, their culture, their roots and their freedom. (ARTifariti website, Current Edition, accessed November 2013).

Participants from outside the camps have the opportunity to live with a Saharawi family and learn about the Saharawi culture and political situation. A salient overarching goal is to proliferate the Saharawi message to the "outside"

(term used in the camps to describe anyone that is foreign to the camps, i.e. international visitors), using arts as a less polarizing way to communicate to a broader audience the Saharawi situation and to expand solidarity networks internationally. Ultimately, the purpose of arts-based activism in this case, is to capitalize on the intersection between the arts and peace-building through increased awareness, education, and activism by the people that come in contact with the art and are moved to take action on behalf of the Saharawi and the human rights issues of long-term occupation and oppression.

The intended audience is twofold. At the festival, the audience is local and international artists who gather to create individual and collaborative art at the Saharawi Art School in Camp Boujdour. A secondary audience is comprised of individuals and organizations that learn about the work through art exhibitions that highlight the event, catalogues, movies, other various events and performances beyond the boundaries of the camps. Bishop (2012a) notes that an important aspect of successful socially engaged art is its impact on secondary audiences. Viewing this work via a SEA lens, audience is a critical component to understanding impact. Whereas in much socially engaged artwork the audience exists in the moment of the performance or making of the art, ARTifariti excels at bringing their festival to a broader, secondary audience. Artists are chosen based on proposals that have explicit social and political motivations meant to generate discussion and to call attention to the conflict. As artistic materials are scarce in the camps, artists must work with the materials they bring with them from outside or materials located on-site. Many artists use scrap metal from the war, natural landscapes and materials (such as the berm, sun, dirt, sand, rocks, spent artillery), women's melhfa's (traditional women's clothing), and other materials that reflect the current reality of the Saharawi situation.

Photo: Saharawi artist painting mural, a woman in a melhfa in front of the SADR flag, on the inside wall of the newly built Saharawi Art School (2013, taken by first author).

Pedagogy, meaning, and participation

The festival originally was held far from the camps in Tifariti (located in the Polisario controlled territories) where only the Saharawi and visiting artists participated. Since 2013, the festival has taken place at the Saharawi Art School in Camp Boujdour. While the festival is more accessible to the broader community as compared to earlier editions held in Tifariti, the Art School was built on the far edge of Camp Boujdour, which is at a distance from the other camps, homes, and schools making it difficult to integrate a large portion of the population. Referring to Helguera (2011), we see multiple forms of pedagogy being employed. Based on documentary evidence of the festivals over time and our own participation in 2013 and 2014, it appears that a significant number of artists have come to the festival to create stand-alone or artist collective work where there is nominal participation. The work is reflective of the Saharawi situation and then asks the viewer to contemplate the work in a reflective manner. Artists doing work that is less participatory include 'outsiders' and the Saharawi artists themselves. This art often takes the form of sculptures, paintings, installations, and performances. In other pieces, artists ask the visitor to complete a simple task that contributes to the creation of a larger work, conceptualized by the artist or art collective, an example of directed participation. Art education is a strong component of each festival. As an example, a group of Algerian art and design professors that have been involved

in the festival since its inception, provide workshops for artists in the community.

Many projects seek to promote social participation and to reflect the daily-lived reality of the community. Other overarching themes focus on the need for peace and a collective ideal of universal humanity and identity as well as to highlight democratic nations who fail to address unjust policies and violations of international law. Oral histories and poetry are being documented for cultural continuance and artist produced portraits constructed to reflect memories of times, places, and people that were "disappeared"[12] (Hamdi & Peraita, 2013, p. 97; Shared Roots and ArtsAction Group, 2014). Furthermore, artists, academics, and other cultural workers are invited to experience the lived reality of the displaced community in the camps by living with families, and to then share their experiences with a broader audience upon leaving. Many of the international artists involved in the festival consider themselves contemporary artists engaged in work that is both personal and that also addresses pressing social issues. This convergence across approaches is continually being formed, redefined, and enacted in the camps. When we look at the literature it's easy to understand the shifting or fluid position of ARTifariti. It is an arts festival led by a team of artists and civilians that continues to develop and define itself in relation to the context of the camps, which in turn suggests an understanding of international development context as well as the role of the arts in transformation. Most people that attend ARTifariti are international attendees/artists, however the festival also includes a growing number of Saharawi artists. Since the opening of the Saharawi Art School, there are more younger artists, many who are experimenting across the visual arts, music and media. In terms of Saharawi artist engagement, there has been an increase in those interested in attending ARTifariti and the Art School. According to a Saharawi artist,

> ARTifariti has a role in [the increased numbers] and also the local artists because we're not just making art we are also making art and displaying it and sharing it. There is not a very big number [of local artists], it starts gradually, but there are more and more students that want to go to the Art School and have some sort of education in art. I've seen students attending the Art School in Boujdour and I heard the Director saying that all the seats now are occupied, and more young people are interested in learning art….the Art School is not just a place for you to learn but also a place for interaction. You get to meet different

[12] As noted in the *U.S. Department of State Country Report on Human Rights Practices 1993 - Western Sahara*, (30 January 1994), "After years of denying that Sahrawis were imprisoned…the Government of Morocco released 300 such prisoners in 1991…Amnesty International expressed concern, however, that hundreds of Sahrawis arrested by Moroccan security forces between 1975 and 1988 remain 'disappeared'." Available at: https://www.refworld.org/docid/3ae6aa313c.html.

> people, not just international, on a daily basis you find artists. (In-person interview with Saharawi artist by first author, May 2015)

There has also been an increase in external actor engagement more recently as indicated by the increase in numbers of international artists and academics applying to the festival. Although there is growing participation and engagement, the art making process as currently guided by individual artists (predominantly international artists) can be isolating to community members that are unable to participate in the creation of the artwork and who may not fully understand the perceived "elite/educated" artist's intent (in-person interview with Saharawi artist by first author, May 2015).

Collaborative engagement, impact, and action

Through ARTifariti, more community members and external actors (artists, academics, human rights advocates) become engaged in dialogue during the festival and afterwards through social media and additional solidarity events and projects. As an example of the radiating impacts of festival attendance, this article was made possible through the rich information obtained and connections made with the festival organizers, local artists, and international attendees. These experiences led to knowledge of the collaborative efforts of the Saharawi and internationally-based academics/advocates such as Juan Carlos Gimeno Martin (documenting oral histories), Violeta Ruano Posada (ethnomusicology), Danielle Smith (Sandblast Arts), Pedro Pinto Leite (human rights law), among others, and other events such as the FiSahara Film Festival and the Sahara Marathon. In 2013, faculty and students in an "Arts and Human Rights" course at Adelphi University partnered with educators in Camp Boujdour to design and engage in coursework "around overarching concepts including identity, international humanitarian law, and arts as a tool for resistance" grounded in the Saharawi context (Maguire, 2017, p. 52). As a culminating project a festival was held at Adelphi with a live Skype feed from the film school in Camp Boujdour. A series of arts and cultural experiences were organized, informed by the coursework and ongoing semester-long sessions with the Saharawi students. The Adelphi community was introduced to Saharawi culture, the ongoing political conflict "as well as communicated, via the arts, solidarity with their peers in the film school" (p. 52). Additionally, Shared Roots[13], a social networking site for the sharing of family histories, along with ArtsAction Group[14], filmed a series of interviews with camp residents regarding their family histories in 2014. The resulting documentary, "When the

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[13] http://www.sharedroots.net

[14] https://www.artsaction.org/western-sahara.html

Sun Came for Them", has gone on to be screened at human rights and documentary festivals around the world[15].

There are a multitude of examples of the global connections and projects inspired by ARTifariti participants and they are growing with every annual festival. The international reach and impact is illustrated via multiple avenues including published works distributed outside of the camps and other exhibitions such as: Robin Kahn's work "Dining in Refugee Camps: The Art of Saharawi Cooking" at Documenta (13) in Kassel, Germany and Federico Guzman's "Tuiza: Las Culturas de la Jaima at the Museo Nacional Centro de Arte Reina Sofia" in Madrid, Spain. Another example of international collaboration is American artist, Mel Chin's work on the Solar Backed Currency. Chin went to the camps as part of his Fundred Project, where he went on to propose the first solar-energy-backed currency to "make a conceptual link between climate change and the inhabitants of Western Sahara…He hopes the project will both improve life for them and show the world the feasibility of renewable energy" (Irwin, 2015). In 2013 both Ahmad Bukhari, the former representative of the UN and Mohamed Yeslem Beisat, the ambassador to the United States for the Western Sahara people, have become advisors and creative collaborators on the project. In 2014, the Mauritanian ambassador confirmed, "that the country would buy any energy offered" (Chin, 2014). As of 2018, the project is still under consideration. Chin's artwork and others like it are co-constructed with the community across concept, process, and final product.

[15] Perhaps the most well-known film is "Sons of the Clouds: The Last Colony" starring Javier Bardem.

Photo: Sahara Libre Wear (SLW) screen printed design, displayed at the SLW workspace (2013, taken by first author).

Some of the projects extend beyond attendance at a single festival. Built on an initial workshop creating silkscreened graphic designs visualizing the Saharawi situation, Alonso Gil, a founding member of ARTifariti, has gone on to co-create Sahara Libre Wear (SLW) with Camp Boujdour community members. SLW is now a camp-based, women-run printmaking studio and store where clothes and accessories are designed, printed and sold. It is one of the few income generating businesses across the camps. As covered in various sections above, work created in the festival is shared across multiple platforms with the intention of fostering a transformation in the Saharawi situation. In our experience, most people (in the United States especially) are unaware of the refugee camps or the history, therefore subsequent exhibitions and presentations of the work provide a way of informing a broader global audience. The festival organizers (from Spain) note they have seen international growth in the number of art exhibitions, articles, blogs, etc. created as well as increased diversity of attendees at the festival. Some economic benefit is gained through the selling of artwork, clothing, and t-shirts made in the camps to people that visit, such as aid workers and festival attendees. ARTifariti, through the Saharawi School of Art, teaches the young people professional vocational training linked to employment. The same is true for the SLW collective. These modes of creative production combined with the visiting artists who participate in the festival, can be viewed as what Mundy (2007) refers to as “solidarity tourism” (p. 289) and provides an alternative economy not directly linked to outright NGO and United Nations support.

Local community dialogue, however, appears to take a secondary position to the broader international conversations and impact. But this is expected to change

when the administration and curating of the festival is fully handed over to the Saharawi Art School. Even so, the interaction between Saharawi artists and those from outside the camps appears to be beneficial for the local artists. In order to improve their practice, Saharawi artists attend ARTifariti to receive instruction and to develop new techniques and ideas. According to a Saharawi artist,

> I come to ARTifariti to do artwork in a very convenient and suitable atmosphere. I'm surrounded with artists; surrounded with just the kind of atmosphere and the space that would encourage more creativity and development and my vision towards arts. And also through the interaction I get feedback and ideas from the participants, it's a very amazing atmosphere for interaction (In-person interview with Saharawi artist by first author, April 2015, translated).

These artists learn from those coming in from outside the camps and they are able to share their artwork, culture and message to people from around the world. According to a Saharawi artist,

> We would like to use our arts as a message and a medium to communicate with the different cultures. We would like them to have an exchange taking place here, there is much we can learn from these [other] cultures and much that we can share with them. ARTifariti and the different art activities are an opportunity to shed the light on local talents and has brought interest. It also helped us learn more through the exchange and sharing with the international artists. I'm glad this opportunity served the cause, in terms of spreading the word through international artists, but it also provided the opportunity for local artists to exchange, experiment and learn from the international artists and participants. (In-person interview with Saharawi artist by first author, April 2015, translated)

According to another Saharawi artist,

> [ARTifariti and artmaking] is important because I believe many people from the outside came to know about us through art. Some people may not be involved in political activities, but they have a tendency to like art and be involved in it so it's through art we made them know about us. (In-person interview with Saharawi artist by first author, November 2013, translated)

In addition to the artists actively creating works during the festival, the allies that attend can include academics, human rights advocates, lawyers, and others. Academics provide education sessions on various topics related to arts-based activism strategies and engage in scholarly work, which include conference

presentations and publications. There are educational sessions based upon relevant political and legal practices, such as human rights lawyer Pedro Pinto Leite (former Secretary International Platform of Jurists for East Timor), sharing his work on the process through which self-determination was achieved for the peoples of East Timor[16]. ARTifariti provides the opportunity for building, maintaining, and extending networks. Many participants, upon returning home, have found ways of furthering the international political and human rights dialogue; for example, acting as petitioners at the Fourth Committee (Special Political and Decolonization) at the UN, or supporting Saharawi artist efforts such as the MOTIF Art Studio & Workshop.

Cultural knowledge, based upon a place-based history in the area of the Western Sahara, is being lost as the Saharawi are unable to continue these lifeways within either the liberated or occupied territory[17], and there is a growing diaspora community. First-hand knowledge is passing away the younger generations lose the oral traditions of their forefathers. Many of the younger Saharawi have either left the camps to live abroad or have lived in the camps their entire lives and do not relate to the traditional Saharawi culture as it was prior to the establishment of the camps. This loss of traditional culture, both in real-time as well as in the collective memory of the younger generation is of great concern. Unfortunately, the traumatic experience of dispossession, exile, oppression, assimilation, occupation, and colonization is familiar to many indigenous communities globally. ARTifariti operates as a tool for fostering international solidarity and community building but also serves to help protect the culture of the Saharawi by focusing on the collection and continuation of oral histories using traditional poetry and music. Art projects at ARTifariti reflect the need for remembrance and for preservation working with narratives, objects, and documentable elements of the Saharawi culture to combat the erasure of Saharawi identity. There have been multiple preservation projects, including digitally cataloguing Rabuni's War Museum objects as well as oral stories from the community in order to document tangible and symbolic proof of the lived experience unique to the Saharawi people. Art is utilized to honor traditional knowledge and culture and to connect the generations, as indicated by the quote below,

> Art…engages people on a different level - it helps to keep the Saharawi identity alive - it communicates this message to the world and humanity. We learn from others and share with them. Through arts and culture we have expressed our will, but it has also strengthened our community. (Interview by phone with Saharawi artist by first author, April 2015).

[16] Arts, K. and Leite, P.P. eds., 2007. *International law and the question of Western Sahara*. International Platform of Jurists for East Timor (IPJET).

[17] The "Liberated Zone" is littered with active landmines left over from the war between the Polisario and Moroccan military.

As noted by the quote below, some Saharawi artists use their art as a way to perpetuate and revive Saharawi culture and traditions,

> Politically speaking, Morocco is attacking the roots of the Saharawi culture and the identity, and cutting them, so my art is helping to revive the Saharawi culture and traditions. (In-person interview with Saharawi artist by first author, May 2015).

One example is an artist that uses geographic places described in oral history (in the form of poetry) as the scenes of his paintings to capture nostalgic remembrance to those places. The collection of oral histories, traditional ecological knowledge, and poetry is of pressing concern. Increasingly, Saharawi artists in the camps are engaged in using various artistic methods introduced by the artists from the festival for preserving and creating Saharawi cultural representations. The research and collection of oral histories and poetry between the Saharawi and Spanish academic Juan Carlos Gimeno Martin is one example of current efforts to document and perpetuate traditional cultural knowledge.

We assert that the ARTifariti festival, as well as the other arts-based strategies being utilized (film, music, etc.), are strategically configured within the scope of activism and nationalism. Additionally, these efforts are helping to revive cultural knowledge, as well as exerting influence that intersects, and potentially influences, more 'traditional' expressions of culture. Ruano Posada and Solana Moreno (2015), provide a musico-historical analysis of the strategic utilization of music as activism over the past forty years, noting music has "played a central role in advocating for the vision of an independent Sahrawi nation, both locally and beyond…[whereby] the Sahrawi movement for national liberation has crafted a revolutionary musical style that, based on a symbolic interplay of 'modernity' and 'tradition', became identifiable as uniquely Sahrawi and representative of the Sahrawi nation"(p. 40-41). As noted below, in discussions of state instrumentalization, more analysis would be beneficial to better understand the intersectionality of such elements in the use of arts-based activism in this context.

Power dynamics

There are multiple power dynamics at play. There are obvious postcolonial ties in this situation which includes a Spanish NGO, a former Spanish colony, the utilization of the arts as state instrumentalization by the Polisario, and ongoing repressive assimilation efforts by Morocco. In Aspects of Power in Alliances, Davis (2010) notes the various types of power relationships that can exist when one partner of an alliance has a history tied to colonization. In this case, Spain as the former colonizer and the formerly colonized the Saharawi. In such a scenario it becomes important to examine the factors surrounding how the power dynamics manifest in practice with and between the various

stakeholders. Paternalism is one potential type of relationship where the external partners may “adopt a position of superiority by assuming they know what is best” for the community (p. 5). These types of actions and attitudes can be subtle and take place unknowingly.

When the “Association of Friendship and Solidarity with the Sahrawi People of Seville” (AAPSS) directors first met with the Polisario there was resistance to arts perceived to be rooted in European conceptions which differed from Saharawi traditions (i.e. poetry, oral traditions). At that time, the arts were viewed as a “luxury” they couldn’t afford or seen as “entertainment” in the midst of the daily struggle to survive and to realize self-determination (personal communication, 2013). The arts festival has since become a joint effort between the Saharawi and the AAPSS. Prior to 2014, the festival organization, planning, and recruitment of international artists and participants has predominantly been done by the AAPSS. According to the ARTifariti planning committee, the intent had always been to hand over the festival (planning, organization, execution) to the Saharawi (presumably the Ministry of Arts and Culture) once the festival had reached a certain point of development. In line with this stated goal, the 2014 festival was curated for the first time by the Saharawi Art School personnel. A complete handoff was slated to take place for the 2017 festival (personal communication with festival organizer by second author, 2015) and is still in transition (personal communication with festival organizer by first author, 2018). Overall, the question of who is included/excluded is more nuanced and difficult to assess at this point in our research, especially as it relates to the Saharawi community. These findings would need to be supported by conversations with more local community members in order to better understand their views of the festival.

While we can show the benefits of the festival as expressed by Saharawi artists and community members interviewed, there is little doubt that the festival is ‘vulnerable’ to state instrumentalization. This is in some sense inevitable as the festival, as with all NGO projects, works through the Saharawi Red Crescent (SRC) or a relevant SADR ministry, in this case the Ministry of Arts and Culture. The festival’s primary mission of supporting the Saharawi cause is in line with the Polisario vision of utilizing the arts and culture as a tool for nonviolent resistance. This is unlike similar work that might be undertaken by a community resisting or protesting specific state actions. It can be construed that the kind of relationships that exist in the camps might impact the work created, including a kind of self/collective censorship. Further research needs to be done to assess these ideas.

With Spain’s withdrawal Morocco became the new ‘centre of empire’. The ability for Saharawi artists in the camps to freely express creativity, to feel “heard” by international attendees, and to perpetuate unique cultural knowledge and representations is made all the more important due to the forced assimilation currently occurring in occupied Western Sahara (Deubel 2015). As noted by Murphy & Omar (2013),

> The Moroccan authorities have flooded the territory with thousands of Moroccan settlers, thus converting the indigenous population into a minority in its own country. The Moroccan authorities have also engaged in a policy of "moroccanization," which is aimed at obliterating or supplanting Sahrawi culture and heritage. Moroccan authorities continue to ban the use of hassaniya, the Sahrawi dialect, or any display of Sahrawi distinct culture, while encouraging the use of Moroccan dialects in the education system and public institutions. (p. 354)

The aspect of "who is listened to" usually implies intra- or inter- group power dynamics, however in this case it extends to the international community's collective silence on the ongoing conflict and refugee situation. As noted by Farah (2009), the SADR is "a nation in exile with [n]either peace nor war on the horizon"(p.88). This sentiment of the frustration associated with prolonged waiting was mentioned numerous times during our conversations. The recent increase in access to electronic media (internet, cell phones) in the camps has provided for increased representation and creativity to create content and to connect to a larger audience. As noted by Deubel (2015), these "digital mediascapes have created new nodes of interaction" (p. 7). The feelings of isolation and disconnection, however, are still a real challenge in the daily lives of the Saharawi. The presence of outsiders to the camps provides space for all parties to share, exchange and learn in a multicultural atmosphere. For the Saharawi that live in the camps year-round, this doesn't often happen on the same scale. Indeed, as noted by one Saharawi artist regarding the impact of people coming to the camps during the festival, "At the festival, it isn't like everyone's daily life [in the camps], you actually get someone to listen to you, that doesn't happen often" (informal communication by phone with first author, April 2015). Given the real and virtual distance at which this community lives, the importance of these lived connections and meetings can't be overstated. Art, and arts-based activism, provides a platform for active Saharawi participation that can combat feelings of frustration and powerlessness, as noted by a Saharawi artist below,

> Through music, poetry, music, [oral] history I hope we can change our image of being simply refugee's…looked at as castaways into the desert, disconnected, a passive people that things are "being done to". I am building something, I am creating!…Art can use the little that we have to create something beautiful, and useful; if you just live as a refugee- if you don't have a meaning to your life-It could be very easy to lose hope and get discouraged- it is not easy- it has been 40 years- not days, weeks or months- but 40 years! It's not easy to believe that art can bring the change you want. It's not easy to keep people waiting for a resolution. But still people try to express themselves, to communicate- they still believe in nonviolence and peaceful expression. (Interview by phone with Saharawi artist by first author, April 2015)

Conclusion

Literature from the disciplines of CCD and SEA is presented as a way of articulating the shared interests, ideas, and a critical language regarding arts-based activism. We draw from both to delineate a working framework in which we can explore and better understand the arts-based strategy being employed. The theoretical grounding of the framework grew out of SEA/CCD literature, and was informed by insights gleaned from ethnographic and practice-led research. These contextual insights were used to add (and reframe) certain aspects of SEA/CCD that wouldn't otherwise have been included. The context did inform the framework, and the framework informed how the data was presented. We then applied the framework to ARTifariti in order to better understand its efficacy and value. As noted in this initial analysis, the ARTifariti festival is growing in attendance and number of collaborative projects that promote awareness. Therefore, it appears to be reaching its goal of building external networks to increase the number of people that know about the plight of the Saharawi. How this increased awareness translates into concrete action on behalf of the international community is yet to be seen. Arts-based activism and art aimed at social change is often ephemeral and as Bishop (2012a) notes finding ways of understanding the work and its impact on individuals and communities is a challenge. In fact, the same tensions that exist between the approaches represented and discussed in the CCD and SEA literature, were our tensions as we engaged in the research process. Even with these tensions, however, looking across CCD and SEA provided us with a way of identifying shared principles and practices that in turn informed our conversations and research practice. It helped us to surface the different components of art aimed at social change as well as how to understand how these discrete criteria come together as a form of arts-based activism.

With that said, the authors experienced friction between the context (protracted refugee situation in North Africa with ongoing aspects of oppression and colonization) and the selected theoretical concepts (developed to predominantly describe practices in North America).

Across the literature of CCD and SEA we note two significant gaps:

- A lack of “shared critical language and comprehensive and historical documentation” Bishop, 2012a, p. 8) of the work and;
- Much of the writing is grounded in a U.S./Western perspective.

Although this article provides an initial exploration regarding the use of the framework, future publications will provide additional analysis of the ARTifariti festival as well as other arts-based strategies, such as FiSahara. We put forth this research as a starting point, therefore the theoretical and empirical aspects of our research had limitations, including: the exploratory nature of the work itself, the limitations presented by using CCD and SEA literature which are guided by a “Western” perspective, and

accessibility issues to gathering data (language translation, sociocultural aspects, geographic distance, and political access) that made doing research in the SADR/refugee camps difficult. Having both a history of oppression, exile, and colonization, application of this or similar frameworks in this setting or in other similar types of settings are necessarily flexible and fluid and need to be sensitive and responsive to the "local context" and "historical conflict timelines" (Naidu-Silverman, 2015, p. 5). A critical analysis is presented with the intent of privileging Saharawi perspectives, however further research using participatory and emic approaches would be of immense value. The incorporation of anticolonial theory and the work of non-Western scholars from additional disciplines such as North African/Maghreb Studies, Indigenous Studies, gender studies, postcolonial studies, among others would provide additional depth, relevance, and intersectionality. Bringing in examples of other such resistance approaches would also further deepen the work. Our intent, and hope, is that the framework will be further utilized and honed by academics and practitioners to examine the use of arts and culture as a tool for social movements and political activism.

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The theater as a common good: artists, activists and *artivists* on stage

Simone Maddanu

Abstract

Based on interviews and ethnographic observation, this article analyzes the experience of political activists and artists during and after the occupation of the Teatro Valle, in Rome, an historical national theater. The occupiers experimented with new forms of management of the theater schedule and theater laboratory. At first their action focused on the job insecurity of artists and lack of funding for culture. Therefore, they switched into a commons-based principle incorporating a conceptualization of culture in the form of an "immaterial common good". Thus struggling throughout the "commons" becomes a vehicle to radically criticize neoliberalism and private market, and to affirm new citizen expectations against political institutions. The paper aims to problematize both the artist and political activist approach. During the occupation of the theater, their practice led to the effective medley of their practices, interests and orientations: political stance and artistic experiments are combined in the occupied theater. After their eviction from the theater, according to our ethnographic observations during the weekly plenary assembly of the group, the political praxis appears to prevail upon the artistic side of the group. Without a physical place where to experiment the alternative proposal, the former occupiers still conveys the utopia of a Theatre as a symbol of an alternative institution through their plays.

Keywords: activist-artivist, alternative institution, collective action, immaterial common goods, subjectivity, theater, urban commons.

Introduction

This article retraces the experiences of the artists and activists that occupied the Valle Theater, the oldest theater in Rome (1700), from 2011 to 2014. At the time of the occupation (June 2011), the theater was inactive[1]. Protesters decided to occupy the theater complaining about the job insecurity of artists, the lack of cultural policies in the city, and the general crisis of political institutions (Sen 2009, 78–86). The movement they created around the occupation put together the political and creative meaning, around the concepts of the commons, participation, direct democracy, and the struggle against political institutions and neoliberalism system.

[1] As the cultural institution in charge of the artistic scheduling was previously dismissed by the government, at the end of the scheduled season the theater was inactive. According to the occupiers, the theater was potentially targeted by private buyers.

In a first phase, characterized by a "cooperative artistic practice", occupiers and sympathizers experiment with a form of shared theater among other citizens and spectators. By practicing creativity and leading an open political debate inside the occupied theater, these social actors attempt to offer some collaborative practices on how to take care of a common place and rethink cultural institution as a common good. By claiming the theater as a common good, they aim to create an auto-legitimized institution, alternative to the existing cultural/political institution as well as neoliberalism. I explored how the Occupy Valle Theater created a collective action cognizant of the common goods – as they theorize it – that aims at re-founding a cultural institution and proposing an alternative market and economy for the artists.

Included in our interviews with former-occupiers, we raised some research questions: How do their practices inside the theater construct a "struggle for the commons"? Who is legitimized to manage a national theater as a common good? Which kind of possibilities and limits emerge from their experience?

The second phase, after they left the theater, is characterized by a sharper distinction between the political and the artistic goals: without a physical place to experiment with a political and artistic project in opposition to the neoliberal system and institutions' inefficiency, the collective group of the Occupied Teatro Valle switches from a "space of hope" (Harvey 2012, 109-112; Novy and Colomb 2013) to a more "utopic space" (Foucault, 1986; Bloch 1996). In this phase the difference between the two approaches, the artistic and the political one, is more pronounced: the *artivists*[2] are no more able to broadcast a political message, to modify or be modified by the spectators and citizens, as wished in the Augusto Boal's *Legislative Theater* (Boal 1998; Babbage 2004, 30); the political activists, on the contrary, continue to express themselves by using their proper language and rhetoric, although losing the ability to disseminate messages to a larger audience of citizens: The group is stuck in an in-group vision, which is deprived of its practical deeds in a specific space.

The research[3] is based on a participant observation during the six months (September 2014-February 2015) after activists were compelled to leave the theater (August 2014). I participated in their weekly meetings, observing how they perform and take the floor, what they learnt from their past experience in the theater, and how they plan to continue their actions outside. In addition, I led 10 in-depth individual interviews with some members that regularly

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[2] This neologism tries to blend the artist and the political activist spheres. In Italy, the political-artistic experience of Macao in Milan, which currently makes use of the term *artivist* (see for instance Chiara Valli, 2015), is an example of the political/cultural encounter between the art workers and the antagonistic left-wing activists.

[3] In this article I present part of the survey survey "Sustainable practices of everyday life in the context of the crisis: toward the integration of work, consumption and participation", funded by MIUR-PRIN 2010-2011 and coordinated by Laura Bovone (Università Cattolica di Milano), in collaboration with the Universities of Milano (coord. Luisa Leonini), Bologna (coord. Roberta Paltrinieri), Trieste (coord. Giorgio Osti), Molise (coord. Guido Gili), Roma "La Sapienza" (coord. Antimo Farro), Napoli Federico II (coord. Antonella Spanò).

participated to the plenary assembly. The network of Teatro Valle occupiers led to other collective actions in the city: I participated in other meetings, workshops, and conferences which reflected a broader mobilization frame in Rome[4]. Since I was included in the group's mailing list, I collected the communication exchanges between activists concerning proposals, shared documents, debates, analysis, and, above all, the weekly meetings' reports. The research focused on the manner they intervened, also in the mailing list, noticing how they take the floor, the use of an artistic or rather political as well as technical language.

Theoretical aspects

Grassroots democracy has been a political crucial theme for more than 50 years. Particularly, within the term "autogestion" or "grassroots control" – as suggested by Neil Brenner and Stuart Elden (Brenner and Elden 2009, 16-19) in translating Henri Lefebvre's essays – in the 1970s several occupation experiences have shown how to put into practice an autonomous form of self-management[5]. Despite the central role of "work", which was still the crucial issue during the "workerism" period (*operaismo*) (Balestrini and Moroni 1997), other cultural claims and forms of assertion[6] have emerged by the squatting self-management in the following decades (Ibba 1995), putting the social autonomy at the core of new urban issues (Mayer 2009; 1993; Martinez 2013). Unlike the Marxist so-called *whitering away* of the State and the implementation of "autogestion" (Lefebvre 1975, 5-22), in which grassroots control of occupied spaces is often related to the conceptualization of an alternative institution, the Valle Theater case study shows an attempt to switch into a self-legitimate common good-based management. By occupying and managing the national theater, activists and artists aim at "hybridizing" and "grafting" – as they suggest – the cultural and political institutions. Their critic against neoliberalism and cultural institutions, which they consider as a political patronage, finds a practical articulation through the concept of common good.

Furthermore, the political and artistic practices of the occupied Valle Theater are part of a new wave of urban common claims. They reflect, as David Harvey pointed out, the "profound impacts of the recent [...] privatizations, enclosures, spatial controls, policing, and surveillance upon the qualities of urban life in general" and new forms of sociability as "new commons" (Harvey 2012, 67).

[4] Particularly, the research came across other occupying groups in Rome, like *Blocchi Precari Metropolitani* or Action. In order to avoid a straight-up fight against political institutions and police, these collective actions chose a strategic balance of power and a community-based legitimation. Squats include dismissing public buildings. The occupation uses a large number of activists and homeless migrants to prevent and discourage low enforcement intervention.

[5] "Autogestion" can be translated as workers' self-management.

[6] Generally interpreted as "new social movements": see Alain Touraine *Critique of Modernity* (1995).

An important part of the literature on social movement studies suggests an interpretation of collective actions in terms of mobilization of resources. According to this analysis, the agency is characterized by an institutional pressure, in which social actors take advantage of some “opportunities” and “facilities” (McAdam, Tarrow, and Charles Tilly 2001). Furthermore, collective actions are considered as playmakers in contentious politics (Tarrow 2012) as networks (Diani 2014), shaping, and penetrating or conditioning political parties’ agenda. However, this article aims at demonstrating how the *Teatro Valle* movement is a matter of subjective affirmation (Touraine 1995) and recognition (Frazer 2000), including personal ethics (Touraine 2015; 2007) and the idea of social justice. Social actors take part in the collective action as individuals, showing a “subjectivization[7] of collective action” (Farro and Lustiger-Tahler 2014, 15-34). This agency does not aim at integrating the system but seeking alternatives and changes, asserting his own sense of justice, social rights and ethics (Touraine 2007, 81-87).

Everybody at theater

After 68 years, by a decree of law in May 2010 the Italian Theater Institution, E.T.I. (*Ente Teatrale Italiano*)[8], was abolished. Historical national theaters like Teatro Valle in Rome belong, by now, to the Italian Ministry of Cultural Heritage. Officially, in May 2011 the theater activities run out. In a general perception of crises of public policies in the city and in the country, the uncertain future of the theater becomes a symbol of the national and local institutions’ decline. A group of artists, some of them with a political background as squatters or left-group,[9] some without any political experience, and others again related to the theme of art and show business gathered in the theater. At the half of June 2011 they occupy the Foyer and the Eighteenth-century theater, located in the center of Rome, in the vicinity of the Senate. Initially, this action means to denounce the “intermittent arts workers” situation, also called the Fifth Estate (Allegri and Ciccarelli 2013). The movement consensus assembles part of the local civil society, well-known actors, and intellectuals. From different orientations, social and cultural backgrounds, individuals and groups converge and take part in the change of the embryonic occupation project. Starting a dialogic assembly process around

[7] The concept of subjectivity is referred to Alain Touraine “sociology of action”, in which the social actor defines himself by opposing his sense of justice and identity against domination, expressing himself in a reflexive manner as a subject able to produce changes and to affirm orientations, social codes, and values in an autonomous manner: see Touraine, *Critique of Modernity* (1995).

[8] The ETI was born in 1942 as a public cultural institution related to the Ministry of Culture, no profit, whose work and positive role was recognized by the artists that occupied the theater.

[9] They identify themselves as “antagonists”, activists of Italian Social Centers, and in some cases libertarian communists. In all cases they see themselves as radical left. See Antonio Famiglietti, “Radicalismo, cultura, politica e violenza”, in *Italia alterglobal. Movimento,culture e spazi di vita di altre globalizzazioni*, A. L. Farro ed., (Milano: Franco Angeli, 2006), 33–76.

the notion of "common good", a large support from citizens and artists backs the original occupiers' group. According to our interlocutors, around 500 people take part in the first meetings. Political debates are combined with artistic contents: dramaturgical experimentations are nourished by the audience, which participates in the meetings. Activists, artists and audience alternate endless meetings with theatrical performances.[10]

The occupiers create artistic projects that collect the spectators' approval and, in a certain manner, legitimate their political and cultural agency. They activate new forms of access that promote unknown artists and non-conventional theatrical projects. As it has been observed in other occupied theaters (Satta and Scandurra 2014), at first they consider the occupation as a symbolic form of protest. Then, their action aims to bring in other citizens and broaden the political spectrum. A young theater director and actor, artistically and politically active during the occupation, says:

> Concerning the theater, we were trying to do a revolution, or at least we slammed the theatrical system, the official system [...] because we wanted to... The theatrical system is jaded, you can't play, there are no productions, there is no spot. The institutional theaters are under lobbies' control and aren't linked with locals: so nothing new in the industry. We claimed for a different management of the theatrical institution, because the Teatro Valle is a f***ing symbol, it has always been a historical theater, well managed by the E.T.I. So we struck the symbol, we stayed into the symbol and we gave again a signification to it. [Alberto, 38 years old]

By making the most of a broaden collaboration with different artists and competencies, the Occupy Teatro Valle leads several artistic projects: *Crisi* (tr.= crises) is a laboratory of writing attended by dramaturges and amateurs in which people can collaborate towards a synergic script. The outcome is interpreted by the actors and finally performed in front of the spectators. *Rabbia* (tr.= rage) is another project of theatrical work called "ecological circuit", a sort of regenerating process, based on an open participation and co-working to handle all the steps of a show (training, production, planning, distribution). Other training projects, as *Nave Scuola* (tr.= training ship) or *Questo non è un Corso* (tr.= this is not a course), try to combine the playful, the creative moment, and the practice[11]. The Occupied Teatro Valle implements some forms of "sustainability" for the artists and a different economic model:

[10] In order to avoid cacophony and redundancy due to multiple speeches and codes of language, the assembly decides to establish the "right to speech" after being preset to three meetings. According to our interlocutors, this rule aims at facilitating the progress of an already started debate, avoiding repetition and bringing the assembly language to a following point. According to another interview, it is just "preferable to abstain" until the second meeting.

[11] For more details see the *Teatro Valle Occupato* web site http://www.teatrovalleoccupato.it/ (accessed 12 December 2014).

> A minimum granted income to all the people that worked in: a percentage for the author; a percentage was for a sort of welfare to cover the plays that didn't collect enough money. In addition, if a show had more [profits], the half part of it goes to the [acting] company. Being artists in the occupied theater, this point came out during the meetings: how to invite artists and treat them in a different way than other theaters do? [Silvana, 40 years old, theater actress and activist].

By experimenting new artistic models and connections to the spectators and citizens, as well as relationships with artists and theater companies, the occupiers aim at finding new alternatives to the current system. They implement, on practical, their political point of view of equity and social justice that comes out from the assemblies: concerning the economic treatment, the working relations, and the show business industry. They question the SIAE (Italian Society of Authors and Publishers)[12] monopoly, so they propose to pay directly the 10% to the authors and register them in the PATAMU[13] platform, in order to protect possible unreleased works. Nevertheless, the theorized alternative welfare in the Occupied Valle Theater, as observed in other political and counter-cultural occupations (Membretti 2007; Membretti and Muddu 2013), cannot solve the major problem of the intermittent arts workers.[14] Job insecurity and the logics of neoliberal economy remain inasmuch the Valle Theater cannot create permanent economies or a stable welfare. Our interlocutors do not comment this point as a failure but consider it as an evidence of their situation, as long as neoliberalism will run political institutions (Langeard 2013; Corsani 2012).

The regeneration of culture as a common good

Supported by some international awards that exalted the artistic and social role of the theater occupation experience[15], the movement is aware of being politically important, so that it tries to be legitimated as an alternative institution. Inside the theater the movement produces not only artistic performances but also a strengthen network of different social actors. As a result, it creates the condition for a political space that questions the new possible civic engagement practices in the city.

[12] Italian copyright collecting agency

[13] PATAMU is a copyright protect platform that offers free basic services and is based on donations.

[14] See for the Italian case Alberta Giorgi (2013, 110–35).

[15] In March 2014 the Valle Theater is awarded by the *Princess Margriet Award* of the European Cultural Foundation (ECF) in Brussels.

> At the beginning, it [the movement] didn't mean to stay in the theater for 3 years…But very soon we and the citizens engaged in the movement were totally persuaded to keep the theater alive. So we took 'the Commons' as a reference, in order to transform the place and the space, and give it back to the city. […] We occupied the Valle Theater in the aftermath of the victorious referendum about the water, which the motto was 'water common good'. So, more than an ideological discourse, theoretical, there was a discourse around the practices. Therefore, our idea was to transform this important space into the pivotal point of the city, beyond the logic of political partition and the non-transparent institutional model – a joint manager that is also a politician…and all things are hierarchical. And then, quite immediately, we wanted to create a horizontal structure, committed and democratic. [Flavio, 40 years old, editor and film maker, activist]

In addition to the antagonist left, many components of the left-wing activists related to associations, and third sector believed in the potential of the Valle Theater experience: among them, intellectuals, famous artists, politicians and legal experts. For instance, some of those that had taken part in the public debate on the national Referendum about the water[16], supporting publically the idea of the Valle Theater as a common good, conceptualize this new civic participation as a cultural and political change (Mattei, 2011; Rodotà, 2012).

The theme of the common goods seems to take the cue from the article published by the biologist Hardin in the journal *Science*. According to Hardin (1968), natural resources that are not regulated by the state or by the private property are doomed to be extinguished. Hardin says "Ruin is the destination toward which all men rush, each pursuing his own best interest in a society that believes in the freedom of the commons. Freedom in a commons brings ruin to all" (Hardin 1968, 1244). Hardin's thought ignores the chance to manage a common good in a sustainable and collective way. He rather focuses on utilitarian and individualistic practices that take advantage of *laissez-faire* to selfishly grab all free common resources. Following his way of reasoning, the private property system "or something formally like it" (*Ibidem*, 1245) represents the solution to the risk of common resources depletion. Surely, this idea of the commons is overturned after the Elinor Ostrom's rebuttals (Ostrom, 1990, 1-5). Ostrom inaugurates an international debate in interconnected fields like juridical, politic science, and economy (Hess and Ostrom 2006; Mattei 2011, XXI-XII; Napoli 2014, 2011-33). In particular, Elinor Ostrom argues that neither the state nor privatization solved the problem of sustainable natural resources management of the planet (Ostrom 1990, 13-4).

The concept of the commons has recently been articulated with new political and ecological practices (Weston and Bollier 2013), relating and making sense of some collective actions and occupied spaces. From a more traditional analysis

[16] The national Referendum that, in fact, repeals the law about the privatization of the water, in June, 11th and 12th.

– in juridical terms – of the collective use of lands and natural resources,[17] the debate includes a wider range of immaterial applications based on new demands for new rights (Rodotà 2012). If the first formulation of common good needs an eligible "referred community" for managing natural resources (Cacciari, Passeri, and Carestiato 2012), the current concept of the commons includes the urban spaces (Garnett 2012) and is sometimes interpreted as transnational (Mattei 2011), and revolutionary (Dardot and Laval 2014). In other cases in Rome, we can observe that the civic engagement of citizens aims at taking care of the commons in terms of subsidiarity (Arena Cotturri 2010; Moro 2013), in order to strengthen the weak local political institutions, as has been observed in the case of a public school (Kirkland 1982; Farro Maddanu 2015).

Concerning the experience of the Occupied Teatro Valle, the concept of common good is used in a radical political way (Hardt and Negri 2009; Mattei 2011; Negri 2012; Harvey 2012;), in opposition to the subsidiary practice. In this sense, the autonomous management of the theater means to be alternative to the national and local institutions, and the neoliberal system. This position wants to emphasize the breakup from a collaborative idea of civic engagement that attempts, on the contrary, to support the institutions instead of acting in a re-foundational way, which is the case of the theater's occupiers.

Culture is a form of commons, Harvey would say (Harvey 2012, 89-90), that is constantly subjected to the attempt of appropriation by the capital for its uniqueness. Then, the "exploitation of creativity" (ibidem 110) experienced by "cultural producers" is at stake. By constructing in a cooperative manner an alternative project to the market system, in the field of show business and the arts, the artists and activists of the Teatro Valle movement aim to reaffirm their wills to determine their social life, even and especially in a context of crisis of the political institutions' role (Dubet 2002; Batra 2007; Touraine 2013; Touraine 2010), and city policies (Mayer 1994).

According to the group of ex-occupiers, citizens in Rome perceive the political institutions as decadent, which appear to be inadequate to face the demand of democracy and access into the representative system. The organization set up during the occupation – called *Fondazione Teatro Valle Bene Commune*, (Foundation Valle Theater Common good), FTVBC[18], which counts 5600 members – is created from the will to start a new institution based on direct participation and the citizens' responsibility. According to our interlocutors, the new legitimacy for managing the commons has to be cognizant of the cultural and ethical challenge that this kind of participation means:

[17] For the Italian case see Angela Cacciarru (2013, 145-69); and Pietro Nervi (2009).

[18] During the occupation and management of the theater (artistic plan and business) the collective group creates the Foundation with a specific charter that explain goals and meanings of this movement http://www.teatrovalleoccupato.it/wp-content/uploads/2013/10/STATUTO-FONDAZIONE-TEATRO-VALLE-BENE-COMUNE.pdf (accessed 5 February 2015).

> I remember once during the members' assembly [TVBC], one member came to see me and argued about something, maybe a licit complaint…but she started very badly…She said: 'we are the association, we gave a lot of money; we could set an individual association but we decided to get a collective association, in order to give more money […] and that means that we count as one instead of twenty', I don't remember how many they were…In conclusion, she was talking about money, about how much she gave. And then she said: 'we sent an email to propose an initiative and nobody answered'. So my answer was 'maybe you don't understand what to become a member of Valle Theater means. When you give your sum you don't buy a right. This money means that you are taking on responsibility of the common good. Giving the money is not enough to pretend something back, because this is the classical merchant model: I pay I pretend, no? No, it is not like this'. The commons, you don't pay and pretend. First of all you give: your time, your energy, your work. [Valeria, 44 years old, employed in communication marketing, activist]

The movement tries to overpass the old institution, replace it, and create another one by auto-legitimation or through a legal process. Nevertheless, it cannot resist to the come back into the scene of the legitimate (political) institution: after the police cleared-up the theater in August 2014, the experimental experience of the movement stopped, even if the group of ex-occupiers still elaborates projects and "imaginary institutions". According to the majority of the people that took part in the meetings after the end of the occupation, the goal is still to become a new institution, alternative to the "Rome Theaters" (TdR) institution. Ex-occupiers still aim to manage the theater avoiding the administrative and bureaucratic structure, and replacing it with a direct participated method that "speaks other languages" (fieldwork's notes): They auto-legitimate themselves as an effective institution. At the same time, they collaborate with the local institutions in order to "infiltrate" them and be considered as an essential counterpart. Even without the physical place of the theater, the Foundation (FTVBC) considers to keep its potential as a reproducible model. In the early months of 2015, the TVBC attempts to have an agreement with the cultural institution TdR and with the Rome's Department of Culture. With this agreement, the activists aim at managing the theater's Foyer activities and supervise the artistic scheduling for the next season, which is expected once the restauration work in the theater has ended[19].

The issue about who has the legitimacy to manage the theater remains: if a common good needs a local community in charge, who is legitimated to manage the Valle Theater?

Artists and activists: the languages of a collective action

During the participant observation in the weekly plenary session of the movement, I collected notes and audio-records concerning the in-group

[19] Occupiers accepted to leave the theater in order to let authorities (Municipality and TdR) run restauration works and secure the facility. The works are expected to be finished by 2016.

communication, strategies, speeches and other performances of the members. Generally, a moderator (rarely the same) introduces the schedule of the day, continuing from the previous meeting conclusions. Therefore the session report, which is written up by one or more persons and given back before the meeting through the mailing-list, is crucial. E-mails and social networks are useful for organizing events: They become, during some phases of the movement, an arena to debate and exchange advises, in which it is possible to detect different styles of communication. The excessive consideration of the google-group – called *La Comune*[20] – is criticized by those that think that "we do practices with our bodies, not with the mailing-list" (fieldwork notes, plenary assembly, February 9, 2015) and refuse the process of the reports. Nevertheless, by using this channel, members implement their collective identity and the narration about the movement: They add details and personal points of view concerning their engagement and subjectivity[21]. Furthermore, without a physical place to constantly exchange opinions, advice and proposals, internet let them share theoretical thoughts concerning juridical aspects, economics or art[22]. Among the members I encountered, there are high professional profiles, scholars, and academics or legal experts, sometimes used to media communication or political institutions. Furthermore, they are aware that performing art through their activism becomes an excellent media (Walz 2005, 71-74) to broadcast their political and cultural proposal.

According to our observations, the decisional and deliberative process occurs in the public open space of the weekly plenary assembly (generally attended by 30-50 people). The debate's trend goes towards a consensual point, in order to "keep traces of all ideas, avoiding divisions" and to "put a limit to power relationship" (Luciano, 50 years old, television writer, and activist). After three invalid meetings without having reached a consensus, they eventually can recur to a final vote. For these reasons, the timing – who and when a person speaks, at the beginning, in the middle or at the end of the assembly – or the redundancy of a subject appear to be essentials to guide the members' consensus. After the first speeches that recall the previous meeting – by way of the report – members start to criticize or agree with some specific debated points. We can observe one or two main orientations (even opposed) backed up by some recognized leaders that are more skilled at driving consensus. Nevertheless, diversification of profiles guarantees an open debate: Even if we noticed alliances and affinities between members, I was not able to detect organized currents inside the group.

[20] Reminding of *La Commune* of Paris.

[21] The concept of subjectivity is referred to Alain Touraine "sociology of action", in which the social actor defines himself by opposing his sense of justice and identity against domination, expressing himself in a reflexive manner as a subject able to produce changes and to affirm orientations, social codes and values in an autonomous manner (Touraine, 1995).

[22] For instance *Titanpad* allow members to collaborate in an interactive manner, share and draw up simultaneously common documents.

These dynamics are not so different from other squatting experiences in Italy, like *Centri Sociali*[23]: Some Valle Theater occupiers come from these same political radical actions. Experiencing multiple memberships in the social centers or movements like Action[24], these social actors reproduce a political rhetoric also based on cultural and counter-cultural contents (Rebughini 2000, Famiglietti and Rebughini 2008; Membretti 2007).

The plenary assembly, especially after the end of the occupation – therefore out of the theater – represents a crucial moment to affirm a collective subjectivity. According to the concept of "community of practice" – in which "community" has to be considered as a shared and mutual experience of membership (Wenger 2007, 73) – debating inside the group is a way to reinforce a shared identity as an "implicit" and "explicit" experience: the first one concerns the perception of being part of a group; the second is related "to do" something as well as "to say", sharing knowledge and learning (*Ibidem* 48). Members build some shared meanings by a language related to the practices they experiment inside the group (Wenger, McDermott, and Snyder 2002, 54-55). By the time, out of the theater, even if we can observe performances and particular personalities, the space of engagement is now limited to the circle of *saying*. The political rhetoric prevails on the plenary assemblies, due to experienced political activists' ability to create consensus. However, the weekly meetings still represent, at least during the debates, an extension of the shared experience between activists, artists and *artivists*. An actor that joined the movement in the time of the theater's occupation tells me:

> In the assembly I bring my artistic part, rather than a political speech. I bring some artistic terms, I mean…I don't perform a show, but I learn how to communicate with the audience: these studies converge in the assembly. My goal is to make 'common images' in the assembly. I am from an enthusiasm for James Hillman's work: according to him, imagining is very important. Then I brought my knowledge of these studies during the assemblies…or, better, I brought my thought concerning these studies…so, 'to imagine together', in order to share a common language with the others. Otherwise assemblies are monopolized by those that master 'the discourse', 'the word'. So if the debate is too specific, technical, for example speaking about normative questions about work, people that don't handle this language won't understand. People can be seduced by the style [of speaking], but maybe won't be aware of that. [Felice, 38 years old].

Observing plenary assemblies, I noticed intensely but fluid speeches. Members are used to understanding each other's languages and perspectives. The interventions do not define always an orientation, a point. Sometimes they seem to express a reflexive moment, more personal. They talk about themselves around an issue, not just about the issue. They rarely speak in a definitive

[23] See Moroni, Farina, and Tripodi (1995).

[24] Occupying and managing buildings, this Movement claims for the "right to the house".

manner, but always targeting a consensual process. The point, the main line is the report's outcome. Debates are open. Different forms of communication can be part of the general debate, being sarcastic, paradoxical, and absurd interventions. Even maintaining a sector-based analysis, technical languages, like legal language or politic science concepts can be submitted to all and questioned. In general, the language is shared by all members, maybe improved throughout the course of their several meetings: some concepts like "practices of management", "experimentation", "subjectivity", "commons", "participation" and "engagement at theater" are taken for granted by all the participants. This language though, appears to be inadequate when the FTVBC has to deal with the local political institutions (Bailey and Marcucci 2013) and TdR in order to find an agreement for managing the theater. The "formal" institution is perceived as "linguistically cold" and impenetrable to members' deed and claims. Some members – whom delegate to find an agreement with local authorities – noticed in astonishment: "when we talk about our practices, they [politicians and institutional representatives] snort […] They don't pay attention…we are talking about how to manage with an alternative model, but they just want to know which kind of artistic schedule we propose"[25]. According to the members, after three years spent experimenting with an alternative model for the theater, the Teatro Valle's experience is legitimated to establish a privileged relationship with the political institutions of the city. However, institutions like TdR do not seem to take into consideration the political claims and the wish to "embody a new institution" – as FTVBC wishes – but only the artistic project, the brand and the network of the Occupied Valle Theater.

Six months after the occupiers left the theater, the meetings still represent a critical space to express own experiences during the occupation. They are not just a political and strategic arena. Personal interventions recall some topic moments of the occupation in a cathartic manner, as a tale and a unique life experience. Thereafter, by leaving the theater, former occupiers experienced a trauma, due to the end of a political and professional practice. The shared language inside the group becomes crystallized. The further the meetings go in time, the rarer is the possibility to "return to the theater". From the outside, without the place, they do not feel recognized. Former occupiers question themselves about "who we are" without the place (Valle Theater), even concerning the name: "why should we call ourselves Fondazione Teatro Valle Bene Comune [FTVBC] if we are not in the Valle Theater anymore?" (fieldwork notes, 9 February 2015). Since the foundation FTVBC exists only on paper, it does not achieve the movement's purposes: without a physical space to implement the member's activities or concretize their artistic and political projects, the unity of the group shatters.

[25] Fieldwork notes: plenary assembly of 13 October 2014 and 12 January 2015.

Utopias without place: artists, activists or artivists?

Encouraged by the popular success of the idea of the common goods, the case of Valle Theater represents an effort to embody a new cultural institution by auto-legitimating the theater occupation. The FTVBC considers itself legitimate as an alternative to the "declining cultural institution", which is, according to the members, a political institution removed from the citizens' and artists' needs. The FTBC tries to institutionalize what Harvey calls a "space of hope" (Harvey, 2012; Novy and Colomb 2013, 1835). The heterotopias concept of Michel Foucault describes the "other places" as at the same time linked and elsewhere to the society (Foucault 1986, 22-27), in which it is possible to experience a different temporal fracture from real time (as in the graveyards, in the asylums etc.), and from "social time" (Tabboni 1991). These places can be considered as illusory spaces in which a utopia is setup on the edge of society but related to it. Then, heterotopia can also be a space where it is possible to imagine the "other", the "elsewhere" and the dream (Foucault 1986; Bloch 1996, 74-81).

As has been observed in other occupations or squats like the Social Centers (Toscano2011, 234-8; Martinez 2013, 878-84; Pruijt 2013), by occupying the theater new social relations are created, economies, and socialization practices in opposition to the market, neoliberalism, and global financial system. But these "happy islands" can retreat into their own dimension, into a self-referential and closed identity (Owens 2009; Martinez 2013). Taking inspiration from Foucault's concept, a space remains a heterotopia if it is not able to communicate with other spaces of social life and if social life does not integrate with it. The utopia stays suspended if it is not projected in a real place in which to transform it (Bloch, 1996, 79-103). The Valle Theater, as mission, tries to go beyond the logic of Social Centers or other occupied spaces, being receptive to the citizen participation and letting penetrated by other subjects, other ideas, in a more horizontal manner. One of the most important differences, also compared to other occupations led by *artivists* in Italy (Valli 2015), is the fact that the Valle Theater – a historical theater, architectural heritage, symbol of the theatrical institution – takes advantage of a broad movement cognizant of the commons.

According to Pruijt (2013) we can distinguish two different types of occupation: a "deprivation based squatting" (Pruijt 2013, 23-4) in which occupying is a way to face the housing crisis in the city, especially for migrants or disadvantaged people; and an "entrepreneurial squatting" (*Ibidem* 31-2), based on a counter-cultural perspective – a politically-oriented practice that aims at producing alternative social relations and artistic performances. Metropoliz in Rome,[26] for

[26] This occupied space – a former factory far downtown – is home to many immigrant families, including Roma community, and also to the Contemporary Museum *Museo dell'Altro e dell'Altrove* (MAAM): See Francesca Broccia, "Metropoliz. Strategie dell'abitare in un'ex fabbrica a Roma" (master's thesis, Sapienza University of Rome, 2012). In October 2014 Metropoliz hosted *Self Made Urbanism Rome (SMUR)*, a workshop about self-organizing and self-producing the city. SMUR is an International project that gathers architects, urbanists, academics, artists and political activists. See S.M.U.R. – Self-Made Urbanism Rome, *Roma,*

example, is a combination of both types of squats. It is another novel form of "self-made city" including contemporary arts and performances with the cohabitation of a self-organized multiethnic community. The Occupied Valle Theater is not a squat: It remains a symbolic place to struggle against a cultural/political institution and in this sense it is related to the idea of temporary "urban commons" (Harvey 2012, 72-3). The effort to rebuild an institution – as if they could personify the new institution – distinguishes the Valle case from other similar *artivists'* experiences in Germany (Novy and Colomb 2013), which take part in the neighborhood regeneration of the city by becoming third sector companies or creating partnerships with national and local institutions (Mayer 2009, 265–272; Holm and Kuhn 2010).

Attempting a possible artistic production that combines art and politic, looks alike the Augusto Boal political theater experience in Brazil and the wills of the "Theater of the Oppressed" (Boal 1979), in which the artistic performance means to turn spectators into actors, and then subjects. But outside the theater that enabled these kind of cooperative practices, what model has been left?

The Valle Theater experience has strengthened the network with other occupation movements, linked as well with the struggle for the common goods. Talking about the occupation experience, members use a self-congratulatory verbiage, like a political redundancy in order to underscore their practices as an exceptional model. Political strategies become more and more important than the artistic projects, so that a distinction emerges between the two scopes: the artistic side looks for other contexts of creative expression. As for the political side, without a physical space like the theater, activists and *artivists* lose their social practice that characterized the management of the theater. Basically, members are no more able to replicate the specific "situated experiences" (Wenger 2007, 14–5, 288) that contributed to the excellence of the Occupied Teatro Valle. Artists continue to express their subjectivity in other contexts (personal artistic projects), but the collective meanings of the group remain within the political rhetoric. The Valle Theater represented, for many, a space to combine an artistic as well as a political subjectivity. According to our interlocutors, the activists, artists and *artivists* – each one with different recognizable modalities – found a balanced common point:

> I think that the best thing we did in the Valle was the coexistence of these two parts [artistic and political], otherwise we stuck in this dichotomy: the selfish artist that cares only about his business, shutting himself in his world, just looking for a particular inspiration; in the other hand, at the contrary, a deep collectivism that seems like you cannot be as an individual, because you have to be as a collective body...and you cannot take a decision alone because you almost have to ask the group permission, even for a coffee with your fellows...you know...like two extremes. I think that the Valle [Theater's] mission has always been to find a common point: sometimes it works, sometimes not [...] If there is a

città autoprodotta. Ricerca urbana e linguaggi artistici, C. Cellamare, ed. (Roma: Manifestolibri, 2014).

> respect for each sphere, so you can cross the spheres [Silvana, 40 years old, actress and activist].

According to the debates in the assemblies, one side of the group aims at carrying out the practices and the model of management of the theater in other places, keeping the combination between art and politics[27]. They want to keep the project alive and traveling. According to Owen Smith, since the sixties some groups of artists, like Fluxus, proposed a creative experience that continues to question a social engagement as well as an artistic practice (Smith 2005, 118). Smith says "Fluxus is a group of individuals who constitute an entity, or maybe better yet, a community, called Fluxus. This community is simultaneously the product of its constitutive members but ultimately is more than any one individual or individuals" (*Ibidem* 134). This artistic movement is conceived as a network able to produce a model based on new social practices by participating and sharing "a cognitive space and a communal structure" (*Ivi*). This artistic work expresses a political sense. As for other forms of expression, in the visual arts as well as in the performances, the power of the art has been conceptualized as a form of transformation of the existing (Zepke 2005). According to this interpretation, art is able to investigate social issues and make them intelligible (Reed 2005) through alternative networks to the market and broadcasting political, and social meanings (Raunig and Ray 2009; Raunig 2007). Among the forms of critic of capitalism, Boltansky and Chiapello individuate the "social" and the "artistic" (Boltansky and Chiapello 2011, 87–91, cited in Novy and Colomb 2013, 1831). If the first one refuses individualism and seeks solutions to solve social inequalities, even pursuing radical methods, this critic does not claim for the dissolution of the industrial manufacturing, technology and other activities that make the wealth of a country. Therefore, this form of critic does not neutralize the opportunity of capitalism. On the contrary, the artistic critic "even if it shares the individualism of modernity" (Boltansky and Chiapello 2011, 91) aims at criticizing the values and foundations of capitalism. The relation between art and politics, *stricto sensu*, overpasses the scope of this article. What we can offer as hypothesis is the fact that in the lack of material practices in a physical space (the Valle Theater), the different spheres, which were previously combined during the collective management experimentation and cooperation, now diverge. According to Giorgio, the ontological difference between artists and non-artists is, in fact, due to the nature and mission of the political institutions and the effects of the social system:

> I think that, potentially, human being has a creative power, so there is an artistic side, each one in a different way. Unfortunately, our unaware life makes us resigned to not to be… […]. In my view, some experiences and social relationships lead people to bring out an unexpected artistic/creative side of everyone. But that's because of our relationships! Because of the manner of living, how it is

[27] The experience of the *Volxtheater Favoriten*, the nomad Publixtheatre Caravan has been suggested by some artists to find an alternative solution: see Gerald Raunig (2007, 203–29).

> organized. Rousseau said something like this: the institutions, the form of government [...]. Institutions lead citizens to develop some dynamics instead of others. So it's up to the collective human creativity to find the right institution, the virtuous one, rather than the vicious. [Giorgio, 38 years old, PhD student in law, activist]

According to other members, there is an unsolvable distinction, more related to the artistic production than to the ethics. The art, or better, the individual base that leads to the artistic creation concerns a self-referred sphere, solipsistic, individual, and individualistic. Nevertheless, there is no opposition with the collective, the common. Anyway, a difference emerges between what concerns the politics and what is intrinsic in the art:

> I don't believe that art is politic and politic is art. I think that's bullshit: the art is art, the politics is politics. Nonetheless, you can put politic in the art because the art is part of...[the world]. But political art is not Brecht. Political art is also Star Wars that talks about the Empire, you understand? It's not true that art is automatically politics. This naivety existed and still exists among some...because they say 'if I do art I'm also doing politics': no! because you do art, but if you don't occupy a theater, if you don't manage it during three years, you didn't do politics. Nonetheless, you can send political messages doing art (Brecht...). [Luciano, 50 years old, television writer, activist]

The plenary assemblies are full of narrative forms about what to do and how to stay, politically, on the stage. The end of a specific practice leaves room for a political language. Progressively, the idea of "immaterial common good" turns into a straight political vision.

The presence of the "artistic world" in the group of ex-occupiers scales down. The *artivists* represent the possibility to keep together creativity and a political scope, but there is still a distance between political meanings and the artistic career that is not solved by their embodiment. Artists evaluate the quality of the artistic proposal beyond the antagonistic lens, even when those projects are presented by the counterpart (the TdR). Direct democracy and active citizenship issues are obviously more related to the political aspects, so that the need to be recognized as a legitimate institution represents a political scope. However, the model of the Valle Theater lays on the special combination of the artistic agency with an antagonistic political view. The artistic aspect legitimates and emphasizes the political, never the other way around.

Conclusions

The concept of common good, as has been employed by the TVBC, becomes a motto that leads the practices of the occupied Valle Theater, in this sense diverging from other occupation movements and traditional collective actions.

By attempting to rebuild a new cultural institution and proposing their horizontal model of management, occupiers aim to create a space in which to experiment new social relations, new economies, and new forms of civic engagement. Taking care of a hold theater, a common heritage and symbol of a general decline of political and cultural institutions, means to be part of an antagonistic movement that criticizes neoliberalism, the state, and cultural urban policies in the city.

During the three years of the theater occupation, a combination between the artistic and the political approach emerges, enriched by the participation of other citizens that follow the movement and give it legitimacy. The end of the occupation represents a turning point: Deprived of a physical place where to experiment their practices, former occupiers shift into a reflective discourse about their experience. A political rhetoric dominates their language, isolating the artistic perspective. A distance between the artistic and the political scope emerges along the plenary assemblies: the combination between the two spheres can only by imagined like a "utopia without a place". Members of the TVBC aim at exporting the Valle Theater's model elsewhere in order to reproduce an alternative management of the "immaterial common good". At the same time, as far as they think to be legitimated, they yearn for a return to the theater to re-found – in a self-foundational manner, as Cornelius Castoriadis would say – the cultural institution.

What remains of this experience? Social actors that take part in this movement, through different roles and forms of participation, express an affirmation of their subjectivity in opposition to neoliberalism, the retreat of political institution – as they perceive it – and the role of the state. By their agency, civic and artistic, the activists and *artivists* aim to produce new practices to experiment their alternative project of social life, individually as well as collectively.

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To change everything, it takes everyone: recursivity in the People's Climate March

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Abstract

The People's Climate March (PCM) in September 2014 brought hundreds of thousands of people into the streets of New York City in an unprecedented outpouring of support for action on climate change. With so much momentum behind it, the PCM made possible related events before and after the March itself. As activists and academics, we discuss the March weekend from the pre-march Climate Convergence to the post-march Flood Wall Street protest. We argue that the March weekend brought together a diversity of historically fragmented climate movement actors to recursively strategize the future of the climate movement. This happened through: 1) an open-source model of workshops and panels at the pre-March events; 2) The unbranded and segmented structure of the PCM; 3) the lack of a target; 4) an outlet for radical activists; 5) and a series of incidental contexts opening space for individuals to connect. In deliberately working toward inclusivity, the PCM and the events of the surrounding weekend facilitated simultaneous critique and negotiation of the climate movement's future.

Keywords: climate change, climate movement, People's Climate March, recursivity, performance, justice, social movements, environment

Introduction

"BREAKING: Initial count for the People's Climate March: 310,000. Thank you all for being part of a beautiful, historic day." The text message came just before 3:00 pm the day of the People's Climate March (PCM). We looked at each other in awe: this was an unparalleled public assertion of concern about human-caused climate change, its effects, and the need to take action. Though we had all taken part in other marches before, the size of the PCM and diversity of participants made this action unique. This was an historic moment for the climate movement.

The PCM took place on Sunday, September 21, 2014 in New York City. Popularized by the organizations 350.org and Avaaz.org (Petermann 2014; see also McKibben 2014), the event was joined by the Climate Justice Alliance—a broad coalition of "frontline" communities and movement organizations—among hundreds of other organizations and individuals, and blossomed into a forum for debate within the climate movement. The term "frontline" has been used by the climate movement to signal those peoples most likely to bear the brunt of the effects of climate change, but who often bear the least responsibility

for contributing to climate change. Though originally planned as a singular event, the PCM quickly evolved into a weekend full of activities (hereafter the "March weekend") that brought thousands of people to the same place to fight climate change and address the wide-ranging connected issues. We divide this weekend into three parts: (1) pre-March activities, in particular the Climate Convergence conference focusing on "tackling global warming from the bottom up" that took place September 19-20; (2) the People's Climate March on September 21; and (3) post-March activities, specifically Flood Wall Street (FWS), which concentrated on connecting capitalism to climate change, on September 22.

In this paper, we suggest that the PCM was a critical moment for the climate movement. As a movement that has been fractured along lines of various constituencies, geographic locations, and proposed solutions, the climate movement has struggled to come together to form a unified message and effect change (Endres et al. 2009, Hadden 2015, Kinsella and Cox 2009). The organizers of the PCM—especially the "host committee" discussed below—recognized this fractured history and deliberately worked, through inclusive planning, to bring divided groups together (Robbins 2014). In doing so, they produced conversations and debates regarding not only the effectiveness of the PCM as a tactic, but about the future of the climate movement as a whole. These dynamics involved a process of recursivity and the constitution of a recursive movement public. Social movement recursivity involves an ongoing process of active self-reflection, debate, and widespread participation in the process of movement-building to understand and shape the movement's current and future shape and trajectory. This recursivity simultaneously gives rise to, and occurs within, a recursive public (Kelty 2008), a public constituted through discourse about its own conditions of possibility, which, in the context of a social movement can be embodied through the intentional and engaged presence of collective actors during protests, actions, and other movement gatherings.

More generally, according to Michael Warner (2002), a public is a "space of discourse organized by nothing other than discourse itself" (413). It brings together strangers in personal and impersonal ways, and is "constituted through mere attention" (419). Ultimately, a public "is the social space created by the reflexive circulation of discourse" (420). Publics act historically, but only through the continual circulation of discourse. Moreover, publics involve "poetic world-making," the conjuring of the world "in which it attempts to circulate" through public address (422). In this sense, a movement public is constituted through the circulation of discourse by and about the movement itself. Such a movement public is recursive to that extent that it addresses the conditions of possibility of the movement, whether technological, organizational, social-structural, financial, etc. A recursive social movement public thus creates the conditions of possibility for ongoing discursive exchange among movement actors, which allows for further movement organizing. Movement publics become periodically embodied during mass protests and actions, and their discursivity can become embodied to the extent that the

ultimate shape and organization of the protest comes to reflect the outcome of movement discussion and debate about the constitution and underlying organizational, social, and infrastructural conditions of the protest and the relationship between diverse protest actors. A recursive public is distinct from the concept of "free spaces," which Evans and Boyte (1992) describe as physical places where individuals can connect with the political and both discover and produce shared understandings of domination and injustice (Polletta 1999). Rather than physical institutional "free spaces," we view the temporally bounded, and thus ephemeral, nature of a recursive public to be central to its constructive power, where people on the margins of the climate movement can participate in re-thinking the movement as a whole.

In this paper we specifically argue that the PCM physically embodied a recursive public composed of a diversity of historically fragmented actors, divided along axes of social composition (race, class, etc.) as well as political tactics and ideology. This embodied social movement public was recursive in that the March represented the outcome of a great deal of argumentation and debate about the nature of the movement, not just its social composition and political ideology, but also the very organizational and infrastructural foundation. In this sense, as an embodied recursive public the PCM helped to create the conditions of possibility for ongoing discussion, strategizing, and debate within and about the climate movement, which can ultimately lead to subsequent organizing, protesting, and movement building.

Background

The climate movement's history and internal divisions reveal the strategic importance of recursivity. The movement definitively emerged in the late 1980s alongside the growth in international awareness about the issue of climate change and a pressing need to take action (Kendall et al. 1992). Early on, the movement was led by the Climate Action Network (CAN), which sought to push climate change to the forefront of the United Nations agenda (Hadden 2015). The efforts of CAN contributed to the 1992 UN Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, which created the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) and the continued negotiations at annual COP (Conference of the Parties) meetings to continue addressing the issue of climate change. This includes the 1997 COP in Kyoto, which led to a legally binding set of landmark requirements for reducing carbon emissions— though largely considered unsuccessful due to lack of accountability mechanisms and the refusal of the United States to participate (Ciplet, Roberts, and Khan 2015), and the more recent Paris Agreement that entered into force in November 2016.

During the Kyoto deliberations, divisions became evident in CAN, as some activists began to question the organization's commitment to scientific arguments and its reliance on the U.N. to enact and enforce change (Hadden 2015). Although the climate movement remained intact, a clear faction emerged that sought to link the climate movement and global justice struggles. These

justice-oriented organizers put together the first Climate Justice Summit in The Hague in 2000 and formed the Durban Group for Climate Justice in 2004. This set the stage for the annual tradition of large-scale protest outside COP meetings to pressure for real action toward climate justice.

By the 2007 COP meeting in Bali, a coalition of more radical organizations called Climate Justice Now! (CJN) had formed in order to incorporate social, ecological, and gender justice under the climate change banner (Bond 2010, Hadden 2015). This group drew from the global justice movement, especially the anti-globalization movement, which had seen success in Seattle less than a decade earlier (see Juris 2008a). The movement became further divided at the now infamous 2009 COP 15 meeting in Copenhagen. A chasm grew wider between mainstream and radical approaches, such as between traditional lobbying and advocacy groups (like CAN and Global Campaign for Climate Action), and those more focused on direct action and civil disobedience (such as Climate Justice Now! and Climate Justice Action) (Hadden 2015). Throughout the conference these groups were in conflict and could not bridge their differences, which weakened the public voice at Copenhagen. The resulting Copenhagen Accord, pushed through by a powerful group of nations, reinforced existing power imbalances between the Global North and South, and further marginalized developing nations (Mukhopadhyay 2009).

Despite a growing awareness of how climate change relates to global and environmental justice, there are still critical fractures in the climate movement involving divisions between groups. These include indigenous and minority communities who are most acutely threatened by climate change; youth who must live with the destructive decisions of the past; anti-capitalists who attribute climate change primarily to growth under capitalism; engineers who seek to build technological solutions; and conservationists who center their work on specific phenomena such as biodiversity loss or deforestation. Chatterton, Featherstone, and Routledge (2013:613) use the case of Copenhagen to suggest the climate movement may actually be something more like a "range of overlapping, interacting, competing, differentially placed and resourced, and often divergent networks concerned with issues of climate change." These different climate movement actors exist on unequal planes of power, and while their environmental concerns overlap, their strategic and ideological perspectives often do not. Indeed, as we highlight below, the PCM was explicitly designed to allow for all groups and individuals to locate their place within a broad conceptualization of climate change. The PCM not only brought together diverse parts of the climate movement, it spotlighted those groups that have been historically excluded and marginalized, such as indigenous peoples.

We describe the different components of the March weekend in greater ethnographic detail in the following sections, but it is important to note here how the events came together. The People's Climate March was called for and primarily funded by the climate NGO 350.org and progressive NGO Avaaz. However, much of the organizing work was done by a "host committee." According to Tomás Garduño, the political director of The Alliance for a Greater

New York (ALIGN), decisions regarding messaging, date, and route were all decided by the host committee (personal email communication, September 17, 2014). This committee was co-convened by Garduño and Eddie Bautista from the NYC-EJA (New York City Environmental Justice Alliance). For at least six months leading up to the PCM, the host committee, facilitated by ALIGN and NYC-EJA, participated in weekly calls with a broader group drawing from more than 100 organizations.

The March was organized into six sections that deliberately incorporated groups and sectors that had previously participated in climate actions: from frontline communities to students, scientists, and anarchists. As it became clear that the PCM was attracting mass participation, the two organizations, System Change Not Climate Change and Global Climate Convergence, organized a conference of panel discussions and meetings called the Climate Convergence that would be held throughout New York City during the weekend of the March. These sessions focused on social justice and environmental issues, and were planned by individuals and a wide variety of organizations. Finally, more radical-leaning climate activists—many with histories in Occupy Sandy, Occupy Wall Street, and the Global Justice movement (Cohen 2017, Robbins 2014)—coordinated Flood Wall street for the day after the March, a direct action intending to connect climate change to capitalism and satisfy those who felt the March lacked targeted direction. In organizing the events surrounding the March, it was clear that the entire PCM mobilization were meant to be deliberately inclusive and to harness the energy of all parts of the climate movement, something that was critical to addressing the existing divisions.

This inclusivity and purposeful organizing resulted in a specific kind of public. Different from a Harbermasian public centered in rational discourse, exchange, and debate, the PCM was both deliberative and performative, while reflecting Kelty's (2008) conception of a recursive public: "a public that is vitally concerned with the material and practical maintenance and modification of the technical, legal, practical, and conceptual means of its own existence as a public." This involved ongoing discussions and debates regarding the PCM's composition, as well as its underlying material and organizational infrastructure. Indeed, as Nancy Fraser (1992) argues, publics are riven with internal hierarchies, exclusions, and relations of power, including micro-level cultural-political struggles. When internal debates and struggles are primarily focused on the nature of the public itself—its definition, its membership, its structure, its funding—they work to constitute a recursive public. This recursive public exists primarily to discuss and debate its own conditions of possibility both presently and going forward. A recursive public references itself not only through internal debates and micro-level interactions, but also in how it presents itself to an external audience. For example, the numerous critiques of the March written before the weekend (elaborated in the next section) were addressed by public speakers and explicitly cited in conversations many of us had throughout the weekend. We argue that this cycle of recursivity was one of the most distinctive aspects of the weekend, and its infusion into many of the interactions we had with participants and the speeches we heard at panels

before the March speaks to its centrality as a characteristic of the PCM.

The recursivity of the PCM can also be seen in its performative dimension (see Wengronowitz 2014). Performances communicate verbal and nonverbal messages to an audience, linking image to emotion through embodied performance (Baumann 1977; Beeman 1993). This performative aspect distinguishes a recursive public from other strategically self-critical movement formations such as horizontalism or those that exclusively emphasize internal reflexivity. Recursive movement publics rely on and generate publicity, projecting ideas and debates internally, but also outward toward an external audience. The PCM was a performance that not only facilitated networked connections between diverse parts of the climate movement but also "sketched them out," representing and physically manifesting such connections and communicating them, both to an emerging recursive global climate justice movement public and to a larger audience (see Juris 2008b). This communication was effective, as can be seen in the frequent post-PCM comments that “you can’t say no one cares about climate change anymore.” It is this achievement—a change in public discourse that came from images of hundreds of thousands of people marching through the streets of New York City—that points us to the centrality of this performance of the PCM as an embodied recursive public.

Recursivity is integral to building a movement, as it allows a movement to reflect on its strengths and weaknesses and to intentionally deliberate regarding diverse avenues toward potential futures. What occurred at the PCM, however, was something more, involving widespread participation, deliberation, and public action to address movement-wide tensions and divisions that could only have occurred in the context of the large-scale internal and external publics that were generated on the streets of New York. On the other hand, recursivity and the PCM as an embodied recursive public are not panaceas. Larger organizations with more power—resources, connections, high status actors, etc.—maintain their ability to set agendas and drive the movement. It is also important to point out that recursivity itself does not encompass decision-making. Few decisions about the strategy and direction of the climate movement were or could be made during the PCM mobilization. Indeed, publics involve the circulation of discourse and are constituted through the act of collective attention. A public itself does not act or decide, but rather calls into a being a collective actor or series of collective actors that can subsequently take action and make strategic decisions. In this sense, during the PCM itself no specific decisions could be made about future targets, particular places to focus energy, or in determining singular approaches that would reverse climate change. However, the generation and embodiment of a massive, broad, and diverse recursive public during the March energized the movement and facilitated the communicative interactions that were able to bring together the diverse constituencies of the movement, while connecting grassroots actors to movement leadership. The process and experience of coming together as a recursive public boosted energy and generated feelings of power and inclusion that has the potential to invigorate the networks and ongoing interactions

between different groups through which future strategic discussion, decision-making, and movement-building can happen.

In what follows, we identify five elements that reflect the nature of the PCM as a recursive public: 1) The open-source model of workshops and panels during the pre-March events; 2) The unbranded and segmented structure of the March itself; 3) The March's lack of a concrete target; 4) The provision of a communicative and performative space for radical activists during and after the March; 5) And the existence of myriad forums for incidental connections and communication throughout the entire PCM weekend. We argue that these five recursive and performative elements constituted the PCM as an embodied recursive public, which ultimately made it a critical moment in the development of the climate movement.

Methods

We conducted a collaborative ethnographic study of the PCM weekend in New York City from September 19-22, 2014. We divided up in order to participate in and observe as many different events and spaces as possible, while intermittently coming together to collectively reflect, and then separate again, as a way to gain a broad perspective on the different PCM-related activities and protests taking place around New York City. This process also included collaborative writing in which we all contributed to recording our observation, analysis, and generating our argument. Our data come from our observations, from field notes written during and after the weekend, from social and mainstream media, and from audio and video recordings and photographs. We systematically compiled and analyzed these data, and then wrote the paper collectively using the Google Docs shared online editing platform.

As a group of activists and academics based in Boston, we attended the PCM as participant observers. As other ethnographic research has shown (Scheper-Hughes, 1993, Juris and Khasnabish 2013), this approach can provide insight not necessarily accessible from the sidelines, as was the case for our engagement in the weekend's events. We marched for miles, stayed up all night to help paint banners, and took on legally and physically risky positions during the Flood Wall Street action.

Throughout the weekend, we simultaneously played activist and researcher roles. For example, several of us contributed to deliberations during the Flood Wall Street (FWS) action. However, our observations were restricted to the weekend itself, in that none of our research team played a role in organizing the March or its surrounding events. This reflects a persistent issue in studying social movements ethnographically: the need to be in the right place at the right time and involved in the early planning stages to capture all details. Ultimately, our argument is focused on the events of the March weekend and not in the planning that produced it.

Additionally, our individual backgrounds informed our observations and understanding of the PCM and the weekend's other events. Each of us possesses

diverse histories of activism, having participated in various social movements. We supported the aims of the March and the movement for climate justice, and all believe in the need for stronger global efforts to address climate change. We have all previously attended other large demonstrations and actions, which allowed us to participate in the PCM with perspective and a reliable set of expectations of what it would entail. This allowed us to look beyond the uniqueness of protest and focus on how the events related to expectations and norms of movement activities.

Our fieldwork took place in New York City, New York. Most of the weekend's activities, including the March itself, occurred near Central Park, in midtown, and in lower Manhattan. Workshops and activist spaces also hosted related events in Brooklyn. Events were held in spaces owned by universities, religious groups, and other social justice organizations. We spread out during the weekend, attending events around the city and observing the March and its participants on the streets, in the subway, and in many spaces in between.

Before the People's Climate March

In the weeks and months leading up to the PCM there were steady debates about the utility, purpose, and strategy of the March that occurred primarily online in activist and environmentalist media outlets, op-ed pages, and on social media. Many agreed that no, this event would not solve the global crisis of climate change, but yes, we must go anyway, mostly occurring within the climate movement but with contributors from outside as well. Broadly, these critiques can be divided into liberal and radical perspectives on the goals and strategies of the climate movement, and accompanying opinions about the effectiveness of mass marches in general and this one in particular that did not have clear political demands or a specific centralized message. From the everyday conversations among activists to the formal panel discussions with elite movement leaders and political figures, the debates around the PCM attempted to critically address problems in the movement and identify ways of solving them. In this section, we show our experiences at workshops in the two days before the March that, importantly, were organized in an open-source model allowing diverse participation.

At the Climate Convergence on September 19th and 20th, indigenous activists and speakers from the Global South drew lines of connection from their struggles to movements in the North, calling for greater solidarity as part of a common struggle. At a panel the next night, prominent speakers and politicians voiced their concerns over the strategy of the March, engaging in a debate about the climate movement that had begun months before. Representing both liberal and radical wings of the ongoing debates, these two events highlight the power the March had to bridge different sectors of the climate movement, bringing together activists, everyday people, and elites.

There were dozens of events in the first days of the PCM weekend, including the formal and informal, from big environmental NGO workshops to individual

speakers. At an event hosted by Rainforest Action Network on Friday, September 19, for example, we listened to speakers discuss corporate finance in climate change to a crowd that seemed to mostly fit the traditional older white environmentalist profile. Later that evening, a notably more racially diverse crowd filled St. Peter's Church for the opening plenary of the Climate Convergence that included Bolivian water rights activist Oscar Olivera, Philippine labor organizer Josua Mata, Idle No More's Erica Violet Lee, the hip-hop activist Immortal Technique, Global Justice Ecology Project's Anne Petermann, and New York City organizer Nastaran Mohi. The plenary reflected an increasingly common goal among U.S. grassroots movements to ensure that marginalized "frontline communities" that are most affected by an issue are afforded visibility and leadership roles within movement spaces. This builds on similar strategies within environmental and global justice movements (see Juris 2008a).

Indigenous rights organizer Erica Violet Lee explained that many people within their movement "don't think of themselves as activists," and asserted that they are "protectors, not protesters." This reframing of activist identities allowed her to assert the need for acknowledgement of the differences in worldview of those united to fight for climate justice. Drawing connections across movements, Lee dedicated a closing poem to a Palestinian woman, her words lingering in the air as she walked back to her seat on the stage. These speakers worked to connect the environmentalists who had converged in New York City with those who have historically been far from the concern of the US environmental movement, and this theme became acute with one of the final speakers.

When his turn came, Oscar Olivera stepped to the front of the stage. A leader of the Cochabamba, Bolivia "water wars," Olivera (2004) had been the head of the Cochabamba Federation of Factory Workers at the time of water privatizations. He began, "I come from the South to the North to act as a bridge." He spoke to a pervasive theme of the weekend: climate change is too great a challenge for the U.S. environmental movement alone. By beginning his speech with this statement, Olivera implied that those in the Global South were in strong agreement that historic fractures in the climate movement must be repaired.

"We in the South have been victim to a huge dispossession," he continued. "And for 500 years, we've resisted. We are here to look each other in the eyes. We face the biggest obstacle yet: climate change. It's almost invisible, it's hard for us to notice." Admonishing the scientism that some within the movement have relied upon (Boykoff 2011, Moore et al. 2011), Olivera urged a reframing of the argument for action to achieve climate justice. "People will understand climate change if we state that it means scarcity of resources and water. We need to frame this as: rivers dry up, lands become contaminated, that their animals start dying, that their loved ones get cancer. That's what climate change is." Moving so quickly that the translator stopped him for clarification, Olivera jumped to a theme that would arise repeatedly throughout the weekend: "How are we going to organize ourselves?"

Answering his own question, Olivera described the horizontal nature of

organizing in Cochabamba. Echoing Raúl Zibechi's (2005) writings on the extra-state or semi-autonomous nature of recent Bolivian struggles, he spoke of the eight days in April 2000, where in Cochabamba, there "was no governor, no military, no police, no party," but rather, "the power was in the people." This explicit weighing of organizing models and framing came up throughout the weekend, in different rooms, streets, and late-night conversations. Such an orientation generates a continuous recursivity, an ongoing reflection and debate about the organizational infrastructure that makes the movement possible. This was visible through speeches such as those given by Olivera. Ending his speech with a rejection of the historic North/South divide, Olivera asserted that "Cochabamba is in Detroit right now," a reference to that city's ongoing water shut offs that have left poor residents without access to water, and in doing so further troubled the categories long taken for granted within the US environmental movement (see Martinez-Alier 2003, Guha and Martinez-Alier 2013).

With the energy that can come from nearly non-stop activist events, lack of sleep did not stop us from observing many panels, sessions, and workshops at the Climate Convergence. Topics ranged from action planning to decolonization and Marxist ecology to peace and climate intersections. On Saturday evening, we hurried toward a much anticipated panel: "The Climate Crisis: Which Way Out?" Judging by the size of the crowd of people who were unable to enter the at-capacity event, this was clearly the evening's hot ticket, involving a discussion between some of the key public figures in the burgeoning climate justice scene: Bill McKibben, Naomi Klein, Chris Hedges, Kshama Sawant, and Bernie Sanders. We were intrigued about how participants might address the increasingly rancorous debate surrounding Chris Hedges' (2014) critique of the March and call for more direct action.

The panel made clear how much the March itself—as an expression of the broader climate movement—had become the subject of critical reflection and debate: on its meaning, structural foundations, boundaries, as well as strategic benefits and shortcomings. Many of the March's radical critics cited its lack of political direction and its ties with corporate and state institutions. In the lead-up to the PCM, journalist Christopher Hedges (2014) published a widely read critique of the March in which he said it would be a "climate-themed street fair," censured its cooperation with police, and condemned its lack of demands. In the weeks following Hedges' missive, a number of similar critiques of the March appeared. For instance, Saul (2014) argued that the March was fundamentally devoid of politics. Just two days before the event, Gupta (2014) concluded that while he intended to participate in the PCM, it amounted to little more than a marketing campaign.

However, not everyone agreed with these radical critics, many of whom rejected the March's tactics in favor of direct action or the construction of self-sufficient local communities. More moderate perspectives, such as that of Salamon (2014), contended that these radical strategies were inadequate to the task of massively reducing carbon emissions. Such an outcome would require

centralized mobilization requiring big government, which itself necessitated a powerful campaign encompassing large swaths of American society. She put forth an opposing argument, asserting that the March's lack of demands was of benefit, and that "the organizers of the PCM have allowed the marchers to speak for themselves — to make the march, and the actions that will follow it— their own." These debates hinged on two longstanding questions within social movements: what is the purpose of demonstrations, and are they effective?

At the panel, Hedges addressed the March's relation to direct action, saying "I want to talk a little bit about power and why this march…has to be seen as the prelude to resistance." For him, the March was important in terms of its "capacity to radicalize certain people, to make them ask questions about systems of power that maybe they haven't asked before," working to bridge the radical and liberal wings of the movement in order to move forward together. McKibben and Klein articulated similar views. Klein focused on the network connections facilitated by the March. McKibben recognized that the March is not solely sufficient, but that it allowed diverse movements and groups that have been organizing around climate justice for some time to come together and build solidarity and a sense of empowerment. In this sense, recognizing the critical emotional dynamics of mass protests (see Juris 2008b; Goodwin et al. 2001), McKibben suggested that we "take [our] frustration and anger and mix it with the joy and hope of rubbing shoulders with hundreds of thousands of other people…and make change fast." The ultimate goal is thus to build a larger and more sustainable movement.

We wondered about critiques of the PCM while riding the subway at the end of the night where we spotted an ad that read, "What puts hipsters and bankers in the same boat?" followed by the command to "March." Did the ad reflect oversized influence of the well-funded organizations like 350.org, Greenpeace, and Avaaz or was it simply a case of skilled organizers leveraging resources to reach as many people as possible?

Hours later, the man directing our painting of a parachute to be displayed at the March the next day, a long-time radical activist who had spent the previous few weeks creating signs, puppets, and other protest art in this warehouse offered his opinion on the tension. Addressing us as we took a break to let our knees recover from kneeling on the concrete floor, the organizer broke the silence between us. He understood the critiques—such as those from Hedges (2014) and Gupta (2014)—of larger environmental groups like Greenpeace, but he noted how they fund the infrastructure that allowed grassroots movements to organize themselves, facilitating the open model of the March. This organizer did not summarize the critiques to us and instead treated them as background knowledge for any and all participants in the art space. Such an interaction was evidence of the recursivity that pervaded our interactions that weekend and the existence of a recursive climate movement public, which would become embodied over the coming days. Indeed, during this exchange, we evaluated the movement's tactics and goals, while focusing our attention, and those around us, on the nature and composition of the PCM as well as the future of the

climate movement.

We have thus far highlighted some of the critiques and debates that lead up to the March. Throughout the weekend, we heard similar conversations repeatedly in the streets, and they came from people at all levels of involvement in the climate movement. Such discussions illustrated the existence of a recursive climate movement public that came into being through debates about the PCM itself, including its underlying meaning, its social and political boundaries, and its underlying material and organizational infrastructure. We now turn to the March itself, where this recursive public would be performed and embodied.

The March: "People power in full bloom"

"Shhhh, shhhhh!" The sound spread through the multitude as thousands raised their hands and fell silent. All at once the crowd, which had been abuzz with conversation and speculations about when we might start marching after waiting for several hours, stood quietly in remembrance of those who were already victims of climate change. Standing there, those affected by sea level rise, extreme storms, droughts, and resource depletion passed through our minds. These thoughts were broken when, moments later, the assembled marchers sounded the "climate alarm" by breaking into a cacophony of shouts, whoops, and yells intended to demand the attention and to alert the world to the effects of climate change. It was a moment emblematic of the performance of the March as it audibly demonstrated the strength of the collective voice advocating for action on climate change. It can also be seen as a result of the organizers' internal recursivity and deliberations as such a demonstration brought together the historically divided factions of the climate movement together in a single, unified act.

Three elements of the PCM reflect its constitution as a recursive public and its subsequent embodiment. First, the March was structured so that the full diversity of the climate movement was present and visible, but also so that marginalized groups were specifically highlighted. This structure was part of the organizers' goal of purposeful inclusivity and facilitated the performance of a united but differentiated movement. Second, the March had no explicit demands or targets. It had been deliberately scheduled to coincide with the UN climate summit meeting, but the March itself aimed only to put out a broad call for global action to address climate change. This allowed all participants to freely express their interests, opinions, and connections on climate-related issues and make them known in their own ways. Third, discussion and debate occurred during the incidental periods of the PCM, especially in the hours waiting to start marching due to the enormity of the crowd. These three components highlighted recursivity in that they outlined specific organizational and political conditions of possibility for the movement itself, conditions that included the highlighting of the world's most vulnerable and marginalized populations, thereby opening the space both literally and figuratively for a wide variety of perspectives and voices and allowing for these conversations to take

place within the March itself. These elements and the performance of movement debates and diversity to a broader public constituted the PCM as an embodied recursive public, which allowed it become a critical moment for the climate movement.

We arrived at the March on Sunday, September 21, and spread out between 65th Street and 86th Street on Central Park West. The March was organized into six segments that matched prominent parts of the movement. From front to back, with short notes of the primary participants in each section: Frontlines of Crisis, Forefront of Change (communities of color and environmental justice groups); We Can Build the Future (labor, students, families); We Have Solutions (environmental groups); We Know Who Is Responsible (anti-corporate and other protest groups); The Debate Is Over (science and interfaith groups); To Change Everything, We Need Everyone (a catchall to include everyone else). This structure provided a visual narrative for onlookers, media, and institutional power-holders at the United Nations. Featured in the front were those with the most at stake in climate change policymaking, following them were groups looking to the future and building solutions, then those identifying the culprits of climate change and definitively ending any debates about it, and then finally everyone else supporting the movement in the back. Rather than solely embracing the diversity of the movement, the structure announced it, performing and communicating the message that people from very different backgrounds and with their own preferred reasons for being present had come together to demand climate action. While this allowed for the presence of a variety of perspectives, the spatial demarcation of different narratives also prevented some inter-group discourse that may have occurred otherwise.

The PCM's size created a context where long periods of waiting facilitated important exchanges among participants. Though the March was meant to begin at 11:30, only the very front could begin moving at that time. The large number of participants meant space was filled as the March moved forward and so it took hours for everyone to begin marching. The long wait allowed for conversation, sharing of songs, and relationship building. For example, one group called the People's Climate March Music Bloc facilitated singing by passing out lyrics. Pointing to the recursive public created at the March, one of the songs (Ain't Gonna Let Nobody Turn me Around) inspired a conversation around the appropriateness of a Black Freedom song in the climate movement. The March delay also allowed for debate over the March's structure and effectiveness.

Since the appearance of the March was so important to conveying the complexity of climate movement to the outside public, we found a perch on the corner of 59th Street and 6th Avenue from which to observe the full diversity of the crowd. At the front, a massive, multi-colored banner read "Frontlines of Resistance, Forefront of Change," featuring an image of flooding on the left and people rising up on the right. Indigenous peoples and indigenous rights activists from the Americas and beyond came next, and differences across race, gender,

and background were highlighted in order to consciously bring out the diversity in the group. Next marched members of local community-based organizations working on a host of social and economic issues linked to climate justice. A housing rights organization carried large blue tents representing various kinds of displaced people. A group of environmental justice organizations struggling to protect nearby beach areas from the effects of flooding and sea level rise carried orange and blue dinghies with slogans such as "Organize Our Communities" and "Resistance & Resilience."

"We Can Build the Future" included labor, students, and youth. In this section a large contingent of students from colleges across the country marched under school-specific banners alongside union members carrying creative slogans such as "Tax Wall Street, End Climate Change," "Climate Change is a Healthcare Crisis," and "An Injury to the Planet is an Injury to All." Other marchers expressed more playful messages to get their points across, building on a long tradition of movement satire and humor (Bogad 2016, Haugerud 2014). The third large section in the March, "We Have Solutions," then passed by nearly three hours after the March had begun, and included various environmental movement groups and organizations. The most highly visible organized groups were large national and transnational environmental organizations, such as The Sierra Club, The Environmental Defense Fund, and the World Wildlife Federation. Several religious groups, including local Quaker and Insight Meditation organizations, also held large banners in the "We Have Solutions" block, pointing to another important movement sector.

Next came the "We Know Who is Responsible" section, including a visible presence of anti-corporate groups such as Rainforest Action Network, peace groups such as Code Pink and Veterans for Peace, Palestine solidarity groups stressing the ecological dimension of Israeli occupation, and the Flood Wall Street action contingent. This was largely an anti-capitalist bloc, which also featured many red and black-clad anarchists and occasional Guy Fawkes masks reminiscent of Occupy protests. Many of the critiques of the PCM for its corporate-friendly orientation (e.g., "hipsters and bankers in the same boat") were challenged by the radical images and slogans depicted in this block, such as the banner reading "Capitalism=Climate Chaos" that stretched an entire city block. Finally, the last two sections, "The Debate is Over" and "To Change Everything We Need Everyone" passed by relatively quickly, indicating their smaller numbers, perhaps in part because some had left the march prematurely after so many hours. The most memorable contingent from these two sections was the group of "scientists" decked out in white lab coats carrying signs with facts and figures documenting the reality of climate change and the urgency of immediate action.

As revealed in these snapshots, the PCM brought together much diversity while making visible and symbolically weaving together a complex set of issues, frames, discourses, and analyses under the broad umbrella of climate action. We were left with a lasting impression of the sheer immensity of the March. Beyond its size, this was one of the most diverse environmental marches we had ever

seen, including people from environmental justice and other community-based movements, indigenous activists from around the world, rank and file union members, students and other young people, representatives of large environmental organizations, anarchists and direct action activists, and thousands of unaffiliated people who had simply come to express their concern about climate change. Furthermore, the tone of the march was serious, given the gravity of the issue, but also festive, with creative art, colorful and witty signs, eye-catching banners and puppets, and myriad mobile performances. Though organizers originally put the total number of participants at 310,000, they increased the figure to 400,000. An older woman one of us spoke to beamed as she watched the protesters march by, saying, "I haven't seen anything like this since the 1960s!"

At around 3:30pm the PCM text alert system sent out a message saying, "The march is so big that we're asking people to disperse before they reach 11th Ave and 42nd St." Unlike other large marches there was no rally at the end of the PCM with a stage and speakers. As the text alert requested, the March dispersed, its participants spreading out around midtown in search of much needed water, food, and bathrooms. Though the March did not end with a bang, its impact had been made: it could no longer be said that no one cares about climate change. In this sense, the three main elements that constituted the PCM as a recursive public—its segmented but inclusive structure, its lack of a singular message, and the time spent waiting to start walking—all made it a critical public moment for the movement, allowing it to generate visibility, energy, and power, while consolidating a collective identity and feelings of attachment, despite some of the criticisms made in the weeks leading up to it. We again separated for the night to make our final preparations for the next day's Flood Wall Street direct action, which we turn to next.

Flood Wall Street: "Shut down Wall Street now"

> *"The people gonna rise with the water, gonna calm this crisis down.*
> *I hear the voice of my great-granddaughter, singing shut down Wall Street now."*

As we marched from Battery Park, organized into sections according to the expected risk of arrest, Flood Wall Street organizers led the crowd in song. Some had learned the song at FWS trainings, others had a song sheet handout, but most picked up the words piece by piece as we moved toward Wall Street, exchanging smiles with friends and strangers around us as the level of energy and excitement rose. The lyrics to the song (see epigraph) were carefully crafted by local poets prior to the protest to convey the main message FWS sought to convey. While the first line invokes the notions of crisis and sea level rise, the second line refers to both its impact on future generations and makes connections to Wall Street and capitalism. Throughout the day we sang the

song, voicing our message to onlookers and the world.

In contrast to the all-encompassing approach of the March itself, FWS had a distinct and direct message that shifted the discourse from "To Change Everything, We Need Everybody" to "Capitalism = Climate Chaos." Building on the political space created by the weekend, groups from around the country collaborated to plan and participate in the direct action, with the intention of engaging in nonviolent civil disobedience to disrupt the financial district around Wall Street. This was significant: during the PCM, there was mutual respect and collaboration between participants and organizers of both the March and FWS, representing mainstream and radical factions of the climate movement, respectively. This divide between approaches was central to the weakness of activism at Copenhagen, but was bridged, however momentarily, at the PCM. Most attendees at FWS happily marched in the main climate march the day before, and seemed to recognize the importance of participating despite their differences with some parts of the climate movement. The structure, framing, and tone of the PCM allowed it to be simultaneously inclusive of diverse movement participants and to project a unified public image to an external audience to address climate change. The recursivity of the PCM as a public—the constant debates, tensions, and micro-level struggles surrounding its component parts, boundaries, as well as its material and organizational conditions of possibility—paradoxically held the diverse segments of the movement together even as they publicly expressed their differences. Importantly, actions and performance bridged differences: the PCM created the physical and discursive space for wide swaths of the climate movement to be full members and to contribute. Some debates begun the day before continued at FWS, as participants found themselves with an abundance of time to interact with others. As we show in this section, FWS was essential to connecting some of the more contentious factions of the climate movement.

One of us had been preparing and planning to attend the PCM with a group in Boston, and noted a drastic change in excitement for the event when the group learned about FWS. For many who had been skeptical of the March for its lack of direct action, FWS was a good place to build on the March's energy and bring forth a radical message. Some in the Boston group felt that the proximity of these two events with different targets and purposes would move beyond frustrations with "flash-point organizing," (see Wengronowitz 2014). FWS allowed these types of activists to fully participate in the PCM weekend as a whole, which added ideological diversity to debates.

FWS was clearly linked to the March and similarly highlighted those most affected by climate change. It was organized in response to a call for action from the Climate Justice Alliance (CJA), a coalition of environmental justice, indigenous, and community based organizations like Grassroots Global Justice and Kentuckians for the Commonwealth. Attacking an "extractivist" mentality, CJA said their demands were simple: "Support us in building Just Transition pathways away from the 'dig, burn, dump' economy, and towards 'local, living economies' where communities and workers are in charge!" (Climate Justice

Alliance 2014). The call then asked for people to join in solidarity. Yotam Marom, one of the FWS organizers said the goal of the action "was to connect climate change to Wall Street and amplify stories from the front lines" (Flood Wall Street 2014). There were indigenous and frontline community members at FWS, some of whom spoke, but the action was largely a chance for the amplification of their message through a privileged, generally young and white group of activists.

Protesters met Monday morning in Battery Park at the Southern tip of Manhattan. Approximately two thousand people gathered at 10am, going over plans for the protest, discussing the events of the previous days, and squaring away contact information with lawyers and affinity group members in case of arrests. The connections to the PCM were clear. Not only did we personally recognize many of the people whom we had seen at events all weekend, the more performative aspects that had been present at the March also made an appearance in banners, costumes, and, perhaps most notably, two enormous inflated "climate bubbles" resembling black and silver beach balls. FWS also had its own plan to bridge the gap between performance and protest in asking all participants to wear blue, resembling a tide of people flooding the streets of lower Manhattan, and symbolizing the impact of rising sea levels.

When the action began around noon it quickly became apparent that things would not go exactly as planned. While we had originally intended to march from the Park down Broadway to Wall Street, the barricaded streets and enormous police presence in anticipation of the protest inhibited our movement forward. The march down Broadway was stopped about two blocks before Wall Street in the area surrounding the iconic Wall Street bull, a figure that had become a key image in the 2011 Occupy protests. Police gathered in the barricaded area surrounding the bull soon captured the huge climate bubbles, deflating them amid a cry of jeers and boos from the crowd. While the image of heavily armed police deflating the art pieces as if they posed a threat injected some levity into the scene, a tense energy intermingled with the laughter as protesters watched the officers pop the bubbles one at a time.

When it became clear that we would not march any closer to Wall Street, organizers directed the group to sit down in the street space surrounding the bull. High risk protesters sat down, while low risk protesters moved closer to the sidewalks and assisted in unfurling the 75 foot banner that had also been present at the March the day before, which proclaimed in bright lettering, "Capitalism = Climate Chaos, Flood Wall St!" To our surprise the police did not immediately move from their positions behind the barricades to arrest the crowds sitting in the middle of a central artery for city traffic. As it turned out, the entire afternoon passed without officers arresting protesters, possibly due to the large numbers they would have to arrest. We occupied the area of Broadway for four more hours.

While a prolonged occupation was not part of the original plan, this time provided space for dialogue. A gradual calm spread throughout the crowd as we realized that we would not be moved or arrested. The streets became a space for

casual conversation, speechmaking, petition signing, and discussion about what would come next. The barricades police had erected to separate those in the street from those on the sidewalk were disconnected, many by participants, opening space for people to move in and out of the protest as they wished. Organizers started using the "people's mic" to convey messages to the large crowd, the participatory and non-amplified mode of communication popularized by the Occupy Wall Street demonstrations. Participants, one at a time, stood and called out "mic check!" to claim attention for a chance to speak publicly. Though the method of public speech was equally accessible on the face of it, it was not always equitable.

At one point, a young white man grabbed attention with a ranting speech in which he provoked police from his perch on a phone booth, prompting them to chase and tackle him. Several activists voiced frustration that this man had been able to take up so much discursive and media space without being representative of the peaceful and respectful masses. Lisa Fithian, a well-known long-time activist reclaimed the people's mic. In a moment indicative of the weekend's recursivity because of its concern with its own construction and practices, she proposed that those of us in the street turn to the people around us and discuss the pervasiveness of white and male privilege in the climate movement. For the next hour we sat in small groups in the middle of the street, surrounding the famous Wall Street bull and its symbolism of the dominance of economic markets, and discussed the effects of privilege and oppression in the climate movement.

The protest continued for hours, opening up space for businesspeople, tourists, and others to engage with the participants, further showing how incidental context of a protest can have important influence. Throughout the afternoon, interested onlookers wandered in and out of the protests to take a look at what was going on and question participants about the intentions of the action. When businesspeople came down from their offices many engaged with the protesters about their anti-capitalist messages. Though we heard many heated arguments, including those with a group of young men in business suits who sought to provoke by bringing a cardboard cutout of Ronald Reagan, there were also productive conversations about the connection between capitalism and climate change. Some onlookers were deeply supportive, including a group of students at an adjacent school who held signs up to the windows saying they would join after class. Many non-participants were also tourists, who wound their way through protesters in the streets to take photographs with the Wall Street bull and costumed FWS activists. As we occupied the street, we debated among ourselves whether we could consider FWS a success. This sparked intense discussion, for example, about the definitions of a successful action, the nature of disruption, and the significance of the NYPD's non-interference and even accommodation—was it because of numbers, a relatively friendly mayor (Bill de Blasio), or something else?

As it became increasingly apparent that there would not be a climactic ending to the protest, people began to trickle away from the action after a long afternoon

of physically occupying the streets near Wall Street. It concluded in the evening, however, with the arrest of 104 activists in an act of civil disobedience—they refused to follow a police order to disperse from the street which they had occupied for many hours at this point. Conversations amongst activists continued during the arrests and legal processing. One of us was arrested and recalls dialogue amongst arrestees about the prison system, New York City politics, and the next steps for the movement, particularly for the group of approximately 25 Boston-based organizers (some who continued the conversation online, see Emily et. al 2014). Though the FWS action did not meet its original stated goal of marching on Wall Street itself, it was certainly disruptive to foot and automobile traffic in the financial district. It also produced a space for recursive discourse about the nature and conditions of possibility of the climate movement: friends and strangers alike filled the time with lively discussions about what climate justice means, who needs to be a part of the movement, and what it would take to get there. Moreover, through its performative actions—with the collective described as a "sea," pointing to Manhattan's high-risk of flooding with sea level rise—the protest attempted to make visible the causal connections between capitalism and climate change, conveying a political message to an external audience, while embodying and constituting itself as the radical wing of a larger recursive climate movement public.

At one point earlier in the day during the protest, one of us stepped out into a nearby café. Inside, Fox News was playing on a television, and the anchor made a statement to the effect of, "The People's Climate March continues today with protests on Wall Street." While this first seemed like an inaccurate portrayal of the intentions of the protest, we then realized that the anchor had made the connection between capitalism and climate change, using the less controversial PCM to frame their brief coverage. The attention that FWS drew to this connection is notable, and was made possible by the PCM's magnetic power to attract people to New York that weekend and thereby create an undeniable demonstration of strength of the climate movement. The PCM had thus brought into being and embodied a large, diverse, and highly visible recursive climate movement public that had succeeded in reaching out to and conveying its messages to a massive internal and external public audience.

Conclusion: marches, publics, and climate movement strategy

We have argued in this paper that the PCM weekend was a critical moment in the climate movement because it provided the spatial and organizational infrastructure to bring together a diversity of historically fragmented climate movement actors as an embodied recursive public that reached a large internal and external audience, setting the stage for subsequent organizing, strategizing, and movement building. This recursivity did not exist solely in the planning of the March weekend between select movement leaders, but it was also enacted and performed by all the participants. Woven through the March weekend, and often happening in real-time, were debates and discussions about the nature,

composition, and future of the climate movement, including its potential as well as the most effective narratives and strategies going forward. This made the March distinct from past actions that were not able to bring together so many diverse actors in a coordinated process of communication and interaction across social, political, and ideological differences.

Recursivity and the notion of an embodied recursive public have been central to our analysis. We have shown that the March weekend was a series of events rooted in the inclusion of diverse viewpoints about how to address climate change and how best to build a movement, and in this, dialogue and debate were facilitated throughout the entire mobilization. An important part of these discussions was that individuals and groups came to the March weekend as full participants, regardless of their background or perspective, due in no small part to the visibility and foregrounding of historically marginalized groups. Despite differences in their analysis of climate change and political strategy, activists of all stripes felt that they belonged in New York City on that long September weekend. By being there, with other participants, with different perspectives, they were building the movement. This is tied to the features of the PCM, which - both intentionally and unintentionally—provided abundant space and time to debate the climate movement.

We identified five factors that contributed to the constitution of the PCM as an embodied recursive public: 1) The segmented structure of the PCM and its unbranded nature facilitated participation from a broad set of perspectives and allowed for diverse forms of protest performance; 2) Because the March had no target, participants were able to publicly express and articulate their own ideas on climate change to internal and external audiences; 3) At the pre-March events, an open-source model of workshops, panels, and meetups allowed wide-ranging activists to find their place, debate ideas about the movement and its conditions of possibility, and make connections; 4) The opportunity for direct action at Flood Wall Street, facilitated by the March weekend, provided an outlet for more radically-minded activists to perform and communicate their visions of capitalism, climate, and the nature, composition, and prospects for the broader movement; and finally, 5) The incidental moments—including the delayed start of the PCM and the extended occupation at FWS—provided further spaces for groups and individuals to interact, communicate, and connect.

Ultimately, the March weekend was one event in the history and course of the climate movement. We must ask ourselves, then, what the March weekend as the embodiment of a recursive public represented for the movement, and what did recursivity accomplish? We believe the PCM created an infrastructure for the diverse sectors of the movement to come together, talk about and debate the underlying politics, vision, and goals of the March, while embodying and performing the relationships between the different sectors of the movement, providing a snapshot of a broadly diverse movement coming together across its differences. The horizontal, network structure of the march facilitated this kind of relatively horizontal discursive production, interaction, and performance.

Recursivity depends on this kind of horizontal, networked organization.

The March, then, allowed the movement to come together, interact, project an image of itself as large, powerful, and diverse, but also unified. Such recursivity helps to produce the infrastructure and the conditions of possibility for future coordination, organization, and decision-making, as well as the generation of demands and the organization of actions to achieve those demands. In other words, the radical critiques of the march were in part wrong—the march was so large and successful because it did not include demands, facilitating instead spaces for diverse groups to come together across their differences. But the march could not do other things that are important for movements, such as building sustainable relationships, generating specific demands, organizing locally, and fighting for concrete legislation. In this sense, recursivity serves only as a precondition, local movements and networks then have to engage more fully in deliberative kinds of interactions that can lead to local and regional decisions being made and implemented. This requires more organized kinds of structures and processes within movement organizations. The march did not and could not do this. Its recursivity and constitution as an embodied recursive public were only preconditions.

Finally, our analysis here also raises the important question of praxis. Praxis is the movement of theory into practice, and it has an important relationship with a movement's recursivity and reflexivity. The March weekend had elements of praxis, reflexivity, and recursivity all at varying stages throughout the weekend. For example, FWS had strong elements of praxis as it put theories of capitalism, political economy, and environmental destruction into conversation and action through a climate change-focused march on Wall Street. At the same time the action was both reflexive and recursive. It was reflexive in that the action's impacts were continually and constantly re-evaluated, such as when the decision was made to push forward from the location around the Wall Street bull to Wall Street itself. It was also recursive in its internal debate about the conditions of possibility of this more radical faction of the climate movement, such as when participants sat down in the street to discuss privilege, and in its debates about the position of the radical faction within the larger movement. At the same time, the action was also performative, in that it publicly communicated its values and politics to internal and external audiences. These elements are distinct but interrelated, and we argue that taken together the embodiment and enactment of recursivity during the weekend brought into a being a large and highly visible recursive public, unifying a broader movement across its myriad differences, even if momentarily, and creating the conditions of possibility for ongoing movement organizing, strategizing, protesting, and movement building. In this sense, the PCM mobilization was a critical moment for the climate movement, which will need to grow stronger as well as more visible and active in the context of a Trump regime that includes high-profile climate change deniers, oil company executives, and opponents of the EPA.

The concepts of recursivity and recursive publics illuminate what was special about the PCM weekend. Examining recursivity allowed us to see how people

who are not typically participants in strategic discussions within the climate movement became involved in meaningful ways. For a climate movement intent on drawing activists working on wide-ranging issues and finding ways for activists to work together across ideological divides, or at least articulating, discussing, and performing their differences together is valuable. We suggest that future research on the degree and importance of recursivity and recursive publics in social movements could produce important insights into cross-disciplinary understandings of resiliency, longevity, and strategies of large-scale grassroots movements.

The utility of recursivity and recursive publics as concepts for movement research can be seen in relation to three longstanding debates among activists and within social movement theory: the role of non-profit organizations in campaigns, strategic debates between mainstream (liberal) and radical approaches, and the utility of mass marches. These issues were not resolved, but as we have shown the PCM weekend afforded spaces where groups and individuals could engage in productive debate and dialogue. Critical conversations about the movement's future were not reserved for movement leaders alone, but included activists and everyday supporters. The March weekend showed the potential for how a broadly participatory and actively recursive public event can contribute to a stronger movement more aware and intentional about its own construction and organizing practices. Such a movement can be united in its diversity, but the mere presence of diversity does not unite a movement. By fostering the conditions that generated an embodied recursive public, an effort that took a significant amount of political and organizational labor, PCM organizers helped lay the foundations for ongoing climate organizing and movement building across differences—in background, social composition, ideology, tactics, and strategy.

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Turtles & teamsters revival? Analyzing labor unions' environmental discourse from the 2014 People's Climate March

Lauren Contorno

Abstract

Through an examination of collective action frames, this article explores the sociopolitical motivations driving American union members' engagement in the climate change movement, as well as the political ideologies inferred by their proposed action strategies. The analysis centers on the historic action of the 2014 People's Climate March (PCM) and employs a qualitative mixed-methods approach, including 19 in-depth interviews with labor leaders and rank-and-file members who participated in the march. I find that the majority of these labor activists contend that climate change is a result of systemic political-economic arrangements, and mobilize around climate change under the master frame of environmental justice. However, divergent frames exist within the prognostic realm, with some labor activists advancing reformist mitigation strategies that adhere to the paradigm of ecological modernization, and others advocating political strategies that entail more structurally transformative interventions. I also discuss the PCM's legacy impact on coalition building between the labor and environmental movements, and identify obstacles that exist to labor's future climate justice organizing in the U.S. context. In concluding, I note the limitations of this analysis and suggest avenues for future research on this topic.

Keywords: framing, ideology, blue-green coalitions, climate justice, People's Climate March

Introduction

Climate change is one of the defining issues of this epoch—a socio-ecological crisis that has not only sparked mobilization among environmental organizations, but also within labor, religious, and community-based groups. On September 21, 2014, an estimated 400,000 people flooded the streets of New York City to participate in the People's Climate March (PCM), collectively demanding that world leaders take substantive action to address climate change during the United Nations summit that would take place later that week. One of the largest contingents in the march was that of organized labor, with 10,000 members from over 70 different organizations. Evoking the memory of the 1999 World Trade Organization (WTO) protests in Seattle in which the "Turtles and the Teamsters" united against neoliberal trade policies, several media outlets suggested this moment signified a political shift— a reuniting of workers and environmentalists around the shared agenda of climate justice. However,

without further examination of the political convictions informing and shaping labor's climate change activism, the movement implications of this historic moment remain unclear and unexplored within sociological analysis.

The study of cross-movement coalitions between the labor and environmental movements, or "blue-green coalitions" is interdisciplinary in nature, with a rapidly growing literature across sociology, labor studies, history, and political science. Previous survey research has established that union members exhibit concern for environmental problems at rates similar to or higher than the general population (Chen 2016; Kojola, Xiao, and McCright 2014; Vachon and Brecher 2016), and has shown that union leaders across a variety of economic sectors report favorable relationships with environmental NGOs—engaging in information sharing, regular meetings, and joint political action (Obach 2002). However, because these surveys most often operationalize environmental concern through simplistic Likert-scale responses and aggregate responses as a whole instead of grouping by economic sector, it provides a homogenized and limited understanding of union members' environmental attitudes. For example, survey research can provide us with an overview of union members' willingness to pay higher taxes for climate change mitigation, but it does not lend itself to an understanding of the motivations and beliefs undergirding their pro-environmental attitudes and behavior. Moreover, without an accompanying qualitative analysis of the discourse guiding on-the-ground union organizing, survey data on individual attitudes provides an incomplete picture of how environmental concern ultimately manifests in union policy and activism. Finally, previous analyses of environmental attitudes among union members have employed a broad conceptualization of environmentalism, and have not specifically examined the increasingly salient issue of climate justice. As a principle, climate justice lies at the intersection of social and ecological justice, demanding: social and economic protections for frontline indigenous, low-income, and communities of color who experience disproportionate impacts of climate-related hazards; compensation for the ecological debt owed to nations in the global South, based upon the global North's historic responsibility for ecological destruction and exploitation; and bottom-up climate policy solutions generated by transparent and democratic decision making (Chatterton, Featherstone, and Routledge 2013; Schlosberg and Collins 2014). To date, only a handful of studies have examined the discursive frames being deployed within the climate change movement (Bäckstrand and Lövbrand 2007; Newell 2008; Rosewarne, Goodman, and Pearse 2015; Wahlström, Wennerhag, and Rootes 2013), and they have not been specific to mobilization in the U.S.

This article begins to fill these gaps through an analysis of the collective action frames being deployed by labor activists who are engaged in climate change organizing, as well a snapshot account of the blue-green organizing initiatives preceding and catalyzed by the PCM. My research questions are: 1) What do union members identify as the causes of and solutions to climate change, and what is the primary motivation for labor unions' climate change activism? 2) What is the legacy of the PCM in terms of blue-green coalition building, and what internal obstacles exist to labor's future organizing around climate

change? 3) What are the underlying political-economic ideologies inferred by labor activists' framing of climate change, and to what extent does this positioning reflect alignment with or subversion of dominant political cultures? While the first two questions are empirical in nature and advance our knowledge concerning the political trajectory of organized labor's climate change activism, the third question contributes to theoretical discussions on the complicated relationship between movement ideology and collective action frames. Ultimately, I find that most union members believe that climate change is the result of systemic political-economic problems, and frame their mobilization using the language of environmental justice. This framing represents a departure from the increasingly depoliticized, technoscientific language imbuing popular discussion on climate change mitigation and adaptation and thus is politically significant. However, their discourse in the prognostic realm indicates the emergence of two contrasting frames: *reformist* political approaches that adhere to the hegemonic liberal paradigm of ecological modernization, and strategies that entail more structurally *transformative* interventions. Interviews with union members revealed intrapersonal and intermovement inconsistencies in both a discursive and ideological sense. I argue that these disjunctures can partially be attributed to activists' navigation of extant hegemonic ideologies and political cultures that constrain what types of frames are culturally resonant and therefore politically persuasive. Ultimately, the PCM was instrumental in strengthening and sustaining cross-movement organizing between labor and environmental organizations. However, the political trajectory of labor's climate change organizing remains contingent upon negotiation of these diverging prognostic strategies, increased rank-and-file mobilization, and transcending the rift between "affected" unions in the building and energy trades and unaffected unions.

Consideration of organized labor's environmental politics is imperative in any analysis of the climate justice movement for two reasons. First is that low-income and working-class individuals are disproportionately burdened by ecological hazards, both through toxic exposures in the workplace as well as in the neighborhoods they live in (Brulle and Pellow 2006; Mohai, Pellow, and Roberts 2009; Sokas 2008). They also live in politically marginalized communities that are more geographically and socially vulnerable to climate change-related disasters, such as storm surges, rising sea levels, and heat waves (Bullard and Wright 2009; Harlan et al. 2006; IPCC 2007; Tierney 2007). Therefore, amplifying working-class voices, along with indigenous communities and people of color, is of utmost importance in the climate justice movement. Second, labor's critical position in our economy at the point of production affords unions tremendous bargaining power and political influence as social movement actors. As a result, their emerging leadership role within the climate justice movement is worth critical reflection on the part of both labor activists and social movement scholars within the academy. For these reasons, this paper intentionally amplifies and analyzes labor's perspective on climate change, as opposed to delving into the relational dynamics or ideological divergences

between labor and environment organizations. Nevertheless, the history of past blue-green organizing efforts provides valuable context for this study.

Blue-green alliances: a brief history

Relations between environmental organizations and labor unions in the United States have been continually evolving since the 1960s, which marked the birth period of the mainstream environmental movement we know today. Despite high-profile instances of conflict highlighted in the media that give the impression of a solely contentious relationship between organized labor and environmental activists, there is a growing and substantial record of collaboration between the two movements (Estabrook 2007; Mayer 2009; Minchin 2002; Obach 1999; Obach 2004). In the 1960s and early 70s, labor organizations' environmental organizing centered primarily around issues of public health, such as air and water protection, in addition to issues of workplace health and safety. Blue-green political pressure played a formative role in the passage of several landmark pieces of legislation during this environmental era, including the Clean Air and Clean Water Acts, as well as the Toxics Substances Control Act (Jakopovich 2009).

Although the growing occupational health and safety movement continued to provide solid common ground between the two movements on the issue of toxics throughout the 1980s, the neoliberal reforms of the Reagan era brought tremendous political setbacks for both labor and environmental organizations, stifling coalition building (Mayer 2009). The 1990s also saw precarious blue-green relations. Notable instances of contention include the standoff between timber workers and environmentalists over the protection of Northern Spotted Owl habitat in the Pacific Northwest, as well as the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations (AFL-CIO)'s opposition to the 1997 Kyoto Protocol (Foster 1993; Kojola, Xiao and McCright 2014). However, efforts to liberalize trade with legislation such as NAFTA were met by staunch opposition from both groups. Controversy over the lack of environmental and labor protections in U.S. trade policies came to a head at the WTO Ministerial Conference of 1999, where members of the Teamsters union and environmentalists dressed as turtles famously took to the streets and joined arms in protest at the "battle of Seattle." Though an important moment of mobilization against neoliberal globalization and corporate control, the alliance between the "Turtles and the Teamsters" was short-lived. A few years later, the Bush administration's controversial proposal for exploratory oil drilling in the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge (ANWR) left the Teamsters and environmentalists divided into opposite camps (Mayer 2009).

The present state of blue-green relations remains variable and often issue-specific. However, while palpable tension exists in specific industries—namely within unions affiliated with the building and energy trades— overall there are positive relations and sustained efforts to form bridges between labor unions and environmental organizations (Kojola et. al 2014; Obach 2002). Labor

organizations have been actively involved in recent international climate negotiations, and The Blue Green Alliance—a coalition of America's largest labor unions and most influential environmental NGOs—have been actively lobbying for policies that support green job creation and fair trade. Apart from institutional politics, labor unions have also been increasingly supportive of extra-institutional political action around climate change, like the People's Climate March, and more recently the protests at Standing Rock over the construction of the Dakota Access Pipeline. But what political convictions are guiding labor's environmental activism, and what implications does this have for their involvement in the climate justice movement? To shed light on these movement-relevant inquiries, an analysis of the collective action frames being articulated by labor activists to motivate mobilization is necessitated.

Collective action frames and movement ideology

The following analysis is grounded in one of the primary theoretical approaches within social movement theory: framing. I utilized this framework over a number of other approaches used to critically analyze language around environmental issues, such as Foucauldian discourse analysis (Räthzel and Uzzell 2011; Sharp and Richardson 2001), for three reasons: 1) by nature of their co-organizing of and participation in this large direct action event (the PCM), union members were acting as mobilized members of the climate justice movement, 2) the concept of collective action frames is particularly useful in understanding how members of different types of organizations can be mobilized under unified goals like climate justice, despite different foundational priorities, and 3) organized labor's increasing engagement in the climate justice movement can be characterized as a form of *social movement unionism* as opposed to *business unionism*—a point I return to in the subsequent analysis. Therefore, application of social movement theory seemed most appropriate for this project.

Collective action frames are "action-oriented sets of beliefs and meanings that inspire and legitimate the activities and campaigns of a social movement organization" (Benford and Snow 2000: 614). Frames have multiple dimensions and corresponding functions that are fluidly negotiated as movement actors generate a shared understanding of a social problem and its potential solutions. While *diagnostic framing* identifies a social problem, characterizes its nature, and attributes blame or responsibility, *prognostic framing* identifies proposed solutions and corresponding action strategies. The third facet, *motivational framing*, constructs a rationale to compel collective action (Benford and Snow 2000).

There are four frame alignment processes that connect social movement organizations (SMOs) with potential supporters and/or cultivate cross-movement mobilization: frame bridging, frame amplification, frame extension, and frame transformation (Snow et al. 1986). While they all function slightly differently, the end result of these four processes is the same—the generation of

a shared understanding of an issue by way of linking the interpretative framework of an SMO with existing congruent or complementary beliefs held by individuals or groups. For example, by employing a "health" frame and amplifying values surrounding occupational health and safety, environmental organizations have connected with labor unions to pursue toxics reduction, bridging the two movement's congruent goals of reducing environmental contamination outside the factory and improving internal workplace conditions (Mayer 2009; Obach 1999). Frames that are not movement-specific and that have the ability to foster cross-movement mobilization are referred to as *master frames*. In order to facilitate mobilization across disparate groups, master frames must be sufficiently broad in interpretive scope, inclusive, flexible, and culturally resonant (Benford and Snow 2000). Master frames also tend to emerge with and come to define a historical period of heightened mobilization across the social system, or "cycle of contention," forging new diffuse cultural constructs to justify collective action (Tarrow 1998).

The particular frames activists employ play a decisive role in movement building, winning positive outcomes, and shaping the overall trajectory of the movement (Snow et. al 2014). While collective action frames are informed by a movement's overarching political ideology, activists also draw from extant dominant ideologies and political cultures to construct a rationale for resistance. Therefore, collective action frames are derived from, but not necessarily isomorphic with movement ideologies (Gillian 2008; Snow and Benford 2000; Westby 2002). Similar to frames, ideologies are "a system of meaning that couples assertions and theories about the nature of social life, with values and norms relevant to promoting or resisting social change" (Oliver and Johnston 2000:43). Ideologies contain a theoretical component largely absent from frames, offering a more historicized and unified interpretation of the social world as opposed to the particular and situational orientation of frames (Oliver and Johnston 2000; Westby 2002). Thus, while framing speaks more to the intentional and conscious *process* of communicating movement ideas at the organizational level, ideology speaks to underlying and more theoretically complex sociopolitical *content* (Oliver and Johnston 2000). Political culture is defined as ideals and norms that shape political behavior, and more broadly, the social construction of what issues are deemed "political"; in the US, the dominant political culture is characterized by individualism, rationalism, and universalism (Alvarez et al. 1998; Ellis 1993).

Extant ideologies and political cultures shape what Koopmans and Statham (1999) conceptualize as the *discursive opportunity structure*, or a field of hegemonic meanings that influence what frames or speech is perceived as sensible and realistic, and therefore culturally resonant and politically persuasive. While the cultural resonance of a frame is often emphasized as a key determinant of its effectiveness in movement mobilization (Benford and Snow 2000), a narrow pursuit of resonance can obfuscate power relations and render movement discourse vulnerable to co-optation, as more radical ideas are structurally disadvantaged and marginalized in mainstream discourse (Ferree 2003). Thus, activists must continually navigate the existing discursive

landscape, balancing the necessity of resonating with potential supporters with the obligation to remain consistent with movement ideology. As a result, there are multiple collective action frames within any given movement, and these frames may potentially incorporate both oppositional and non-oppositional elements (Westby 2002).

In sum, collective action frames arise from interactive processes between activists and their opponents, leading collective action frames to emerge as the link between movement ideologies and dominant political ideologies and cultures (Tarrow 1992). While some previous academic and non-academic analyses of labor unions' political approaches to climate change have implicitly or explicitly utilized the concept of framing, they have done so without actually engaging with the larger body of social movement theory behind the concept. Therefore, in an effort to make this work more theoretically grounded, my analysis intentionally illuminates the nascent intrapersonal and intermovement disjunctures between labor activists' climate change frames and political ideologies.

Labor unions' environmental politics: recent empirical studies

Previous research examining the climate politics of organized labor has varied in method, unit of analysis, and geographic scope. To my knowledge, no studies have systematically examined the climate change discourse of American labor activists. At the international level, Felli's (2014) analysis of international (global) trade unions (ITUs) showed that unions' climate change strategies, or prognostic frames, generally fell into one of three categories: "deliberative," "collaborative growth," or "socialist." The dominant strategy was the deliberative strategy, which advances market-based solutions to climate change and utilizes institutionalized channels for social transformation, such as lobbying politicians. Similarly, Hampton (2015) observed that the predominant prognostic framings of climate change among trade unions in the United Kingdom could be characterized as either neoliberal or an ecological modernization agenda. While a neoliberal approach advances free-market solutions to climate change mitigation, an ecological modernist orientation emphasizes technological fixes in conjunction with stricter command and control environmental regulations; both approaches assume the possibility of reformist "win-win" solutions— mitigative approaches within the current capitalist system that will result in both sustainability and economic growth. Only a small minority of union members in that study analyzed the climate crisis from a class-based, Marxist lens. Conversely, another analysis of international trade federations, as well as national unions in Brazil, Malaysia, Singapore, South Africa, Spain, Sweden, and the UK, Räthzel and Uzzell (2011) found that most unions leaders demanded transformative social reorganization and alternative forms of production in order to both mitigate climate change an improve the lives of the working class. Though not a comparative study, Daub (2010) found that leaders of the Canadian Communications, Energy, and Paperworkers Union (CEP) employed an environmental justice frame when

articulating CEP's climate change agenda, foregrounding equity and economic protection for workers and communities that will be disproportionately burdened by the transition away from fossil fuels, as well as transparent and inclusive environmental decision making.

Collectively, the aforementioned studies have built a solid foundation for understanding labor's political positionality within the climate change movement, but have several limitations. Most notably, because these studies primarily examined global trade federations as well as unions based outside the U.S., the results are not generalizable to the American labor movement. This paper constitutes an original contribution to the literature by examining labor's growing climate activism within the U.S. context, illuminating the frames used to motivate action, the political implications of those frames, and the legacy of the People's Climate March on blue-green mobilization.

Data and methods

The following analysis is primarily based on 19 semi-structured interviews with participants of the labor contingent in the People's Climate March (PCM), 13 of whom were union leaders, 4 rank-and-file members, and 2 leaders of labor coalition organizations. I employed purposive sampling techniques, so as to ensure a representative variety of industry sectors. Union leaders were solicited to participate via a phone call or email, and I was referred to rank-and-file interviewees through snowball sampling. Seven interviews were conducted in-person in union leaders' private offices, and 12 were conducted over the phone, each lasting between 30 minutes and one hour. The union members represented a wide variety of economic sectors, including the service industry, transportation, electrical work, and nursing. In the U.S., the organizational structure of unions consists of a "national" or "international" central headquarters that supports and coordinates the affiliated union branches throughout the country referred to as "locals." All interviewees were members of locals in New York City, except for four interviewees who represented either regional union councils or the international. The interviews were conducted between June and September of 2015—about one year post-PCM—which allowed for critical, retrospective reflection to come through in our conversations. In the interview process, union leaders were given the opportunity to speak on record, while rank-and-file members were guaranteed confidentiality. However, I ultimately decided to de-identify all quotes (both by name and union), as some leaders had reservations about having their name attributed to their comments concerning certain topics. Methodologically, this allowed my data to speak to both publicly articulated frames as well as personally held ideologies.

My interview data was supplemented and informed by experience as a participant observer as well as content analysis. In addition to marching in the PCM myself, I attended the Trade Unions for Energy Democracy (TUED) Climate Summit in June 2015—a meeting of leaders representing 40 different

unions in 14 different countries. Though the summit was international in attendance, I solely analyzed the discourse of American unions in attendance for the purposes of this paper, most of which also participated in the PCM. I also performed a content analysis of videos and transcripts of speeches from the labor rally at the PCM, as well as resolutions, press releases, and other official policy documents related to climate change released by participating PCM unions within the last five years. Lastly, I conducted a Nexis search of media articles covering the events leading up to the PCM, as well as subsequent blue-green coalition building, many of which included interviews with prominent labor activists. Transcribed interviews, textual documents, and observation notes were coded using Dedoose—a qualitative data analysis software. Though I had existing themes relevant to framing theory in mind to begin shaping my coding structure, I largely employed an open-coding process, reflecting an inductive, emergent analytic approach.

The nature of my sample presents some limitations worth foregrounding. Because the vast majority of unions who participated in the PCM were locals within New York City, there is a geographic bias to my sample. There is also an element of selection bias, as unions who attended the PCM likely have particularly progressive climate change agendas. However, this bias can also be viewed as a methodological strength, as it allows for the examination of particularly active and influential labor organizations within the climate justice movement. Furthermore, the labor contingent of the PCM was not representative of the multitude of industry sectors that comprise organized labor. Namely, unions within the building trades and energy sectors whose members could be directly impacted by job loss in the transition away from fossil fuels, commonly referred to as "affected unions," were vastly unrepresented. Therefore, the limited nature of sectors represented in this sample did not allow me to draw definitive distinctions in discourse across industries, though some interviewees were from affected unions. Lastly, the majority of union members that I interviewed held leadership positions within their local, and their views cannot be assumed to represent the majority of their rank-and-file members. Nonetheless, leaders can be regarded as "opinion leaders" on climate change who have influence over membership and over the official climate change policies of their union (Räthzel and Uzzell 2011). Therefore, examining the frames that leaders' employ can provide insight on their unions' organizing agenda and how they motivate their members, which can have defining movement implications.

Results

Building power: labor's involvement in PCM planning

The People's Climate March was the brainchild of 350.org, with organizing and funding assistance provided by other large, well-resourced SMOs like Avaaz. However, apart from the initial call to action released by this group, much of the organizing for the march was spearheaded by a host committee comprised of

local organizations within New York City, including grassroots environmental groups, community organizations, and labor unions, with national organizations taking a back seat to allow local autonomy over the march. In fact, unions played a central role in PCM planning, including hosting committee meetings, distributing leaflets outside subway stations in the weeks leading up to the march, and turning out members of allied organizations. With the exception of one union that allowed members to vote on endorsement, union members that I interviewed indicated that leadership made the executive decision to endorse the march and then mobilized rank-and-file members to participate. As such, unions' involvement in the PCM may be more accurately characterized as a top-down initiative, as opposed to a bottom-up rank-and-file mobilization.

Apart from strategizing mobilization, host committee meetings served as a space for unions to negotiate what organized labor's collective message would be the day of the march. Ultimately, organizers sought to broaden labor's participation by downplaying divisive issues like fracking and the Keystone XL pipeline, and instead emphasized the severity of the dual economic and climate crises and the potential single solution: green job creation. Though some environmental activists viewed this a defanged, concessionary message that deflected attention away from the immediate imperative of ending use of fossil fuels, one interviewee emphasized this inclusive framing as a strength, insisting that "to change everything, it takes everyone." Solidarity with and sensitivity to union brothers and sisters in the fossil fuel industry was a primary concern of many interviewees. This was exemplified by the non-confrontational banners held by union members at the PCM that displayed messages such as "Healthy Planet, Good Jobs." However, while this negotiated, highly visible framing foregrounded the economic or vocational motivators of labor's participation, in what follows I discuss the multiplicity of frames guiding labor's mobilization in this historic climate justice action.

Across the board, labor unions sought to make the march a "transformational" experience for both participants and onlookers. As one leader explained the activists' intentions:

> We had a meeting where people talked about what they wanted to get out of working on the march, and every single person, when they went around the room, said we see working on the march as the beginning of a reboot to a larger, more powerful movement. We know we need each other, we want to build long-term relationships, we wanna figure out how we work together going forward…A lot of times people just think about how they have a tactical alliance and they don't think about a movement-building piece. But this was a group that came together, that really saw their role and contribution, or our role and contribution, was to create, to be a movement-building formation. And to try to create a movement moment (Interview 7).

Indeed, all interviewees believed the PCM to be more than "just another march," or a temporary spectacle devoid of substantive politics. These activists

characterized the march as a space for movement-building, or "the creation of movement infrastructures required for sustained organizing and mobilization, including social relationships, organizational networks and capacity, affective solidarity, as well as movement-related identities, frames, strategies, skills, and leadership" (Juris et al. 2013). The commitment to continued climate justice organizing was universal across PCM unions. In the last section of this analysis, I will further elaborate on the legacy of the march, discussing both successes and obstacles in post-PCM blue-green collaboration. But first, in the section that follows, I elucidate the collective action frames informing and shaping climate change activism across these unions.

Diagnostic frames

Diagnostic frames identify a social problem, its causes, and attribute blame or responsibility. The diagnostic frames that emerged from union members' climate change discourse can be grouped into three categories: political-economic explanations, physical/scientific explanations, and explanations that focused on individual values and culture.

Political-economic explanations. The overwhelming majority of union members characterized the climate crisis as a product of systemic political-economic forces, with most interviewees identifying corporate influence on politics, and more specifically the power of the fossil fuel industry, as the root cause. Recurring themes included corporations' privileging of profits over people, as well as corporate infiltration of the American political system by way of the "revolving door" between regulatory agencies and industry, political campaign donations, and legislative lobbying. Though corporate power was emphasized as an enormous obstacle for the climate justice movement, it was also described as a frame bridging opportunity to appeal to multiple movements and build a broader, more powerful coalition. As a service sector union leader noted:

> I think looking at corporations as a significant part of the problem allows a larger coalition of groups to come together because [of] the fact that corporations in our society are driven by trying to make profits. The fossil fuel industry is creating incredible amounts of pollution because if they would operate in a cleaner manner, it would be more costly to them. So people seeing corporations as the same corporations that exploit workers, that exploit the environment, that take shortcuts on safety—that allows people to come together and say, you know, focus on corporate greed (Interview 7).

In recognizing the problem of corporate political influence, about a third of interviewees went a step further and implicated capitalism as the fundamental cause of the climate crisis. More specifically, they emphasized private ownership and capitalism's economic growth imperative as the drivers of environmental degradation. However, most union leaders who expressed this critique qualified their analysis by saying that this is *not* the official stance of their union, and is

not a view that is necessarily shared widely by their membership; rather, it was their personal ideological assessment of the ecological crisis. As one leader explained the hesitancy to adopt a public, anti-capitalist diagnostic framing:

> I think there are some leaders within the labor movement who have come to that understanding or had that understanding all along, but would never publicly articulate that. For fear of seeming too radical, too radical to their membership, too radical to the politicians that they're trying to build relationships with, trying to get much more specific things done or not done (Interview 5).

This quote exemplifies the strategic negotiation of framing on the part of union leaders, and the disjuncture that can occur between ideology and framing, especially among more radical segments of movements, in pursuit of more immediate pragmatic reforms. Indeed, other leaders expressed similar reservations about publicly framing their union's environmental agenda as anti-capitalist due to its potential negative implications for coalition building. While some thought that climate change mitigation within the bounds of capitalism was untenable, others were semi-optimistic about a reformed "conscious capitalism"—a divergence I will further unpack in the following section.

Physical/scientific explanations. The second category of diagnostic framing emphasized the primary role that anthropogenic industrial activity (namely burning fossil fuels) plays in increasing greenhouse gas emissions, consequently warming the planet. Many labor activists underscored that their union had a "science-based" perspective on climate change, and thus were pragmatically focused on how to support emissions reductions along timetables backed by the latest research from government advisory panels. However, most interviewees coupled this scientific explanation with a critique of the political-economic structures that support unsustainable business models, noting that burning fossil fuels was simply the proximate, technoscientific cause of climate change. There were only two interviews in which an underlying political-economic critique was absent, and the diagnostic account was solely focused on the issue of outdated, dirty technology.

Individual values and culture. The third diagnostic theme emphasized individual-level and cultural drivers of climate change. Like the scientific framings, these frames were almost always accompanied by a political-economic analysis that acknowledged the overarching structural drivers of climate change. Union members mentioned cultural explanations such as Americans' affinity for big cars, the convenience of our disposable lifestyles, and pervasive political apathy. As one rank-and-file member explained: "On the social aspect, I don't think enough people understand the imperative for the transition to renewable energy. I think they enjoy the convenience that they have now. I just think that's human nature. They're not gonna look to sacrifice" (Interview 13). While sometimes these actions were framed as deliberate, irresponsible choices that individuals elect to make, a few framed these lifestyle factors as unavoidable—a

product of the ecologically destructive and economically stratified social structure that was forged by elites. In addition, many mentioned a lack of access to information, or an inundation of misinformation, as a primary cause of the climate crisis. Most often this discussion focused on mass media as an obstacle to mobilization. As one leader explicated:

> Well, it's the dominance of the energy industries. And in order to preserve that— I mentioned just two families—the Saudi royal family, and the Koch brothers. Both have great influence on American society and use their funds to pursue their interests. People don't realize it, but an organization like Fox—almost half of it is owned by a Saudi prince...So these oligarchs have played a major role in manipulating our democracy, putting the American people to sleep, by controlling the mass media...And certainly the best brainwashing is the brainwashing you don't know is happening to you. And they will invest multimillions of dollars in getting the best psychological research to figure out how you manipulate people (Interview 14).

Thus, although these labor activists acknowledged that lifestyle changes will be necessitated to mitigate climate change, the predominant diagnostic focus was structural in nature, signifying a recognition of the limitations of individualized behavioral approaches to environmental sustainability. However, despite the relative confluence of diagnostic frames around sociostructural explanations, there were multiple corresponding prognostic frames, or a divergence in proposed solutions to the climate crisis.

Prognostic frames

Prognostic frames function to generate a shared understanding among activists of what the solutions are to a social problem. While the climate change mitigation strategies proposed by labor activists were multi-faceted, their framings can be grouped into two broad categories: those that emphasize a reformist, politically institutionalized approach, and those that emphasize extra-institutional, structurally transformative approaches. Both frames were equally present, and in some cases, union members advocated for multiple action strategies that fell into both categories simultaneously. In other words, few union members' frames fit distinctly into one type of prescriptive political approach, demonstrating the complex form that frames often assume as activists navigate between movement ideology and hegemonic political cultures.

Reformist frames. Although most union members recognized the corruptive handle of private interests on policy-making in their diagnostic framing, many were still optimistic about the possibilities of legislative reform and favored state intervention as the primary solution to the climate crisis. More specifically, some interviewees mentioned the importance of aligning with the Democratic Party, and many emphasized the imperative of pressuring politicians to enact more progressive environmental regulations, both domestically and

internationally. "Green economy," "green jobs," and "Green New Deal" were recurring buzzwords, with interviewees framing eco-friendly job creation as a way to revitalize the American economy while also combating climate change. More specifically, these union members advocated for investment in energy efficiency (e.g. building retrofits) and state subsidization of renewable energy as prospective employment generators. Stricter command-and-control environmental regulations, along with cooperation with employers to develop more sustainable production practices, were also commonly mentioned interventions.

Overall, this first set of prognostic frames are consistent with the framework of ecological modernization—an approach that assumes no contradiction between economic growth and environmental sustainability, and advances technological innovation, strategic state coordination, command-and-control regulations, and sometimes free-market mechanisms, as the solution to climate change. Ecological modernization theory is grounded in the notion of ecological rationality, positing that as nations become increasingly "developed" and adopt post-materialist values and reflexive capacities, they will institute greener forms of production to avert ecological crisis and improve quality of life (Antonio and Clark 2015). Placing blame for the ecological crisis on industrialism as opposed to capitalism, ecological modernists place faith in liberal "environmental states" (Buttel 2000) and market actors to green capitalism in advanced industrialized nations, viewing political-economic institutions of modernity as malleable to environmental challenges; they reject the need for transformative structural change and promote techno-institutional fixes for environmental degradation (Foster, Clark, and York 2011; Antonio and Clark 2015). As a result, ecological modernization strategies are often less critical of purportedly "clean" fossil fuel technologies and market-based interventions. Indeed, two interviewees in this camp were optimistic about nuclear power and natural gas as clean energy solutions, while another leader promoted cap-and-trade carbon market programs. He explained:

> And the reason why we supported cap-and-trade, and still to this day support carbon markets, structured carbon markets, is for this reason: it's investment flows. So looking at it from the labor standpoint, the creation or retention of jobs comes from investment flows. So if you can turn the regulation of carbon, methane, and other greenhouse gases into revenue, and revenue that goes directly into, say, financing public infrastructure repair, or boosting up American manufacturing—that is very appealing... It's also very beneficial for the environment because if we're taking in revenue from a coal plant from straight up carbon tax, or had to buy/sell allowances, and the revenue comes into the government, then it gets turned around and invested into an upgraded public infrastructure system where it's making our infrastructure clean and more efficient, so on and so forth. So we see that as a win-win (Interview 12).

Others emphasized the importance of boosting green American manufacturing for environmental purposes, simultaneously emphasizing the imperative of economic growth and international competitiveness. In sum, their prognostic framing advanced the possibility of "win-win" solutions— mitigative approaches within the capitalist system that will result in both sustainability and economic growth

Transformative frames. In contrast to this first grouping of prognostic frames, an equally predominant discourse emphasized extra-institutional, transformative (and sometimes anti-capitalist) forms of climate change mitigation. This group of interviewees advocated for destabilizing existing institutions of power through campaign finance reform, local-level interventions, direct action tactics, democratizing energy production, and underscored the necessity of international labor solidarity and a *global* climate justice movement. Interviewees in this camp expressed skepticism of swift legislative climate action on the part of elites, and instead stressed the importance of popular movement building. While informants acknowledged space for legislative campaigns, they stressed that "the emphasis and urgency has to come from people being in the street," organizing against imbalances of power to drive substantive change. One leader discussed the role he envisioned for labor in the growing movement:

> I would hope that labor is playing a progressive role [in the climate justice movement] and forming coalitions that represent the interests of their members, and non-members. The poor, the working poor, the middle class. You have to do good things—you have to be engaged. If you're not engaged, then it's gonna be harder to play that role. So, because there's political forces that wanna dull the labor movement—political parties, Democrats and Republicans—generally wanna dull. They wanna institutionalize it. Put it into Congress. Debate it for a year and half. Maybe necessary, but I don't think that's the way you're gonna have change (Interview 2).

Complementing this focus on grassroots coalition-building, many union members celebrated the possibilities of local level interventions as opposed to national level blue-green mobilization. They noted recent environmental justice victories and community campaigns for remunicipalization of utilities, or a return to public control over services such as water, versus private ownership. While certainly not the majority, a radical flank identified systemic economic transformation as the solution to the climate crisis. Again, while this subset of labor activists blamed capitalism and private ownership of energy for the climate crisis, most stressed that this portion of their response was solely their personal opinion, and it did not reflect the official political agenda of the union. However, a small minority of PCM unions have publicly supported the political agenda of public ownership of energy utilities, or "energy democracy." In envisioning the transition to new political-economic arrangements, these union members also mentioned state intervention and the concept of a Green New

Deal, much like in the previously discussed set of prognostic frames. However, this dialogue was distinct in its questioning of the overall capitalist economic model. As one leader explained:

> Well I think that in the short term we absolutely need to fundamentally alter the conception of energy as something that is generated for profit. So the remunicipalization or democratization of energy production is an overall—I think is a fundamental struggle that we need to engage in…We have the technology to develop an infrastructure that doesn't rely on fossil fuels and develop transportation that doesn't rely on fossil fuels. But that would take a level of state intervention that's even grander than World War II or the New Deal, in terms of the state intervening to restructure the economy and how it works. So yeah. But to me, that's clearly what's necessary. And I would just say, ultimately though, my personal political perspective—it's hard to envision a world where even if you change the energy, you change the political structure of how energy is produced and you change the transportation—you still have an economy that's based on the need to continually expand markets, expand commodity production, and continue to make products that are disposable in order to continue generating profits (Interview 5).

Thus, while informants who emphasized extra-institutional interventions to the climate crisis still recognized the necessity of technological innovation and increased environmental regulation as did their less radical counterparts, they believed that a simple technological substitution of renewables for fossil fuels would not suffice. Instead, they advocated for a more fundamental transformation of our existing political institutions to be more democratically controlled. And in the case of the radical flank, they argued that our energy system, and perhaps even larger economy, should be reorganized to produce in accordance with human needs instead of to maximize profits.

As this comparison demonstrates, while there was relative confluence in diagnostic frames among the labor contingent of the PCM, activists held divergent political strategies to advance mitigation and environmental sustainability. At the root of this contrast lies, in part, differences in political ideology across different segments of the labor movement, which is rendered visible through frames. For instance, frames that emphasize extra-institutional interventions and structural transformation could be grounded in a democratic-socialist orientation, while frames that emphasize reformist interventions might be informed by an ideology of social liberalism. However, prognostic frames, and by extension, action strategies, are only partially contingent upon internal movement ideologies, as activists must also navigate dominant ideologies and political cultures. In other words, inconsistent relationships between ideologies and frames is also the result of union leaders' hesitancy to advance more radically oppositional frames and discuss ideologically contentious issues in mobilizing support. As one leader of a coalition organization remarked of leaders' rhetorical strategies:

> If you listen to a union leader speak about climate change, they go into a default mode. They start talking about green jobs. They're not talking too much about ownership and control…They talk about alliances with environmental organizations, but, to do what? It's not really always clear. So there's a vagueness to it (Interview 4).

The variation I observed in prognostic frames mirrors Goods' (2013) threefold typology of possible union responses to the shift toward a green economy. While a *passive transition* or *minimalist transition* approach entails unions working cooperatively with employers to move towards sustainable industry practices while still prioritizing economic growth and job protection, a *transformative transition* advances an anti-capitalist plan for a green economy that prioritizes social and environmental concerns first. My observations also corroborate discursive differences that have been previously observed within the wider climate change movement. At protests organized around the 2009 UN Climate Change Conference (COP-15), Wahlström, Wennerhag, and Rootes (2013) observed that demonstrators' prognostic framings varied between system-critical approaches, individual action, and reformist policy changes within the existing political system. However, despite these differences in prognostic framing, in the following section I discuss the convergence of motivational frames around the principle of environmental justice, along with the desire to rejuvenate the labor movement.

Motivational frames

Motivational frames function as rational vocabularies that compel and sustain collective action—in other words, a "call to arms" (Benford and Snow 2000). Labor activists who participated in the PCM offered a variety of justifications for mobilizing around climate change, appealing to both moral and pragmatic rationales as well as material and non-material interests. Indeed, the prospective employment opportunities and economic benefits that could result from the growth of a green economy were mentioned by all interviewees, even by those in sectors that do not necessarily harness great potential for green job growth. However, the majority of interviewees did not show up to the PCM simply to demand green employment opportunities, but rather to fight for *environmental justice* on behalf of all burdened populations and strengthen union power through labor-environment movement allyship.

Labor activists discussed environmental justice in both a distributive and procedural sense, advocating for equal protection from environmental risks and equal distribution of environmental goods, as well for the inclusion of working-class voices in climate decision-making processes. The disproportionate impacts of climate change upon low-income and communities of color was one of the primary grievances used to mobilize labor for the PCM. As one leader wrote in a newspaper opinion in a call for solidarity from fellow union members:

> It's an unfortunate fact that the poorest Americans are those most hurt by the impacts of pollution from cars and trucks and who are least capable of withstanding the extreme weather impacts of climate change. I grew up in the South Bronx, breathing that air and seeing what it did to my family and neighbors. By promoting environmental justice, we're fighting for working families.

Another union leader similarly explained the connection between unions and environmental activism: "I think that it's an issue [climate change] that affects our members. We have members who live in areas like the South Bronx where the level of asthma is really high. So we care about that. And I think it's really important to us to get involved in issues that in one or another way are affecting our members" (Interview 8). In addition to bringing up issues of air pollution, every union member I interviewed mentioned the devastation wreaked by Hurricane Sandy as a powerful motivator for becoming active within the climate justice movement, noting the storm's socially disproportionate impacts on working-class and communities of color in New York City. Some union brothers and sisters were killed on the job during the storm, while others lost their houses, pets, and even family members.

In citing these examples, union members repeatedly emphasized that their participation in the PCM was a fight for the holistic wellbeing of working individuals that extended beyond workplace protections. As one leader explained: "We think about our members as whole people. Our members aren't just workers on a work site. They live on the planet. They live on this earth. And part of what we fight for is that people have a decent life, that they live in a more just world, and that's on the job and off the job" (Interview 7). Even if union members did not explicitly use the term environmental justice, many still spoke of climate change as a "human issue" or "social justice issue" that organized labor had a *moral responsibility* to act upon. Moreover, interviewees often underscored the intersectionality of economic and environmental justice, drawing attention to the common political enemy (corporations)—a political enemy that organized labor is uniquely positioned to fight. Leaders also characterized their involvement in the climate justice movement as a struggle for procedural justice, or the representation of unions in climate policy making, especially concerning the transition away from fossil fuels. As one leader stated:

> So labor's role is really to represent its members, to be at the table…the labor movement is really the only organized entity between the one percent— corporate America—and everyone else. There are people and there may be alternatives to the traditional labor movement, you know Occupy and others that grew out of it…But the labor movement, as weak as it is right now, will be stronger 100 years from now (Interview 9).

In sum, union members framed their participation in the climate justice movement as a proactive step to securing living-wage employment in the future green energy economy, as well as a fight for the overall wellbeing of working-class individuals who are most vulnerable to the risks of climate change. This demonstrates that material and "post-material" interests (Inglehart 1977) cannot necessarily be bifurcated when it comes to environmental values and concern, as union members described a healthy environment and decent living conditions as inextricably intertwined. Indeed, materially and politically, the movement for environmental justice not only calls for the elimination of environmental risks, but also for economic justice through the creation of green jobs with livable wages, safe and affordable housing, and the achievement of racial and social justice (Cole and Foster 2000). In deploying an environmental justice frame, union members bridged the issues of economic security and environmental health, recognizing the structural links between income inequality and environmental degradation and characterizing both as fundamental union issues. In fact, many labor participants of the PCM exhibited ownership over the issue of climate justice, and saw unions as the primary vehicle of change moving forward, as opposed to environmental SMOs acting on behalf of workers.

In addition to mobilizing for environmental justice, another prominent motivational framing rationalized climate activism as a tactical, movement-building strategy for the broader labor movement. This motivation was more commonly mentioned by those who emphasized the need for more structurally transformative interventions in mitigating the climate crisis, perhaps demonstrating their recognition of the limitations of institutional politics. Given the political assault that unions have been facing the past few decades, interviewees were very cognizant and wary of organized labor's dwindling numbers, and saw environmental organizations as one possible tactical alliance to strengthen union power. As one leader explained:

> And as a union we have an obligation to not just deal with collective bargaining agreements. We have to address the broader social issues. If we don't, we will soon be eliminated. Because what we have that the oligarchs fear is we're organized. Just like environmental groups are organized. Their fear—organized little people rising up and coming after them. And they try and grab whatever they can right now. Criminalize protesting, doing whatever else they need to do to get people out of the way (Interview 14).

One rank-and-file member was particularly enthusiastic and optimistic about the movement-building potential of labor's climate activism: "It really brought so much excitement to me when climate change really became a discussion again. In the 80s it didn't exist. It really didn't exist… And I thought what a great mechanism to unify labor! To bring it back!" (Interview 13). Later in the interview he referenced Naomi Klein's recent book, *This Changes Everything*, and continued, "I mean it [the book] just spelled out so clearly to me that labor

can once again become a *social movement*, that I believe that it is, or that it should be. *It's not just about wages and benefits*. It's really about a social movement."

These quotes demonstrate that participating in the PCM alongside environmental organizations was in part a tactical decision to build networks and expand the resources of a dwindling labor movement. However, union members overwhelmingly emphasized that they chose to participate in the PCM primarily because of a sense of *moral responsibility* to all workers, unionized or not, as well as the broader community of vulnerable citizens. As one leader explained:

> The jobs that we perform aren't necessarily—climate change hasn't necessarily hurt us. But it's our progressive thinking—we're for what's gonna help the larger community. So we would be involved just based on that alone. Even if it's not affecting us in our industries, in our jobs, but you know, we're for the whole community, which is not just worrying about us. Worrying about workers across the board. (Interview 10)

Across all industry sectors, these activists held firm convictions that organized labor could play a vital, leading role in the climate movement on behalf of all marginalized populations by providing a class-based, environmental justice perspective to complement the mainstream environmental movement's traditional focus on wilderness conservation. As one rank-and-file member passionately proclaimed:

> We have to be those social leaders that labor was at one time. They still struggled at the turn at the twentieth century. There was still a tremendous struggle, but they took those leadership roles for the community and for the region, and for the state, or a city…People say oh you know I'm gonna join this group, I'm gonna join this group, and I say you already have a group! *You have a group*. And that's a frustration of mine. They seem to look for answers other than what's in front of them sometimes. And we already have an organization that's ready to go and ready to mobilize. You know? Labor can easily coalesce around climate justice. It's right there—just take it (Interview 13).

Overall, these framings demonstrate that union participants in the PCM were motivated to mobilize around climate change for reasons that went above and beyond organized labor's traditional issues of wages and working conditions. Though labor may have an economic interest in promoting the growth of a green economy, members also framed these economic concerns as embedded within the larger frame of environmental justice—the right to live and work in a healthy environment while receiving fair wages. Moreover, the labor contingent of the PCM envisioned themselves as leaders within the climate justice movement—agents of change on behalf union members, but also the working-

class and other vulnerable populations more broadly. In sum, these frames suggest that a section of the labor movement is advocating a strategic vision of *social movement unionism* through their climate justice activism. Unions operating under this tradition view themselves as agents of systemic political-economic change, and thus are politically engaged with social justice issues that extend beyond the workplace. Through collaboration with other unions and cross-movement engagement with SMOs outside the labor movement, they maximize their political power to fight for all those oppressed by the inequitable power structures inherent to capitalism (Moody 1997). This is in contrast to *business unionism,* a model in which unions are narrowly focused on collective-bargaining for their own material interests within the existing economic system, and are politically disengaged from broader social issues. Whether or not this nascent social movement unionism ethos continues to be fueled by the issue of climate change and spread beyond the more progressive segments of the labor movement, however, remains to be seen.

Where are they now? Post-march coalition building and the future of blue-green alliances

As previously discussed, union PCM organizers expressed a fervent commitment to sustained climate justice movement building, and characterized the high-profile march as simply the beginning of the difficult political work yet to be done. When asked about the legacy of the march almost one year later, most labor activists were proud and optimistic about the continued blue-green coalition building, especially within local NYC politics. However, others expressed disappointment in the seemingly waning organizing energy and were wary about the obstacles to labor becoming a leader within the climate justice movement.

Informants unanimously agreed that the most powerful function of the march was its generation of a public forum, or an opportunity for exchange of ideas among activists across a wide variety of movement organizations. Furthermore, while many unions participating in the PCM had long records of environmental activism, the march also “activated” new unions’ interest in climate justice, as one leader put it. With this newly activated set of actors, the legacy of the historic march now lives on in the new form of the People’s Climate *Movement*—a coalition organization largely comprised of the same organizations that spearheaded the planning of the PCM. One year after the march, this coalition organized a National Day of Climate Action on October 14, 2015 to precede the COP21 summit in Paris, organizing two symbolic direct actions in New York City, both of which had significant union participation. Additional actions were planned outside of NYC as well so as to demonstrate the national-scale of the climate justice movement. For instance, in Washington DC, members of Service Employees International Union (SEIU) participated in a symbolic die-in in front of the American Petroleum Institute (Colorassi 2015). Fast forward two years to 2017, and the People’s Climate Movement is still sustained by the core group of labor unions and environmental organizations

who organized the initial historic march. They are currently organizing around the Global Climate Action Summit to take place in San Francisco in September 2018.

Apart from generating a new social movement organization that continues to facilitate blue-green organizing, the PCM also inspired a few participating unions to institute educational climate change workshops for their members in an effort to generate more rank-and-file mobilization. Labor leaders have also been able to share their model coalition-building experiences with other activists in nearby cities like Philadelphia, where activists are seeking to build their own localized climate justice movement. In sum, the PCM galvanized new support and strengthened existing collaborations between environmental groups and organized labor, especially in the context of New York City politics, but also nationally.

Despite this sustained organizing, labor must still surmount significant obstacles to strengthen their role in the climate justice movement and achieve political gains, the most problematic of which is lack of rank-and-file mobilization. Thus far, climate justice has largely been a top-down political project within the labor movement, spearheaded by a subset of progressive leaders. Of the four rank-and-file members I interviewed, one mentioned that the PCM was her first exposure to climate justice as an issue, as it was for many of her fellow union brothers and sisters. But even those members who were already informed on climate change and avid about making it a part of their union's political agenda were unaware of their union's continued engagement with climate justice since the PCM, and thus were unable to comment on whether the march was successful in strengthening blue-green collaboration. As one rank-and-file member reflected:

> I think it [the PCM] was effective more on the membership for them to know what was going on. That's how I think it affected us. *As far as the collaborations and other things, I don't know what they're [leadership] doing behind the scenes*. It made the main group that I was with more aware of what's going on. And like the reason to use solar panels and the energy cars and stuff like that. So I'm not sure about the collaboration part, because honestly after that, I didn't hear that much about it. It's spoken about, but it wasn't as strong as when they had that climate march. (Interview 16)

This gap in engagement between rank-and-file members and union leaders did not go unrecognized by those within leadership, and a resurgence of rank-and-file-led organizing was widely emphasized as *the* critical component to a more politically effective climate justice movement moving forward. In these conversations, some even explicitly mentioned the strategic difficultly in framing the climate issue to their members. As one leader reflected:

> It's been difficult to get regular and consistent participation. What has been hard is like *what is the hook for the unions*? Certainly jobs is one, and this Climate Works for All project is a big project, well-researched, to say there are jobs out there...The other issue, in my mind, that's so important, especially for [our union], is the environmental justice issue...And yet it's still been hard to really mobilize our rank-and-file around it so far. (Interview 15)

In addition to demonstrating leaders' awareness of the imperative to engage rank-and-file members, this quote may also suggest that while the EJ frame was prominent in my discussion with union leaders, it may be less resonant for rank-and-file members; this also may explain why economic interests, or green jobs, was foregrounded in garnering broad participation for the PCM.

Apart from limited rank-and-file insurgency, sectoral tension between affected and unaffected unions will continue to pose issues for a unified labor movement. As previously noted, the vast majority of unions who participated in the PCM were those whose employment rates will not be directly impacted by a transition to renewable energy. Unions with membership in mining, pipeline construction, or fossil-fuel power generation were absent. Perhaps unsurprisingly, unions in these affected industries have historically fought alongside political conservatives to roll back environmental regulations in the hopes of preserving jobs for their members. Moving forward, engaging affected unions continues to be a sensitive issue for labor leaders in the climate justice movement, as labor's core value of solidarity can prevent contentious yet important conversations from taking place, impeding collective action. According to one leader of a blue-green coalition organization:

> I think what the People's Climate March did is that it activated a lot of the labor movement who would, because of their general politics, be naturally inclined to support climate activism and climate justice...It didn't solve any of the area of difficulties between climate action and the industries that support a number of unions. You know, the affected unions, so as they're called. It didn't, you know, break ground in that matter or create new relationships in that way. But it definitely activated the progressive set of the labor movement, which is a really good thing. But I'll say that, even if that part is activated, it will never step out in full force if the affected unions are against it. Whatever climate action is. Because of that core issue of solidarity. So with the labor movement, it's...you don't step out on those who are directly affected if you do not have equity in this policy or work. So that issue of dealing directly with the affected unions is one that is still very much there. (Interview 12)

Despite this enduring sectoral tension that will surely persist, there is reason to believe that the PCM provided a venue to begin to facilitate bridge-building across the progressive wing of the labor movement and the more conservative segments like the buildings trades and energy workers. As the aforementioned interviewee said, these new relationships may not be groundbreaking or signal a

dramatic shift, but there was notable PCM participation on the part of a few locals from affected sectors—including the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers (IBEW) Local 3 and Teamsters locals—perhaps signifying the beginning of a crucial "realignment from below" at the local level, as articulated by Sweeney (2016). At the international level, one coalition leading the way in engaging affected unions is Trade Unions for Energy Democracy (TUED). Comprised of over 65 labor organizations from 20 different countries, including unions who represent workers in the oil and gas industries, the TUED seeks to build a movement to transition away from fossil fuels while shifting ownership of energy production away from private interests and into the hands workers and communities. While the majority of participating labor organizations are from outside of the United States, there is a growing contingent of American unions, including IBEW Locals 3 and 11, United Electrical Workers, Railroad Workers United, and National Nurses United. Ultimately, interviewees emphasized that transcending political rifts within the labor movement will be dependent upon an intentional focus on a *just transition* for workers who will be displaced in the shift to a renewable energy economy. Necessary support systems would include, but not be limited to, extended unemployment benefits, healthcare coverage, education and retraining programs, as well as a fund to sustain public services in communities that have long been dependent on the fossil fuel industry for their tax base.

Discussion

Empirically, the goal of this research was to analyze how labor activists are framing the issue of climate change, discuss the impact the PCM has had on blue-green mobilization, and illuminate the barriers that still exist to more cohesive organizing. Theoretically, I sought to advance discussion on the linkages between movement ideologies and frames, as well as examine whether unions' climate politics reflect alignment with or subversion of dominant political discourses and cultures. Concerning the latter inquiry, a number of interesting findings surface, although I foreground and elaborate upon two in this discussion: 1) union members' diagnosis of climate change as a sociopolitical problem and the proliferation of an environmental justice frame as a motivating principle, and 2) the differences in prognostic framings that point to deeper ideological divisions within the labor movement concerning political approaches to climate change mitigation. These insights both advance our knowledge concerning the political trajectory of organized labor's climate change activism, as well as contribute to theoretical discussions on the complicated relationship between movement ideology and collective action frames.

Union members' framing of climate change as a sociopolitical problem and their focus on its social justice implications is noteworthy when compared to the frames that exist within the broader universe of climate change discourse. The increasing "scientization" (Habermas 1971) of climate change politics has led the dominant approach to the issue to be value-neutral and technocratic—a problem

to be tackled by policy-makers informed by natural scientists (Brulle and Dunlap 2015). This depoliticized discourse has obscured the social and cultural origins of climate change, ignoring the inextricable links between economic institutions, social inequality, and environmental degradation. In this sense, PCM unions' sociopolitical diagnostic framing, embedded within a master frame of environmental justice, represents a departure from extant dominant political discourses and cultures concerning climate change. Moreover, the environmental justice frame, and by extension the climate justice frame, is more adversarial than frames deployed by mainstream environmental NGOs, as it confronts power structures by implicating systemic racism/classism as the source of environmental injustice. For this reason, this frame entails action strategies that are more likely to reject institutional channels of arbitration or change (Capek 1993).

However, my analysis of prognostic frames reveals discursive differences, and by extension an ideological divergence, in unions' political strategies for addressing climate change. Some labor activists' frames largely adhered to a discourse that Bäckstrand and Lövbrand (2007) have labeled *civic environmentalism*—an approach that calls for more democratic inclusion of civil society representatives in institutions of environmental governance. A subset of these activists advanced a more radical, system-change approach, as they were skeptical that true democratic governance is possible while enduring power structures like capitalism make current institutional arrangements inherently inequitable. This discourse of civic environmentalism has significant importance, as it is currently a minority orientation within the larger U.S. climate movement (Caniglia, Brulle, and Szasz 2015). However, contrasting this oppositional approach was a reformist discourse that embraced the tenets of ecological modernization theory, emphasizing a more managerial, technocratic approach to environmental problem-solving. These interviewees mentioned no inherent tension between current economic arrangements and sustainability, and but rather were confident that state investment in renewable energy jobs would stimulate "green growth," thereby averting both ecological and economic crisis. That being said, interviewees who framed climate change as an environmental justice issue, yet advocated for reformist political approaches as opposed to system-change strategies, are exhibiting inconsistent commitment to the foundational principles of the environmental/climate justice movement and revealing a kind of ideological dissonance that is present not only among labor activists, but surely many activists engaged with the issue of climate change. After all, while the principle of environmental justice is becoming more popularly understood and diffuse within American environmental discourse, its foundational ideological tenets are in contradiction with dominant political cultures and ideologies, and likely not fully embraced by all who use the term. Moreover, policies that challenge current political-economic arrangements by undermining free-market fundamentalism are often dismissed as "politically heretical" (Klein 2014: 19), making it more difficult for the oppositional prognostic element to become mainstream.

Within the larger American environmental movement, ecological modernization is the overwhelmingly dominant discourse and approach (Brulle 2014; Schlosberg and Rinfret 2008), and thus it is no surprise that this emerged as a popular perspective among union members, especially if these activists are drawing on extant political cultures to resonate with broader audiences. The political danger of this prognostic framing, however, is that it could lead segments of the climate justice movement to lose sight of its class-based analysis and its critical edge. Because the theory of ecological modernization gives little attention to power relations and does not question existing political-economic structures, mitigation strategies under the paradigm of ecological modernization are prone to corporate co-optation because of their depoliticized, technoscientific nature and compatibility with neoliberal market ideology (Nugent 2011). And without confronting existing power structures, racial, environmental, and social inequalities will only be entrenched and reproduced in a clean energy society. Problems associated with the current fossil fuel-based regime that will continue to exist as we transition to renewables include disposal of hazardous material (e.g. PV solar waste), siting of mining operations (e.g. lithium mining), unaffordable energy prices, and lack of democratic control over energy production. All of these issues disproportionately burden vulnerable indigenous, low-income, and communities of color, and are already manifesting themselves in renewable energy projects (Avila-Calero 2017; Finley-Brook and Thomas 2011; Hindery 2013, Ottinger 2013).

As other scholars have argued, frames embedded in the theory of ecological modernization deflect responsibility onto political leaders instead of organizing workers against the institutions that are ultimately responsible for the ecological crisis; thus, these frames grounded in an ideological orientation of social liberalism provoke less oppositional action strategies for movement participants (Hampton 2015; Felli 2014). Moreover, labor activists who did advocate for more counterhegemonic prescriptions acknowledged that their personal political ideologies did not necessarily inform their union's public messaging, nor the frames they used in mobilizing rank-and-file members. In the case of the PCM, activists deliberately allowed for an inclusive space and strategically downplayed known political disagreements between unions. While this allowed for broader participation at this specific action, Rosewarne et al. (2015, 135) argue that a deliberate eclecticism of strategies and ideologies can serve to depoliticize a movement, as "embracing diversity has become code for not challenging neoliberal climate policy." In sum, my conversations with labor activists reveal inconsistences in prognostic framing across labor unions that imply divergent political ideologies and action strategies, rendering the political trajectory of labor's participation in the climate movement ambiguous. However, additional interviews and more extensive fieldwork of day-to-day organizing would be needed to learn more about the complex relationship between labor's ideology and strategic framing decisions surrounding climate justice. A longitudinal examination of how labor's climate change frames have evolved over time and how they are actively negotiated among organizations would also lend itself to a more nuanced analysis. These emerging discrepancies

are my preliminary observations, and raise new questions that can be used to inform future research.

The events and discourse surrounding the PCM illuminate politically promising ideological currents informing labor's climate change activism. However, significant obstacles remain despite these labor activists' determination to be leaders of the movement, including limited involvement of rank-and-file membership. However, most leaders demonstrated reflexivity on this problem, and were actively working to engage and educate their members on the issue of climate justice. Future research on this subject must prioritize rank-and-file perspectives, so as to gain a deeper understanding of labor's budding political influence within the climate justice movement. It is furthermore important to reiterate that the majority of unions in my sample were unaffected— not facing imminent or potential threats of job loss as a result of environmental policy. This could account for much of the progressive discourse I observed. Significant tension still exists between affected and unaffected sectors within the American labor movement, as exemplified by events that have taken place since the PCM. For example, in the heat of the 2016 controversy surrounding the Dakota Access Pipeline, a huge rift occurred within the AFL-CIO when The Laborers' International Union of North America (LIUNA) accused other affiliated unions who publicly came out against its construction of choosing "to take food off our of members' tables." LIUNA represents thousands of workers who assist in the construction and maintenance of oil and gas energy infrastructure, and thus condemned unions who sided with environmental activists as betrayers of labor's central tenant of solidarity (Anon 2016). Therefore, it is clear that progressive segments of the labor movement cannot continue organizing around climate change without alienating affected unions, unless substantive discussions happen around how to collectively fight for a just transition for workers in affected industries. Indeed, no sector of the labor movement should bear a disproportionate social and financial burden for transitioning to more ecologically sustainable forms or production. For scholars, this means that future research should examine the environmental politics of unions traditionally on the conservative end of the labor movement, as well as the political obstacles to assuring a just transition for affected workers and communities.

The working-class is not only disproportionately impacted by the physical hazards associated with climate change, but will also disproportionately bear the economic costs of transitioning to a renewable energy economy if a viable social safety net for workers and communities long dependent on the fossil fuel economy is not guaranteed. This means labor's continued engagement in the climate justice movement is imperative. Organized labor brings the inherent strengths of numbers, organization, solidarity, and the strategic position in our economy to literally bring the biggest polluters' operations to a halt, as we saw with the 2015 United Steelworkers strike at 14 oil and chemical plants across the country (Kahle 2016). Thus, while the political trajectory of the labor's climate justice organizing remains unclear and will likely be rife with tension, this

research demonstrates the promising determination of many labor activists to be transformative agents of a more socially and ecologically just future.

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Mobilising civil society: can the climate movement achieve transformational social change?

Neil Gunningham

Abstract

Recognising how close humankind is to precipitating dangerous climate change, activists are seeking strategies to achieve transformational social change. But are they there yet? This article asks: what are the most important steps that grassroots climate activist groups would need to take to achieve that goal? The article's initial focus is on the global fossil fuel divestment movement, a leader in contemporary grassroots activism. It argues that the movement will only realise its potential when it engages in broader networks and alliances, overcomes the psychological 'hard wiring' that makes people resistant to climate change bad news, and engages in 'big organising'. However, the movement's greatest contribution will be as part of broader 'webs of influence' involving multiple actors and agendas and a diversity of strategies and mechanisms. It argues that these can play important roles in steering events on the global stage. It concludes that while states and international agreements will be crucial to achieving a low carbon future, bottom up approaches driven by advocacy organisations and their allies and wider networks and webs of influence are also important, not least in stimulating changes in beliefs and norms, and through this, in influencing behavioural change.

Keywords: governance, divestment, climate change, activism, networks, social movement.

1. Introduction

Climate change is of such a scale and complexity as to defy simple or single solutions, therefore action on many fronts is necessary to address it. The Paris Climate Agreement is a considerable advance but its reliance on voluntary mechanisms suggests the need to look beyond government action alone for effective action (Christoff, 2016). Multiple initiatives involving multiple climate actors at multiple levels will be necessary if climate change is to be contained, including a transformational grassroots movement capable of raising public consciousness, nurturing a new norm and through this, political pressure for a rapid transition to a low carbon economy.

This recognition prompted Bill McKibben and others, at the urging of mainstream environment NGOs, to launch the global fossil fuel divestment

movement, comprising 350.org (hereafter 350[1]) and subsequently, other activist groups. This movement is principally based on an ethical argument: 'If it's wrong to wreck the climate, then surely it's wrong to profit from that wreckage' and, for that reason, institutional investors should divest their fossil fuel assets.

While the movement's ostensible target is institutional investors who it pressures to divest, its real target is the fossil fuel industry, which it identifies as the villain of the piece. Its aim is to remove the industry's social license to operate, threaten its reputational capital and turn it into a pariah. Doing so is intended to raise public awareness of a climate change crisis and of the role of fossil fuel extracting companies in precipitating it, and to nurture a new social norm: go fossil free.

The movement has a clear and credible theory of change (governments will only take decisive action where a groundswell of public opinion compels them to do so): a clear target (the fossil fuel industry); and an established set of actions (divest) which are aligned around shared values (it's wrong to profit from climate change). This is in marked contrast to the experience of the 'Arab Spring' and 'Occupy' movement where mass demonstrations energised followers and gained substantial attention but were not underpinned by any coherent ongoing strategy and were ultimately unsuccessful.

The divestment movement has made impressive progress during the first five years of its evolution, having persuaded 688 institutions and 58,399 individuals across 76 countries to commit to divesting from fossil fuel companies. The value of assets represented by these institutions and individuals is conservatively estimated at US $5trillion, up from $3.4 trillion the previous year (Arabella Advisors, 2016). However, it is not yet, and would not claim to be, either alone or with its allies, a transformational social movement[2].

In previous articles, the writer examined the divestment movement's evolution, aims, and strategies thorough the lens of the social and environmental movements literature. That analysis showed how the movement has developed an organisational vehicle facilitating effective mobilisation and grassroots activism, exploited political opportunities, engaged in innovative and sometimes disruptive forms of protest and used cognitive framing and symbolic politics to gain media interest and persuade the public of the importance and legitimacy of its claims (Gunningham 2017a, b). The relative instrumental, structural, and discursive power of the movement and its adversaries was also examined, showing how, notwithstanding the fossil fuel industry's deeply embedded

[1] The number 350 was chosen because 350 parts per million is, according to some scientists, the maximum acceptable concentration of carbon dioxide in the atmosphere, beyond which 'dangerous' climate change becomes increasingly likely.

[2] 'Transformational social change' in this article is not used as a term of art but simply implies far reaching change, as in a transition from a carbon based to a low or zero carbon economy. A transformational social movement in turn is 'a group of people with a common interest who band together to pursue a far-reaching transformation of society. Their power lies in popular mobilisation to influence the holders of political and economic power'. (O'Brien et al., 2000, p. 12).

structural and instrumental power, the movement has managed to shift the contest onto a terrain where it holds a comparative advantage.

These arguments will not be rehearsed here. Instead this article asks: what are the most important steps that would need to be taken to achieve transformational change: by 350, by the wider climate change movement of which it forms a part and by a web of other climate actors? The article's initial focus will be on 350 because it is at the leading edge of transnational *grassroots* activism, and indeed was established largely because an effective grassroots movement did not exist (in contrast to policy oriented, lobbying, knowledge disseminating, green consumerist and partnership based NGOs) (Beinecke, 2015)[3]. However, since its ultimate success will depend largely upon its interactions with other actors, not just within the climate movement but also more broadly, these webs of influence are also explored.

One important assumption in the following analysis should be emphasised, namely that addressing climate change is feasible within the political and economic structures of capitalism. As such, it does not engage with anti-capitalist 'system change not climate change' approaches[4], not because such approaches should not be taken seriously (even where one disagrees with them) but because doing so would require an extended and entirely different analysis which is not practicable within the confines of a single article.

Following this introduction Part 2 examines the limitations of the divestment movement in its present form and what further actions and what broader alliances and networks it, and the the climate movement more broadly, would need to participate in if it is to catalyse a rapid transition from a fossil-fuel based to a low-carbon economy. Part 3 takes this theme further, arguing that the movement is best understood as part of a broader web of influence and that the interactions within this web will be crucial in generating the momentum necessary to precipitate far reaching change. Part 4 concludes.

Recognizing that activist networks are best studied through their campaigns and impact, a case study approach was adopted, the principal methodology being qualitative field-based research, which was undertaken in Australia, the UK and the USA, the three countries in which the movement has been most active. Specifically, 38 semi-structured interviews were conducted in accordance with generally accepted principles (Minichiello, Aroni and Hayes, 2008) with a sample of stakeholders including activists, campaign managers and influential figures within the movement, investment fund managers (particularly those vulnerable to public pressure), banks and industry consultants. Participant observation of campaign events such as national days of action, strategy meetings and local activist events complemented the interview data. Other

[3] This is not to detract from the considerable achievements of transnational and largely grassroots NGOs such as Greenpeace and FOE but such organisations have broader agendas and at least at the time of writing, have a less active presence and less impact than the Divestment Movement within the sphere of climate activism.
[4] I am indebted to an anonymous referee for this point.

documentation and data within the public domain were used to corroborate, illustrate and/or challenge participants' statements in interviews and to verify factual details and statements of intended aims and aspirations. Finally, the social movement literature was reviewed. While not all the issues raised in the previous paragraph can be fully addressed by a case study of a single social movement, this article does provide some provisional answers to a number of key strategic questions.

2. Towards transformation

2.1 Divestment's limited reach

We live in an age of networked governance, and a characteristic of recent successful social movements has been their capacity, facilitated by modern communication technologies, to develop such networks, encompassing not just their traditional allies but also other groups with whom they might make common cause (Castells, 2000). While the divestment movement has worked closely with like-minded organisations through vehicles such as the Climate Action Network (internationally), the Fossil Fuel Divestment Student Network (in the USA), the Stop Adani campaign (in Australia) and Fossil Free UK (in tandem with partners People and Planet and Operation Noah), it has largely failed to exploit the benefits of broader engagement. with 'a politically, economically and socially diverse range of stakeholders' that include 'a wider range of stakeholders, each with different aims but all with resources - such as expertise, knowledge, access, support or legitimacy – with which to bargain' (Bomberg 2012, 418 and 419) .

Indeed, when compared to a typical network combining 'the voluntary energy and legitimacy of the civil society sector with the financial muscle and interest of business and the enforcement and the rule-making power and coordination and capacity-building skills of states and international organizations' (Reinicke and Deng, 2000, 24), the divestment movement's alliances appear one-dimensional. For the most part, they have been concerned with coordinating campaigns with other like-minded activist groups rather than with creating 'a synergy between different competencies and sources of knowledge' (Dedeurwaedere 2005, 2) as more developed networks do. For example, there is little evidence of "'mobilization networks' comprised of a diverse range of actors who share resources and bargain as they seek consensus on how best to 'steer' society towards a low carbon future" and each of whom has distinctive resources, specialisation and expertise which it brings to the table (Bomberg, 2012, 424).

Yet notwithstanding these limitations, the divestment movement has been the most prominent attempt to date to build a grassroots global climate movement, to the point where it is 'arguably the most effective and well organised enemy of fossil fuel in the world' (Stevens, 2016) and 'the fastest growing [such] movement in history' (Vaughn, 2014). Previous grassroots movements have sprung up at local level, but never managed to extend their reach or their

alliances, others have withered as many did following the Global Financial Crisis, or were 'subsumed in a wider push against corporate power' (Rosewarne, Goodman and Pearse, 2013, 11). Exceptionally, Greenpeace has maintained a genuine grassroots presence over many years, and Friends of the Earth (the core node in the anti-fracking movement in Europe) also has a grassroots component albeit in tandem with a heavy lobbying presence in the halls of power, but neither has focused its attention mainly or exclusively on climate change.

There remains however, considerable scope for the divestment movement to achieve far more than it has so far done. For example, as a leader of the Serbian Otpor movement once pointed out: 'if we want to win, we need to step out of the university bubble and work with ordinary people' who are not already connected with the movement's networks (Engler and Engler, 2016, 69). This insight is every bit as relevant to the climate movement as it is to other campaigns and indeed this is increasingly recognised in the United States, where 350 is beginning to develop 'transition alliances' with diverse social actors which are serious about addressing climate change (Boeve, 2015). However, this is far less the case in the UK and Australia. For example, in the UK, one 350 campaigner, acknowledging the limited networks that had been developed beyond 'the usual suspects' pointed particularly to lack of engagement with financial institutions as an example: 'we don't have contacts with financial markets, apart from two small ethical investment managers. That's about it". Similarly, in Australia, another campaigner, echoing the comments of others, reported that 'one of my chief frustrations is our inability to overcome the hurdle of engaging broad audiences'.

While a failure to network more broadly, is a critique that is particularly apposite in the case of the divestment movement, it also applies, at least in some jurisdictions, to many other climate NGOs. Certainly some of these, in contrast to 350, are involved in lobbying and other forms of engagement with mainstream politics and politicians. Some too have begun reaching out to indigenous and health groups amongst others. But for the most part, outside of the USA, these initiatives are still relatively limited, an impression that was confirmed by one consultant with extensive experience of working with climate NGOs internationally: 'I don't see a commitment to inter-sectional organising. Australia is ten to fifteen years behind North America'. To a lesser extent, the same criticism can be made of UK climate NGOs although at one time the Stop Climate Chaos coalition might have been an exception.

Recognising the limitations of the current modus operandi of 350 and its like-minded allies, particularly in Australia and the UK, raises the question: what could be done differently and what might it take for the climate movement to realise its transformative potential? This question will be addressed in three parts: (i) recognising the critique above, by exploring the need to build broader alliances and how this might best be achieved (section 2.2): (ii) through harnessing various opportunities such as exploiting the vulnerabilities of opponents, digital amplification and various scaling up techniques (section 2.3);

and (iii) building and taking advantage of webs of influence to maximise effectiveness (section 3).

2.2 Building broader alliances

As this section will argue, there are multiple means of extending the climate movement's networks and establishing mutually beneficial relationships with other climate actors. The latter include other civil society organisations, the politically disengaged, the political right, the state, international organisations and business dominated epistemic communities.

Understandably, building broader alliances, particularly with unlikely bedfellows, can be challenging. For example, finding common cause with trade unions can be problematic, particularly where some members are employed in fossil fuel related industries. Here the climate movement's increasing emphasis on a *just* transition to a low carbon economy, and a clear articulation as to how displaced workers would be treated, and new jobs in renewables created, will be crucial. A focus on communities that will be impacted by the closure of fossil fuel facilities and on mitigation and compensation funds in tandem with a new 'green industrial policy' will be crucial. The latter might arguably be on the model of the German *Energiewende* (Healy and Barry, 2017) and form part of a broader roadmap of a socially and economically just transition. This however, is a long way from current thinking within parts of the movement. As one activist acknowledged: 'we have difficulty forming relationships with unions, I think largely because the movement too easily slips into stereotypes … there are elements of the climate movement that make it difficult to support a great deal of the work being done in the union movement". Nevertheless, in the US at least, climate NGOs, including 350, are increasingly emphasising that environmentalism is good for the economy and that addressing climate change provides considerable job-creation opportunities and genuine 'blue-green' alliances are being established.

Developing relationships with some on the right of politics also becomes important given the desirability of developing as broad a coalition as possible, but has been largely neglected to date. Doing so will require identifying areas where conservative principles are consistent with environmental protection or tacitly agreeing to disagree about many things (including even the very existence of climate change), while working together where common ground can be found. Home solar panel systems for example, may be supported by some on the right because their purchase is consistent with the free market, consumer choice, and national security. As one Green Tea Party member put it: 'Rooftop solar makes it harder for terrorists to render a devastating blow to our power grid. There's nothing more centralized in our nation' (Kormann, 2015).

While developing broader alliances across the ideological divide will not be easy, and risks blunting the movement's radical edge, it should not be forgotten that addressing climate change is not inherently inconsistent with right-of-centre

values: Margaret Thatcher recognised that climate change was important and needed to be addressed and American conservatives such as William F Buckley and Barry Goldwater were also strong advocates for action to protect the environment (Farber, 2017). Having said this, in the USA it has become an article of faith for Republicans to deny the importance and often the existence of climate change, suggesting the need for a substantial reframing (a new technological revolution, green jobs, climate change as a threat to our values and lifestyle etc) to better engage with the right and to transcend political tribalism (Marshall, 2014). Indeed, insofar as the polarisation of right and left can be overcome and useful advocacy coalitions developed, it is likely to be through a reframing of the climate issue. Such a reframing would involve multiple narratives, one or more of which would engage particular sectors of the population, and mindful that, as in a war, people who disagree on many things may still unite in fighting a common threat. And wherever such broader connections can be make it will be fundamentally important to 'actively hire new people from the under-represented group who can work through *their* networks. Then enable them to develop communications that speak to others like themselves using their own values' (Marshall, 2015, emphasis added). The broader lesson is that it is vital to enlist trusted messengers and to work with local partners who are credible figures within their own communities, whether these be Republicans, indigenous leaders, influential religious figures or trade union officials.

Allies might also be sought in other unconventional places. For example the political, military and humanitarian risks of climate change are becoming increasingly apparent, suggesting opportunities to make common cause with such unlikely bedfellows as the security forces and the military and more comfortable ones with aid agencies and charities like Oxfam. Other connections are already being made, as with a coalition of 30 Australian health and medical groups which launched a world-first National Climate and Health Strategy framework in 2017, or the incorporation within the Stop Adani campaign, discussed below, of some indigenous groups. Similarly, Paul Gilding has suggested the potential for alliances 'between those concerned about economic and political stability, those who are inspired by the technology and business opportunities and those concerned about climate change' (Gilding, 2011, 6). Currently, USA 350.org Executive Director May Boeve and her colleagues have gone much further than their counterparts in the UK or Australia, taking the view that climate change connects *every* issue and emphasizing the importance of identifying how those connections might be developed (Alter, 2015). Developing such alliances however, is very much a work in progress.

A closely related need is to find ways of engaging with those who feel left behind by globalisation, including many of those who voted for Trump and Brexit and the growing number of those who have lost faith in the major political parties. This will not be easy. Hochschild, for exampledescribes how in southwestern Louisiana, one of the most polluted environments in America, voters are strongly opposed to environmental regulation and climate change denial is

deeply embedded (Hochschild, 2016). Such analyses provide a rich understanding of the beliefs of such communities but offer far less as to ways in which those beliefs might be successfully challenged, while others writing on this topic tend to approach it with bemusement tinged with despair (Bageant, 2007). Yet the formation of the Green Tea Party, mentioned above, and of such offshoots as Floridians for Solar Choice, an 'inchoate alliance of libertarians, Christian Coalition conservatives, liberal environmentalists, and eighty-five Tea Party groups' suggests that understanding the motivations of those who feel disenfranchised and engaging with at least some components of this amorphous group, might pay dividends. The movement itself must take some responsibility for not reaching out to those who are attracted to populism. One activist for example suggested that the movement suffers from: "a form of intellectual elitism that claims a debatable acceptance of minorities at the expense of inclusion of others – particularly the working class".

So too and in contrast to the political right, the climate movement has not fully come to terms with the fact that 'close [election] campaigns are decided by the least informed, least engaged voters. These voters do not go looking for political news and information'. This necessitates 'brutally simple communication with clear choices that hit the voter, whether they like it or not' (attributed to an advisor of former Canadian Prime Minister Stephen Harper quoted in Mogus, 2015). The implication is that climate activists need to focus more on engaging with community based media, regional and local newspapers and bloggers (Mogus, 2015). They also have to identify a framing that connects effectively with such a disengaged section of the public and continue repeating it through multiple avenues and in multiple ways in the hope of 'sending a breakthrough signal in a tuned-out world' (Mogus, 2015).

Equally important will be gaining 'the support of state actors to endorse their norms and make norm socialization part of their agenda' (Finnemore and Sikkink, 1998, 900). This is also something the divestment movement has not so far done, and indeed scepticism about the possibilities of constructive engagement with the major political parties has often resulted in their being consciously by-passed. Certainly, the movement's model of change assumes that ultimately, once a sufficient proportion of the public is persuaded of the need for far-reaching climate action governments will follow, but its failure to engage with the latter directly and in the short term, may prove to be a misjudgment, at least on the evidence of social movement theorists such as Finnemore and Sikkink (1998). Having said this, some other climate NGOs *have* directly engaged with the political process and particularly with progressive forces within mainstream politics. Friends of the Earth's attempt to pressure the UK Government to pass the Climate Change Bill is one well known example (Nulman, 3, 24, 143). The importance of such initiatives is also emphasized by those who point out that the most powerful impact on public perceptions of climate change in the United States is the stance taken by a polarized political elite (in the US, Democratic Congressional action statements and Republican roll-call votes (McDonald, 2009, 52).

The divestment movement, in particular, has also made few efforts to connect with potentially sympathetic International Organisations (IOs). According to one 350 campaign manager: 'as a campaign tactic we don't lobby international organisations …but we sometimes conduct forums they might come to.' Nevertheless, 350 has received endorsement from the high echelons of a number of such organisations. These include the World Bank, the United Nations Environment Program and the International Energy Agency. Such approval has served to increase the movement's legitimacy and authority and to underpin the credibility of its message as well as providing leverage and resources not otherwise available (reference removed). Greater contact with such organisations would nevertheless be beneficial, as for example in ensuring that the movement and these organisations were 'singing from the same song sheet'. Networking might also reveal untapped opportunities for such organizations to act as 'orchestrators' by, for example, 'building private capacities… convening, facilitating and participating in collaborative arrangements; [or] providing material and ideational support'. (Abbott, 2011, 2). While 350 may not consider such networking the best use of scarce resources, some other NGOs have expended much more energy on such networking but in doing so are not infrequently captured by the UNFCCC process (Rosewarne, Goodman and Pearse, 2013, 14).

Also crucial to the climate movement's future progress will be the extent to which it is able to engage with business-dominated epistemic communities (Braithwaite and Drahos, 2000), and in particular with institutional investors. The latter can play a pivotal role in providing capital to finance the transition to a low-carbon economy, driven by the necessity to protect client assets from global climate risks. Specifically, over the next 15 years, an estimated $90 trillion will be needed to facilitate low-carbon infrastructure investment, much of which only the financial sector can provide. Engaging with institutional investors on the issue of how this massive redirection of capital flows might best proceed, could give the climate movement a constructive influence in shaping the future in ways it has barely begun to contemplate. What further role, for example, might the movement play in facilitating a shift in risk perceptions such that asset owners and managers become more willing to invest in low carbon technologies? What would it take to persuade a wide range of financial institutions and asset classes to manage climate risks across the financial system as a matter of enlightened self-interest? How might the movement shame the recalcitrant who resist the pressure to embrace sustainable investment?

Moreover, the 'quiet revolution' (UNEP Finance Initiative 2017) in the perceptions and behavior of institutional investors that is in its early stages, gives the climate movement a rare opportunity to exploit divisions among institutional investors, and to engage in a 'divide and conquer' strategy that can, according to Braithwaite and Drahos's (2000) exhaustive study of global business regulation, be a particularly effective means for the weak to overcome the strong. Such action might involve: raising awareness about the need for such a revolution (for example drawing attention to how climate change threatens

water and food production supply-chains); lobbying governments and regulators to support it by means such as mandating disclosure of climate risks; threatening the social license of banks that persist in lending to fossil fuel projects; providing reputation rewards to those who embrace sustainable investments; and otherwise raising the consciousness of financial markets about the financial risks of fossil fuel investment. While the movement recognizes that 'it's best we stay behind the curtain [and] to have a public separation of advocates and private industry', its broader efforts to warn of the risks of 'stranded assets' might nevertheless be important in accelerating change at a time when there are the early signs of a 'deep shift' across the finance sector (UNEP Finance Initiative 2017).

2.3 Harnessing opportunities

While the climate movement must grapple with many obstacles, recognising and coming to terms with them also presents windows of opportunity. The latter include crafting climate change messages to be consistent with what we know about human psychology, exploiting the vulnerabilities of opponents, using social media to harness digital amplication, and using big data, directed action campaigns and other techniques to facilitate scaling up.

As psychologists point out, humans have perceptual, cognitive and affective information processing limitations that are 'hard-wired' and these make the threats of climate change difficult to appreciate and contribute to climate change denialism (Marshall, 2014; Markowitz and Shariff, 2015). Yet recognising these limitations opens up new strategies for change. For example, "human decision-makers, including policymakers, do not necessarily or even predominantly think, decide and act like Homo economicus" and so "we need to consider and use the full range of human motivations and goals and the full range of decision processes available to Homo sapiens as we consider action and behaviour change in the context of climate change" (Weber 2015, 563, 577). Connecting climate change to human health, mindful of Maslow's hierarchy (as a number of climate NGOs are now doing), may be one particularly fruitful strategy, given that in the US coal is responsible for an estimated 13,000 premature deaths each year and 800,000 globally (Endcoal). So also may drawing attention to coal being the largest source of man-made pollution worldwide, given that the public's aversion to pollution, in the US at least, is currently much greater than its concern about climate change (Ansolabehere and Konisky, 2014, 13-15, 171-175). Psychology further suggests that the burdens on future generations rather than the benefits of avoiding climate change should be emphasized and that appeals should be made to 'hope, pride and gratitude rather than guilt, shame and anxiety' (Markowitz and Shariff, 2012, 245). Finally, a framing that is couched in terms of there being a 'climate emergency' of such a magnitude that the public must be led into 'emergency mode' or put on a 'war footing' might more effectively penetrate public disengagement

(Salamon, 2016) particularly if it is coupled with a focus on the positive consequences of change (Weber, 2015, 577).

The ability to seize moments of opportunity and exploit the weaknesses of opponents also appears to be fundamentally important. For example, Gandhi understood that a vulnerability of British Rule was that it was built upon Indian complicity (Brown, 2011, 63) while the civil rights movement saw opportunity in the reliable violence of the police and others, images of which were broadcast internationally (McAdam, 2011, 75-76). But violence by agents of the State is unlikely to be prompted by the divestment movement, nor is the non-violence of 350 and its allies likely play out in the shadow of threatened violence by other sympathisers, a juxtaposition which arguably advanced the American civil rights movement (Nimtz, 2016). On the other hand, the divestment movement, like Ghandi, is adept at 'creating and manipulating images of moral resistance' and is well versed in political theatre (Brown, 2011, 59). Finally, 'successful movements depend critically on the capacity of insurgents to recognize and exploit the opportunities afforded them by environmental change processes' (McAdam, 2011, 70). This too is well recognized by the divestment movement, as its response to the proposed development of a mega-coalmine by the Indian company, Adani, described in section 3 below, amply illustrates. On the other hand, both corporations and governments are immeasurably more adept at playing their own media games than they were two or three decades ago.

As multiple civil society organisations have found, harnessing the social media and information technology has also become central to effective social action. Successful social movements are adept at using social networks to facilitate remote organising and the establishment of self-starting groups (Castells, 2012). For example, focusing promotion efforts on Facebook (and Facebook communities) in conjunction with videos that can be readily uploaded to that platform demonstrably facilitates digital amplification. Indeed, as Mogus has argued, the 'best way to grow momentum and influence is to piggy back on a sound digital strategy on top of solid real world organizing' (Mogus, 2015), combining off-line community organising with digital innovation (see generally Wolfson, 2014). For example, Jacobs (2016, 319) describes how online campaigning organisation, Avaaz, built support by 'deploying an imaginative combination of online petitions and email campaigns, with street protests and paid for advertisements in newspapers … Avaaz acquired new supporters at a rate of a million a month. Entirely self-financed from small donations, it had reached 42 million global supporters by the time of the Paris conference'. Again, 350.org has been no slouch at harnessing social media but this is a rapidly evolving game in which no player can afford to lag (on which see the 'Bernie dialer' below). In short, the internet and social media provide considerable opportunities to disseminate information, raise funding, recruit volunteers, build a base of volunteers and donors and disseminate a message.

A final, and related key to success is scaling up, a technique exemplified in the Bernie Sanders Presidential Primaries campaign. Drawing from their experience on that campaign, Bond and Exley advocate a form of 'big organizing' that

leverages new, social technology 'to talk to everybody and allow thousands to scale up into leadership roles' (2016, 6) through directed action campaigns. While such campaigns have a centralised plan which incorporates agreed actions, performance targets and milestones, they distribute the work of achieving them to volunteers using such techniques as 'barnstorming' (using campaign rallies as a technology to bring people together to form volunteer-driven work teams). Barnstorms are designed to be replicable so that they can also be run by volunteers who have been recruited and trained by the organisers but who in turn can recruit and train others (and so on) so that the movement scales up rapidly. Those who sign up at barnstorms either volunteer to participate in phone banks that call voters across the country or agree to host such phone banks in their neighbourhood, recognising that 'the gold standard in any campaign for changing hearts and minds is a personal conversation between a volunteer and a voter at the door or on the phone' (Bond and Exley, 2016, 185).

A further breakthrough was the 'Bernie Dialer', a technology that enabled phone bank volunteers to engage in many phone conversations with voters per hour, rather than just a few, as had been the case when much time was wasted waiting on unanswered calls. In this, as in the campaign's other successful experiments, the key was to 'put consumer software, connected by custom coding, at the center of our distributed campaigning efforts.' (Bond and Exley, 2016, 169). 350.org has also been a pioneer in 'directed-network campaigning' but the experience of the Sanders campaign suggests a variety of ways in which that approach might be further refined. For example, Australian activist group GetUp has adopted phone campaigning and further refined the technology both to increase the number of meaningful phone calls to be made as well as allow phone campaigning to be conducted by people from their homes. GetUp! then passed on this technology to progressive activists in UK to use in the 2017 UK election.·

One theme implicit in the analysis above, is that the climate war is one that must be fought on many different fronts, harnessing the combined efforts of many different protagonists. The divestment movement, for example, notwithstanding its considerable early successes, has no pretentions to attacking climate change either alone or on a single front. Divestment will be simply one strategy amongst many and 350 will be one activist organisation amongst others, albeit that it may well play a leading role in a broader Climate Convergence. What is needed, is 'coordinated action and collaboration across fronts of struggle and national borders to harness the transformative power we already possess as a thousand separate movements' (Global Climate Convergence 2017). Even this however, will not be enough. As described above, the climate movement must extend its reach beyond existing networks between activist groups and embrace new networks wherever common cause can be found, seeking to build a 'winning coalition of believers whose conceptions of socially desirable activity set the terms for subsequent moral debate' (Suchman,

1995, 592). To do so effectively will require an understanding of the role of webs of influence and how they might best be harnessed to the climate change cause.

3. Webs of influence

While the forces arrayed against the divestment movement have enormous material and structural power, while people are psychologically 'hard-wired' to reject climate change bad news and while there is considerable political and economic resistance to taking action on the scale that it needed, it is far from inevitable that a transformational movement built around climate change will fail. Braithwaite and Drahos's definitive empirical project on global business regulation (2000) shows how 'webs of influence' involving multiple actors with multiple agendas relying on a diversity of strategies and mechanisms, can in combination play important roles in steering events on the global stage. Webs of dialogue, for example, are available to the weak as well as to the strong and can variously induce cooperation, communicate informal praise and blame, build capacity, develop normative commitments and create spaces for complex interdependency (Braithwaite and Drahos, 2000, 553).

Crucially, on their evidence, *even weak strands in webs of influence often become strong by being tied to other weak strands*. For example, non-state actors committed to climate change action that might connect in this manner include: an investor coalition engaging with major extractives and utilities companies ('Aiming for A'); NGOs introducing climate change resolutions at the Annual General Meetings of companies with major carbon footprints (ClientEarth and ShareAction); others acting as 'conceptive ideologists' introducing the language of financial markets - stranded assets and carbon bubbles - into climate change debates (Carbon Tracker); the compilation of a comprehensive collection of self-reported environmental data on the carbon emissions of major corporations. (the CDP); the mobilisation of a critical mass of institutional investors committed to decarbonising their portfolios (Portfolio Decarbonization Coalition); and a network of large pension fund and asset managers who take a pro-active approach to managing risks and opportunities related to climate change (Institutional Investors Group on Climate Change). Sometimes too, allies emerge within state and international organisations: the United Nations Environment Program, the World Bank and the International Energy Agency are amongst those who have spoken out in favour of divestment. Meanwhile, The Guardian newspaper, under the umbrella of its 'Keep it In the Ground' campaign, and in partnership with 350, has also done much to draw attention to the climate crisis. And although the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation resisted 350's demands to divest, it has subsequently contributed $2 billion to breakthrough renewable energy projects.

While few of the above actors have significant institutional power they may yet prove capable of enrolling 'more and more actors of increasingly greater clout to a project of network confrontation with the strong' (Braithwaite, 2004, 330). This is precisely what happened when NGO Carbon Tracker's analysis of the

vulnerability of financial markets to 'stranded assets' and a 'carbon bubble' was taken up by the Governor of the Bank of England, Mark Carney. He used the authority of his office not only to warn of the dangers that climate change raises for financial markets but to trigger a G20 Financial Stability Board investigation on the need for greater climate risk disclosure (Carney, 2016).

Similarly, the warnings about the potentially calamitous nature of climate change for investors and financial markets, issued by many of the actors identified in the previous paragraph, are increasingly resonating with parts of the investment industry. HSBC and Citibank, international consultants Mercer and McKinsey and the world's largest asset management fund Blackrock, are amongst those who are now warning their clients of the pressing need to take climate risk seriously (Knight, 2016; Mercer, 2015). Given that 'organizations share information, pool resources, and influence one another to adopt similar forms of collective action and collective action frames' (Hadden, 2015, 10) once leaders take on an issue, fast followers and ultimately the rump of institutional investors, may follow. And where the pressure on their corporate targets comes simultaneously from a plethora of constituencies, rather than from a single interest group then it is much more likely to succeed, and even more so if it becomes possible to divide business in the manner suggested earlier.

Braithwaite and Drahos (2000) also provide evidence that 'when NGOs can enroll a credible web of controls through learning how to pull the right strands of that web at the right moment, they can trigger global change – and have done so' (Braithwaite & Drahos 2000, 612). Their chances of success will be much improved if they can capture the imagination of the public in powerful states, particularly if they are skilled in enrolling the mass media and choosing the 'right moment' to act. Activist movements are becoming increasingly opportunistic in identifying and exploiting such moments and in seeking to 'consciously generate whirlwinds to take advantage of outside trigger events when they occur, and to sustain periods of peak activity' (Engler and Engler, 2016, 261). One such moment is manifesting in Australia at the time of writing, as the federal government proposes to provide a loan of Aus$1billion to Indian company Adani, to build one of the world's biggest coal mines. The Stop Adani Alliance of NGOs is currently engaged high profile campaign on multiple fronts to stop the mine going ahead (Stop Adani).

The relationships between the various strands of the web are many and various. They include loose alliances with other activist organisations and occasionally with other civil society groups, which serve to amplify its impact. They do so variously by enrolling others with similar aspirations or values, swelling the numbers at particular actions (in itself an indicator of impact) and by increasing the legitimacy of the movement through its association with other, perhaps more respected, civil society groups, including mainstream and more conservative environmental organisations. Sometimes, network participants enhance each other's agency by providing mutual reputation benefits (as in alliances between NGOs which draw from different legitimacy communities). Gaining and maintaining legitimacy, particularly moral legitimacy, is

particularly important because it is legitimacy that converts power into authority and thus enables organisations to become effective agents of change.

Sometimes, different climate NGOs play different but complementary roles. For example, Carbon Tracker made a considerable contribution as a conceptive ideologist though its conceptualization of climate change as precipitating 'stranded assets' and 'carbon bubbles', but, it was getting only limited traction until 350.org effectively translated and communicated its message to a broader audience. Unfortunately harnessing such complementarities is still a work in progress. Nevertheless, such alliances can increasingly be identified, as for example, with the Lock the Gate alliance in Australia, which has brought together farmers, landholders, indigenous groups (traditional Owners) and others who oppose coal mining and fracking in their locality, with 350, Greenpeace and others environmental groups with wider concerns. Through such alliances it may be possible to combine the informational capability, technical expertise and broader networking capability of national and international NGOs with the "local knowledge …denser, local-scale networks, and powerful symbolic resources (eg locally resonant stories, images and messengers) that global climate change campaigns often lack". (Green, 2018, in-press)

Also important to the movement's impact are *elite allies* in the form of supportive IOs and key individuals within them, who have respectively, institutional and expert authority. The support of IOs is also strategically important since such organisations have the capacity to engage in 'an active process of international socialization intended to induce norm breakers to become norm followers' (Finnemore and Sikkink, 1998, 902), something which Finnemore and Sikkink argue is crucial to achieving broad norm acceptance. The relationship between the divestment movement and sympathetic IOs might also be thought of as one of mutual reinforcement. On the one hand, endorsement of divestment or recognition of the risk of stranded assets by IOs or influential figures within them, provides legitimacy to the divestment movement.

Over time, the divestment movement may also find ways to harness financial institutions as gatekeepers. After all, capital markets in developed nations have already devised a set of institutions and actors to help provide investors with the timely, accurate, information they need to make informed investment decisions. Auditors, credit rating agencies and financial analysts might end up playing a similar role in relation to divestment. Ultimately too, mainstream economic constituencies might also be brought into coalitions for decarbonisation (Meckling, Kelsey, Biber and Zysman, 2015). Although many of these business organisations may not share the climate movement's broader goals, they may find common cause in advancing at least some aspects of the low-carbon transition.

To summarise, developing a transformational social movement around climate change action will require a multifaceted approach. Of particular importance

will be building broader alliances on both sides of politics, enrolling state allies, linking with IOs, exploiting windows of opportunity and other external events and so on. Many of those activities need to be taken concurrently, and as rapidly as possible. Others however, are likely to be sequential. For example, an aggressive moral entrepreneur such as the divestment movement must advocate for norm change and garner broad based support to achieve it, but may only gain the traction necessary for co-ordinated international action when international organisations 'act as conduits for the codification, monitoring and enforcement of policies based on those norms" (Reich, 2010, 49)

The hope, to return to Finnemore and Sikkink's classic account of transnational activist networks, is that the advocacy of norm entrepreneurs such as the divestment movement will be enough to mobilise multiple others, until a critical mass of actors embraces the emerging norm (the imperative to decarbonise) and a 'tipping point' is reached. That tipping point may well arrive when a sufficient number of institutional investors realise that maintaining investments in fossil fuel assets can only result in financial (and ecological) disaster, and embrace the transition to a low carbon future. At that point, driven by escalating civil society action, pressure from investors and a shift in public opinion, a number of important states, particularly those in advanced western democracies and (for very different reasons, China) are likely to begin in earnest to decarbonise their economies. A 'cascade' of states adopting the new norm is anticipated at this point, perhaps prompted by the threat of carbon tariffs. Subsequently, going 'fossil-free' becomes the new norm internationally, being further embedded as more states embrace it.

4. Conclusion

Keohane, Haas and Levy (1993, 14) concluded in their study, *Institutions of the Earth,* that 'if there is one key variable accounting for policy change, it is the degree of domestic environmentalist pressure in major industrialised democracies, not the decision-making rules of the relevant international institution'. That pressure comes substantially from advocacy networks such as the divestment movement and its allies who when they succeed, 'are among the most important sources of new ideas, norms and identities in the international system' (Keck and Sikkink, 1998, x).

While only states can impose a price on carbon, only states can turn around the massive hidden subsidies on fossil fuels that hold back renewables, and only states can change intellectual property rights to stimulate new low-carbon or zero carbon technologies; bottom up approaches driven by advocacy organisations and their allies and wider networks are also important, not least in stimulating changes in beliefs and norms, and through this, in influencing behavioural change: 'As ever throughout history, economic and social change will come from below, from a coalition of social movements and enlightened businesses, campaigners and visionaries' (Jacobs, 2016, 322). Accordingly,

bottom up norm development driven by civil society may well be the foundation on which effective state action must be built.

Overall, the messy reality is that climate policy and governance is not only a process involving states and international agreements but also one involving civil society and the corporate sector. And it is not only an instrumental process of coercing changes in behaviour and in the exercise of material power, but an expressive and symbolic one of nurturing a new norm and institutionalizing a new set of moral principles. However, whether moral entrepreneurs such as the divestment movement, in tandem with a cluster of other climate agents, will realise their transformational potential and succeed in precipitating a 'norm cascade' and whether this, in conjunction with the higher level of international commitment evidenced by the Paris Agreement, will be enough to avert the cataclysm of dangerous climate change, remains an open question.

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Interface: *a journal for and about social movements* *Article*
Volume 10 (1-2): 170 - 195 (2018) *Aiken, Tales We Tell*

Tales we tell, speaking out loud: understanding motivations of social movement activists through auto-biography and story

Mike Aiken

Abstract

Social movements from below attract attention for the important roles they play in sparking social change. Such movements are propelled by large numbers of activists who exercise their agency amid their specific personal, social and cultural contexts. This article explores the role narratives played within activists' biographical stories to motivate their engagement. The research was conducted using a qualitative analytic approach to provide individual case studies. It examined the role of emotion, ideology and autobiographical stories in activists' political trajectories. The findings contribute to an understanding of the importance of ideas and emotion as motivational factors for activists' work with autobiographical stories as socially situated resources to sustain their action.

Keywords: Activists, social movements, biography, emotion, ideas and stories

Introduction

Social movements can be studied in relation to many different dimensions including, for example: their collective identity, the veracity of their cause or tactics; their persistence or diminution over time and the strategies of 'famous' individual activists. This article, however, draws on a different body of social movement research that turns the lens on individual activists situated in their contexts who are not famous in media terms. It draws on a growing literature that examines the inspirations and motivations for their activism by using a biographical and story telling approach.

Oral history, testimonies and biographies of activists have been an important concern within political and social history in England (Thompson, 1963/2013; Hall, 2001) as a way of understanding counter narratives to mainstream accounts of social change. Further, Thompson (2009:30) traced the role of testimony and 'communal memories…of beleaguered groups' back several centuries. Indeed, the Dictionary of Labour biography (2018) held in the UK's national archives maintains important accounts of renowned activists who contributed to social change. In relation to 'unfamous' activists, Klandermana and Staggenborg (2002:102) point to the importance of research strategies involving oral histories gleaned from employing semi-structured interviews with key informants. Indeed, life histories and key informant interviews are widely employed in social movement research with oral histories offering, from an anthropological point of view, the 'thick descriptions' of events to help examine the linkage between 'public and private histories' (Portelli,1997:ix).

This research draws on narratives collected at the micro level from semi-structured

interviews with a range of activists. It draws initially on a framework from Costalli and Ruggeri (2015) and Ruggeri (2016) in order to examine activists' ideas and emotions as motivational factors. To this is added the important role that personal experience plays, as encapsulated in biographical stories, in motivating people to (potentially) seek causal changes to the social context. Later it is suggested that such stories may also themselves have a causal affect in sustaining activism. In short, the article, asks: to what extent do activists' ideas and emotion, underpinned by autobiographical stories, motivate and sustain their activism?

The context for this investigation was England, although many activists that took part in this research had roots in different cultures and states. Nevertheless, it is anticipated that differing patterns might emerge elsewhere, particularly in post-conflict settings where memories and stories may involve high degrees of political or psychological danger for individuals or communities.

This article is structured in the following way. In the first section, the importance of biography and stories for activists in social movements is considered. The next section summarises some theoretical issues relating to activists and social movements. The following section explains how the research was conducted. The main empirical results are presented in a fourth section by considering the cohort of activists and thematic elements from their biographies and stories. This is analysed in the final section in order to draw conclusions concerning activists' engagement in social movements over the lifecourse.

Social movements and activists: understanding the importance of biography and stories in the lives of activists

This section briefly reviews, first, the nature of social movements, activists and 'famous activists'; and considers the importance of biographical stories between activists and within movements as motivational resources. It then considers the role of emotion and ideology as mechanisms operating alongside, or inside, these stories.

Social movements and activists

Social movements are seen as important for progressive social change for people (and social issues) that are excluded from the conventional political sphere (Chomsky, 2012; Powell 2013). They can be understood as places where people can develop 'a shared collective identity', help create meaning, and mobilise values and beliefs (Diani, 1992). Further, they hold the potential for having a causal affect upon social change (Bhaskar, 1979; Collier, 1994). Nevertheless, social movements are neither unconditionally 'progressive' nor stable phenomena to study (Touraine, 1991; Martell & Stammer, 1996). The focus of this paper is on activists and their motivations for engagement in 'social movements from below' (Cox & Nilsen, 2014). This terminology is used here to acknowledge (and distinguish) the fact that our attention is not on elite and powerful groups in social movements 'from above' such as those that seek to accrue wealth and power for privileged groups or 'high net worth individuals' (George, 2012). It also points to a concern with actions that are not necessarily directly part of political parties.

The term 'activist' is used in this article to refer to any person active in social movements from below. They are contrasted with 'famous' activists who will be well known in the media or political forums. The activist will often give up significant portions of their life, or face risks to their career or families, for the social movements in which they are involved, and may be little known in the public eye. Political work in action groups may be fitted in between - or may be entailed within - caring for families, employment or personal battles with authorities. Within such groups - or alongside colleagues and family members - there may be little time to 'indulge' in personal stories that have shaped their own political engagement. Faver (2001) sees activists as taking action to affect social change through a variety of methods from petitions to raising awareness and organising demonstrations. This may also be undertaken within the ordinary activities of their life, such as in caring or in conversations with neighbours (Nolas, Varvantakis and Aruldoss, 2017). It can refer to those particularly devoted or engaged in the praxis of a cause. Following the earlier work of Touraine (1981), this article examines the *meanings* actors attribute to their activism, understood here as purposive 'work' rather than basic 'labour' (Arendt, 1998) and as work that is mostly unpaid.

The classic formulation of Bullock & Stalybrass (1983:7) understood 'activists' across a spectrum of meanings ranging from those who form 'the active core of political parties' to those engaged in 'revolutionary movements'. In between these two poles the term refers to those 'directly involved in politics', those operating (partially or wholly) outside the formal 'conventional politics' of official representative structures, including those engaged in 'direct action including demonstrations [and] sit-ins' (Bullock & Stalybrass, 1983:175) and other actions. They may be, however, simultaneously be 'insiders' or 'outsiders' working in corporations, academia or media; but also through their families or communities (Nolas, Varvantakis and Aruldoss, 2017).

The biographies and stories of the lives of 'famous' activists in celebrated social movements can be an important resource for activists. Such accounts can provide accessible insights into dramatic social and political changes, explain the development of ideas and strategies, and provide learning and inspiration for activism. Indeed, it is suggested that 'biographies and autobiographies are almost certainly more widely read by movement participants than formal social movement research' (Waterman, Wood & Cox, 2016:2). Indeed, biographical work has an important pedigree in social movement accounts. The collection by Mulhern (2011) of 17 famous activists engaged in notable 20th century struggles provides insights into, and analysis of, the complexity of political change around the world at critical junctures. These accounts relate to events in the lives of famous activists as well as tales they tell about themselves or others that were vital for their political development. They provide illuminations of the dilemmas and conflicts all activists may face, as in Thompson's (1963) words, agents in 'history making' .

Famous activists' tales can involve oft practiced and well shaped tales. Nelson Mandela's (1995:5) auto-biography, for example, recounts that there were '...many stories that I was in line of succession to the Themba throne...' but he points out that 'those tales...[were] a myth...I was groomed like my father before me to counsel the rulers of the tribe.' Phoolan Devi's auto-biography recounts her poverty, humiliations and resistance against how society was organised, first, as a bandit and, later, as a senator in

the Indian Parliament (Devi, Cuny & Rambali, 1996). Satish Kumar (2012:14), describes himself as 'a peace activist…from a Jain family…' who, at the age of nine, persuaded his mother to let him leave home to 'live and learn the principles of peace' (Kumar, 2012:14). Gioconda Bella, a privileged woman in Nicaragua but with a leading role in the Sandanista revolution, recalls the 'lesson of dignity' that a poor woman taught her which she recalled 'many, many times over the years' (Belli, 2003:58). Stories about famous activists often recount such tales and these also resemble those told by activists in this research.

Telling stories: the biographical approach

It is important to examine the biographical approach (Williams, 1999/2015; Mulhern, 2011; Thompson, 1963/2013). For example, Andrews, Cox and Risager (2015) point to the growing importance of this arena. They argue that activists' access to movement auto-biography provides significant knowledge transfer to newer activists**.** Further, biographical approaches to famous activists' lives have not been uncommon. Raymond Williams' (1999/2015) own political development is explored through his biography and interviews. These offer narratives that hold important meanings and understandings concerning historical national and international historical events. In these contributions he argued that 'language is a continuous social production in its most dramatic sense' (Williams, 1999/2015: 176) while dominant ideology suggests each person is 'a free-floating individual who makes his [/her] life through a series of encounters, which are really quite undetermined by larger forces' (Williams 199/2015:275).

In fact, the act of remembering can be causative, namely, it can play a part in affecting action and change in the world, following a critical realist ontology (Bhaskar, 1979). However, memory can also be complex: it is not necessarily fixed or indisputable as those engaged in testimony to truth and reconciliation processes have illustrated (Dorfman, 2010; Diski, 2012; Sachs, 2005). Nevertheless, sharing biographies and telling the stories in activists' lives remains important: they can serve as a political project of 'resource and remembrance' (Benjamin,1999), and a neglected tool for current and future activists seeking to 'live their own history' (Thompson, 1963).

In this article we are particularly interested in the meanings and causal impacts activists ascribe to their stories. Portelli's (1991:12) investigation into oral accounts of the death of a steel worker in clashes with the police, points to the importance of images that may even be related to 'mythological references' in such testimony. In short, 'oral sources tell us not just what people did, but what they wanted to do, what they believed they were doing, and what they now think they did' (Portelli's, 1991:50). Further, Castiglia and Reed (2012:77) pointed to the growing visibility of monuments in relation to sexual identities from the 1970s, and argued that these operated as 'spaces of memory [that] were pedagogical as well as commemorative…and consolidated identities in relation to history for gay and lesbian viewers.' They argued that 'memory [lay] at the vanguard of the politics of identity' and pointed to more recent 'unremembering' between different generations of gay men (Castiglia and Reed, 2012:175; 86).

Oral history, as Paul Thompson (2009:6) points out, 'provides a source quite similar…to published autobiography.' Further, in relation to objections that this approach can only

offer partial and selective evidence, he argues that historians of the famous are subject to similar constraints: they examine documents, letters, press reports that are themselves constructions and 'represent either from individual standpoints or aggregated, the social *perception* of facts…subject to social pressures from the context' (Thompson, 2009:124). In other words, oral history is open to this objection as much as any other methodological approaches to history.

Stories and autobiography can also be seen as a route into issues that cause disenchantment. They may encapsulate a kernel of injustice or point to social structures which affect the emotions and ideas of others and provide inspiration for collective analysis and action. Hence, Mills refers to situations where 'issues' about a public matter that cause disquiet begin to surface:

> …it is the very nature of an issue…that it cannot be very well defined in terms of the immediate and everyday environments…An issue, in fact, often involves a crisis in institutional arrangements…' [and in addition] '…it may not always be easy to crystalise the exact nature because such experience are '…often caused by structural changes…
>
> (Mills, 1959:15; 17)

Using biographic and story telling techniques has been important in research across a wide variety of fields and continents. Winter, (1999) employed creative story telling to aid social workers in reflection about their practice. Viterna (2006) used in-depth interviews to look back at what factors pushed or pulled Salvadorean women's mobilisation during the guerrilla war. Elsewhere interviews were undertaken with key people to reflect on their memories of how the idea of a UK voluntary sector emerged (Harris, 2016). Meanwhile, Devenish (2013) examined identity construction through the autobiographies of India's first generation of women parliamentarians while Baderoon (2015) used both autobiographies and self-writing to explore Lesbian Muslin autobiographies in South Africa. Indeed, Nolas et al (2017:9) argue that an '…understanding of political activism could be enriched through granular, qualitative research approaches, such as life history, ethno-graphic and action research methods.'

The role of ideology and emotion in shaping activists' work

It is important to draw attention to the role of ideas and emotions as mobilising mechanisms for people's activism. Costalli and Ruggeri's analysis of the civil war in Italy, for example pointed to how, in the political sphere as elsewhere, 'ideas shape human behaviour in many circumstances' as well as emotions; they go on to argue that it is the transmission of ideology that can 'rationalize the emotional shift and elaborate alternative worldviews (disenchantment), as well as possibilities for action' (Costalli and Ruggeri, 2015:19).

Ideology can be framed initially using Freeden's four-part (2003:32) typification which sees them as: exhibiting a recurring pattern; being held by significant groups; competing in planning for social policy; while aimed at 'justifying, contesting or changing the social and political arrangements…' There is a political importance encapsulated in

biographical work but emotion is also interwoven. Thompson's (2013) history of the working classes examined previously neglected action groups in England that formed a resistance whether this was by artisans, weavers, agricultural labourers or factory workers. Thompson (2013:222) argues: 'That working people felt these grievances at all and felt then passionately is itself a sufficient fact to merit our attention.'

The importance of capturing the voices of ordinary people embroiled in emotionally charged areas is underlined by reading accounts from those who suffered tragedies in the holocaust (Lewis, 2012; Smith, 2006); or Ophuls' (1969) filmed interviews with French villagers who lived through the Nazi occupation; or collections of oral history about the resistance and massacre at Tlatelolco in Mexico City (Poniatowska, 1998). Similarly, the tales of the British and Irish people who emigrated to Australia following World War II provide insights into the aspirations of working people (Hammerton & Thomson, 2012). Meanwhile, Deller (2013) illustrates how paintings or writing about poor people's experiences can illuminate neglected lives. An engineer's autobiography in 1883 describes the industrial landscape in the Black Country (near Birmingham) as:

> ...anything but picturesque. The earth seems to have been turned inside out...Workmen covered with smut, and with fierce white eyes, are seen moving about amongst the glowing iron...
>
> (Deller, 2013:12).

These biographical stories engage an emotional response, in the listener as well as the protagonist.

The exploration of stories told by founders' of voluntary organisations illuminates ways in which biographical stories describe oppression but can also encapsulate an analysis and a theory of change. Schwabenland (2006) argued that one leader was 'not only identifying oppression as a social ill but also proposing the suggestion, or theory-in-use, that oppression is caused by caste, by a hierarchical structuring of society' (Schwabenland, 2006:37). Stories can thus act as a source of analysis that offers power and resistance. This suggests that the storyteller may be able to 'realise agency through the telling of the story' and thereby 'develop a new political identity...' or a 'refusal to accept the identity that has been thrust upon them...' Schwabenland (2006:59). Further, stories often contain 'poetic imagery' and can be 'metaphors of journeys...metaphors of movement and containment' (Schwabenland, 2006:141). Indeed, Ricoeur (1975:5) points out that 'metaphor is the rhetorical process by which the discourse unleashes the power that certain fictions have to re-describe reality.' Metaphor and narrative may thus play a role in re-shaping an understanding of, and feelings towards, existing structures of social reality: they can act as a political resource for resistance.

There are two important points to summarise concerning biographic stories. First, these tales may not be uncritically 'true.' The recounting of any fragment of biography remains essentially partial because of what it leaves out and what it emphasises. Second, even our own memories - with no intent to deceive - are never faultless. As Dorfman (2010) points out, in relation to truth and reconciliation committees in South Africa, memories can be mis-remembered and mis-recorded. Questions may be asked about 'veracity' (did

that really happen?) and 'selectivity' (why is this story chosen above other more mundane examples?) and 'purpose' (does this set the activist in a favourable and heroic light?).

Research aims

In this article the aim is not to ascertain forensic historical certainty behind a biography or story. The important issue to be explored here is what tales are cited and with what meaning they are imbued. Second, biographic stories as much as other histories may contain meanings and persuasion. In any struggle against overwhelming odds, stories may be critical to keeping activists going - in that sense they may have causative power. For example, Mark Thomas's (2016) performative and comedic exploration of memory in relation to the UK miner's strike in 1984-5 is noteworthy here. In his story, the precise incident of whether children sang (or did not sing) 'solidarity for ever' to mark the end of this strike became absorbed into a much deeper and layered narrative of working class culture and resistance. Narratives necessarily contend with 'time and mode': they may need to compress or expand the periods of events to make the tale coherent; or draw the tale 'upwards to pure politics or downward to personal life and affections' Portelli (1991:21). The interest here is with the meaning and importance of stories that, along with traditional historical approaches, represent some sense of social construction.

Getting personal

This article focusses on individual activists as a part of wider social movements or causes and examines their stories and biographies. There are dangers in separating the individuals from the movement and their broader social context, particularly, as this can entail the valorisation of the 'romantic self' (Kenny, 2000). It presents a high actor-centred view of how social structures may be changed. Nevertheless, at their heart, social movements often embody broad and romantic beliefs concerning quite large scale social change. And, in some cases, these changes are achieved. Hence, it is important to understand the individual activists who populate these movements.

As an illustration, a small tale from my own history may be appropriate. When I was young my mother, who had grown up in the poverty of 1920s London, told me a story about walking to Sunday school with her brother. They encountered the Jarrow marchers working people in desperate poverty who walked the length of England to demand action to counter their hunger. She recalled:

> I was a child of eight and my brother [was] aged nine. Hand in hand we were on our way to Sunday school just off the Marylebone Road when we heard the band and stopped. We read the banners which proclaimed that these were the Jarrow Hunger marchers. We had heard about them. We were very poor but these men looked poorer. They were very shabby with rags tied round their feet. [We]...decided to miss Sunday School and join the hunger marchers... (CPSA, 1979).

This points to some important features: her family were poor yet, as children under 10 years old in a working class London family, they had an understanding of the Jarrow marches through family discussions in an age before mass-media was prevalent. They noted that these men were even poorer than them. Further, they decided to join the march. The notion of support for, and solidarity with, this cause and its wider ramifications – combined with a willingness to participate – represents some degree of political awareness. The transmission of this story also affected my own later activism. It became one of the tales that I told.

Social movement theory: theoretical underpinnings

Different, and at times overlapping theoretical approaches, to understanding the engagement of people in social movements have developed as della Porta and Diana (2006) point out. In this research it was anticipated that there would be a necessary blending of theoretical approaches to make sense of the role stories and biography played in activists' social movement participation.

First, Roth's (2016:49) analysis points to social movement participation not as a separate life activity but rather '...integrated in everyday life... Everyday experiences - for example, discrimination, inequality and injustice - can be the cause to become active in different ways to fight for one's own interests or for future generations' (Roth, 2016:49). The connection to people's everyday life experiences was anticipated to be central to social movement involvement in this article.

Second, closely related to this approach are affiliation and identity needs and the importance of emotion as motivators for engagement (Jasper, 1997; Melucci, 1989). These are also linked to the importance of the existence of formal or informal networks and personal connections - as possible pre-conditions or enablers - which may facilitate collective action (della Porta, 1988). Indeed, Jasper (1997) argues that people become committed to social movements due to strong moral commitments and, in an existential sense, their lives gain more meaning through such involvement. Further, Jasper, emphasised the need to study the role of emotion with morality, and biography and meaning, as structured by cultural contexts. For activists, engagement also implies attention to the affective and expressive realm: it can involve relations with like minded people and the chance to speak out on issues of importance. Our individual biographies can be situated within this realm.

Third, there are also important insights available from cultural theories. The three part analysis of Fuist (2013:1045), for example, distinguishes three approaches whereby culture is seen variously as: (a) internal traditions and 'solidarity' within groups; or (b) as a force operating 'externally' upon social movements, or (c) used instrumentally as a 'resource' so that social issues may be framed by activists contesting mainstream views. 'Framing' approaches can imply a tactical manipulation of common symbols in order to win strategic campaign aims (Benford, 1997) although, when strategic purposes have been pursued too far this approach has been critiqued as being overly instrumental. Nevertheless, internal solidarity and intense shared experiences of opposing injustice are important products of a shared culture of solidarity within social movement groups. Davis (2002:8), for example, distinguishes personal from collective level stories and

points out that 'at the personal level are the stories people tell about themselves, the self-narratives through which their experience and their selves attain meaning.' In this weaker respect, stories may vary between 'configurations of a whole life to stories of significant life passages, existential moments, and traumatic events' (Davis, 2002: 22).

Attention needs to be paid, fourth, to cognitive approaches that can tend to stress calculative or rational assessments of political opportunities for attracting activists' participation (McAdam, McCarthy, & Zald, 1996). However, the realm of ideas, for example, presents a much larger canvas for making sense of personal biography and stories of oppression by considering underlying social structures while 'grand theory' and ideologies present broader explanative narratives. In this respect, capitalism or fascism, as much as Marxism or Feminism, present an analysis of social and economic organisation. At a micro level personal stories and biography can feed into illuminating or modifying a broader understanding of social realities.

Cutting across - and under - these understandings are Marxist approaches which eschew the position of social movements as 'a particular "level" of political action' that operate somewhere between structured organisations such as trade unions or micro-level resistances…' (Cox & Nilsen, 2014: 25). Rather, social movements are part of 'the way in which human beings create their own society and orientate their priorities and development' (Cox & Nilsen, 2014:26). However, in this sense the 'work' of social movements is not utopian but, rather, consciously attenuating emergent struggles towards fundamental transformations in the organisation of social structures.

Oliver, Cadena-Roa & Swann (2003:214) sought to blend some of these four different theoretical strands with all of them 'addressing different important features of a complex'. Social movements can be a broad container of types of activism - resources of both ideas and emotions. They play an important part in conveying ideas and emotions. 'Real' influence draws from the sense that such stories and biographies can provide a pre-disposition or encouragement to become involved. However, there will always be counterfactual settings where these 'pre-dispositions' are not unleashed.

Taking these elements together provides a way for considering how auto-biographical stories may be one of the elements that captures emotions and ideas from activists' experience. Within social movements, ideas can then offer an ideological and emotional frame for analysis and action. The research in this article draws on a micro-level approach to narratives (linked, for example to the ideas, emotion and personal experience of participants as revealed in their stories) while understanding that these have the potential to have causal power in society.

How the research was organised

This central aim of this research was to explore: to what extent do activists' ideas and emotions, underpinned by autobiographical stories, motivate and sustain their activism?

The research strategy involved purposive sampling with a focus on activists' understanding of how their biographies and personal stories influenced engagement in social movements. It aimed to build an understanding, from their perspective, of how

they relate these stories to their activism.

This was undertaken with a diverse set of activists – by age, gender, class, sexuality etc) who were involved in a variety of causes – in order to examine the importance of autobiographical stories across a dissimilar cohort laterally. A different approach would have been to explore a non-diverse group in a single field of activism. Both approaches have merit but the first approach was taken here with the hope that activists from different fields would throw light on similarities in the ways that ideologies and emotion played out across different activist arenas.

Interviewees were sought initially from activists' networks or contacts known to the author in the south of England to facilitate ease of access for face-to-face contact with the researcher and to keep transport costs low. The aim and nature of the research was communicated through email networks and word of mouth. This led to some snowballing as interviewees suggested additional people to contact. The positionality of researching as an 'insider' presented familiar issues, as Herr & Anderson (2015) note. However, those authors also point to advantages of 'insiders' as holders of existing tacit knowledge. This can help make sense of contextual features and generate 'co-learning' between researcher and practitioner as is familiar in action research (Stringer, 1999). It also presented some advantages in terms of openness and trust with people familiar with my own activism. It may have presented disadvantages if they did not wish to present inappropriate material. However, finding 'bridges between the personal and political spheres' represents an important project in exploring the 'political and public reverberations of what is personal and private', and leads to the open question 'what would happen if one tried to connect the world of feelings and emotions and the world of politics and official culture' (Passerini, 1999:19).

The tales and biographical details of 18 UK activists were examined with each person representing a mini-case study of activism (Yin, 1994). Hence basic profile data was sought from – and similar guide questions were used with – each person through semi-structured interviews. The research approach stemmed from a 'critical tradition' and a 'post-positivist position' which looks both at 'dialogic' inquiry and 'testing' certain propositions (Williams with Dyer, 2015).

The guide questions formed a loose structure for the interviews. In practice, having established the parameters of the research, most interviewees then covered the themes in a non-linear way moving between their own history of activism, important stories, personal history and mutual dialogue. Most interviews lasted between 45 minutes to 2 hours. A script of the typed interviews was returned to participants which they could amend and return. Contrasting themes - using open coding linked to the primary aims - were used in the analysis. A summary of the areas of social movement involvement that research participants named as their current activist engagement is summarised in Table 1. This is consistent with findings from the social movement literature that activists frequently engage in a variety of arenas either simultaneously or at different times.

Table 1: Social movement arenas in the activist cohort
• racial justice and anti-racism • women's rights and feminism • Gay or Lesbian rights • anti-war and pro-peace • trade union activity • Left political parties • environment • spirituality and religion • conflict resolution and dialogue building • engaged theatre • community development and neighbourhood action • migrants and refugee rights • student activism • welfare benefits, workers' rights • squatting • indigenous people's struggles and international solidarity • political engagement in which spiritual or religious involvement played a significant role and was also represented (including Islam, Christianity and Buddhism).

The 18 face-to-face interviews were undertaken between February and May 2016 in the south east of England. The profile of the cohort involved ten women and eight men. Their ages ranged from 19 to 85 years old. So-called 'basic' profile questions about 'ethnicity', 'social class' and 'sexuality' were not usually straight forward. These often led to important discussions related to the themes of the research. In two cases, the assignation of gender between 'man' and 'woman' was queried with the suggestion that gender was more fluid that these two categories. Two described themselves as Gay. Some people resisted classifications particularly in relation to 'class.'

Others defined themselves as 'lower middle class' but from a 'working class background' or pointed to their parental background as important. Under the 'ethnic' category, many referred to family members from previous generations with a variety of ethnic backgrounds, countries or cultures. Many had entered activism through a specific issue but all had been or were currently involved in multiple causes. Table 2 provides a profile of activists. Names and sometimes other details have been anonymised.

Table 2: Profil Participants (r have been anonymised)				
Name [code]	**Gender**	**Age**	**Ethnicity**	**Social class**
Laurie [14]	Man	18 - 20	White British/ Irish Traveller	Working class
Morgan [15]	Man	18 - 20	White	South African middle class
Nomol [8]	Man	25 - 49	British Pakistani	Middle class
Anthea [13]	Woman	25 - 49	Not defined	Not defined

Bella [12]	Woman	50 - 65	White- other/ south European	Middle class now (by education
Corda [1]	Woman	50 - 65	White British	Working class origin/ now lower middle class
Margaret [6]	Woman	50 - 65	Not defined	Not defined
Nora [18]	Woman	50 - 65	White	Working class background
Ogama [5]	Woman	50 - 65	African/Indian/ Scots	British Working class background/ middle class lifestyle
Temlen [16]	Man	50 - 65	Not defined	Not defined
Tivanj [17]	Man	50 - 65	Not defined	Not defined
Emily [4]	Woman	50 - 65	White-British	Middle class and family from owning class
Alan [6]	Man	50 - 65	White-British	Working class background/ now lower middle class
Verity [3]	Woman	65+	White	Working class background
Patricia [11]	Woman	65 - 70	White from the British colonies	Australian Middle class
James [12]	Man	65 +	White from Irish heritage	Working class
Barry [10]	Man	65 -70	White British	Working class aspirant / now centre middle class
Felicity [9]	Woman	80 +	White/ Irish & E European background	Working class

The findings

About the cohort

The cohort of activists' experience presents several important features. First, nearly all

activists had influences, or personal experience, involving injustice to them or their family/friends from childhood. Similarly, there was a significant degree of exposure to activism early in their lives. Such features might be regarded as offering a latent disposition towards activism or a familiarity with the idea of activist networks. However, this was not always the case and some came to activism later in life (eg Nomol).

Second, many of these activists had, currently or in the past, some link to formal party politics or trade unions (Alan; Margaret; Ogama). Very few people had made traditional political activity the centre of their activism but social movement engagement did not entail exclusion from formal political structures.

In addition (see Table 2), particularly with the over 50 years olds, trade union engagement had been important at some point and was credited with skill development in organising.

Third, most of this cohort identified with a theoretical/ideological body of knowledge - including feminism, Marxism, socialism, anarchism, anti-racism, queer theory, radical participatory theatre. Fourth, there was no specific attempt to include faith perspectives or international linkage but both aspects featured in interviewee's responses. Many activists noted an allegiance to spiritual or faith bases which influenced their activism (these included Buddhism (Temlen; Tivanj , Islam (Nomol) or Christianity (Felicity, Alan) and was linked or central to their engagement.

In addition, the majority claimed an international link - through family, friends or movement affiliation - and this influenced their stories. Several had Irish parents or grandparents (James, Laurie, Felicity); or family origins in Poland or Eastern Europe (Felicity, Margaret), India or West Africa (Ogama); some had relatives - or had lived in or been brought up in Canada or the USA (Felicity), South Africa, (Felicity, Morgan), Greece (Anthea), Italy and Switzerland (Bella), or Australia (Patricia).

The activists' ages ranged from 19 to 83 years. Nevertheless, there were familiar 'tactical' dilemmas in common. For example, the relative merit between different methods of action such as dialogue, education; marches and demonstrations; or direct action were cited (Emily, Ogama, Anthea). Activists in their middle years (45 - 65 years) in particular integrated involvement in person-to-person/ therapeutic/ meditative or dialogic aspects alongside, or as part of, causes such as anti-racism, anti-war and feminism (Emily, Ogama, Nomol, Temlen, Tivanj). Explanations for involvement in activism were markedly similar irrespective of age. A tantalising issue was that nearly a third of the cohort were active before the 'traditional' emergence date of new social movements (in the mid-1960s). They had originally been involved, as might be expected, in labour issues (involving trade unions or left-wing parties) yet had also had early involvement in anti-racism, anti-Semitism, feminism or campaigning against homelessness (Felicity, Patricia, Barry, James).

Nearly all of these activists identified 'pauses' in their activism, due to work or childcare responsibilities, or to recover after intensive engagement (Bella, Felicity, Alan). Some saw activism as integrated within their other activities either with work, childcare or personal development (Bella, Alan, Emily). Some had engaged in periods as 'insiders' - through working in public or third sector organisations (Emily, Alan). Despite deep

involvement in specific social movements all of these activists appeared, over time, to be fairly cosmopolitan in their social movement mobility.

Further, success (or failure) in a given cause while highly celebrated (or bitterly regretted) did not ultimately deter people from involvement in other causes:

> As a human rights worker, you are aware that you might not win very often. But it is worth doing anyway, for yourself and those you are supporting. And when you do win it feels amazing! (Corda).

> They beat us, but I would do it again. (Anthea).

This suggests there is an expressive role - being active is important in its own right as a significant emotional act.

In the next sections activists' stories and biographies are analysed thematically under: early influences; early experiences of activism; the roles of emotion, ideas and the experience of activism; and the motivations interviewees expressed as important for their activism. Finally, interviewees' expressions about the importance of stories are recorded.

Stories of personal experience and awareness of injustice: Early life influences remembered

Four activists - from 19 to over 80 - illustrated biographical stories of their early experience which they recalled as having influenced their engagement in social movements. Laurie, a man of 19, recalled growing up in a northern working class town on a very typical council estate [public housing] where, generally, people were poor. 'People my age are growing up facing a future of jail, selling drugs...' For him, he was only able to become politically when he was in a better position.

Anthea, a woman in her early 30s, growing up in Athens recalled experiences of wealthy pupils at school who she noticed, due to their social rank, did not get punished. '... It's when I became aware of injustice...I noticed in the school that, for example, children who were wealthy had a different status.' In another context, James, a man in his late 60s, recalled that although he was born in the United Kingdom his parents were of Irish heritage and they struggled financially. This led him to an early realisation of different classes: 'On turning 14 I became aware of my working class heritage, I began to realise there was a "them" and an "us".'

Meanwhile, Felicity, a woman in her early 80s, recalled the period before World War II in London:

> My father left school at 11 years old and he didn't get much schooling...[but] I could read quite early, at 3 years old, and saw graffiti on the walls... put up by supporters of Mosley, the English fascist leader in the 1930s... in the backstreets where my Jewish grandpa

> lived... Racist signs were still common in the 1950s saying "No Irish, No Gypsies, No dogs. No Blacks. (Felicity).

These remarks point to some of the motivations/early influences that most activists interviewed for this research raised: for example: early perception or personal experience of social disadvantage; injustice enacted through the rank of wealthy people; awareness of class difference; early experience of racism. In some cases the experience of brutality was quite stark:

> I spent 10 years in a children's "home". Run like a prison by a religious group, punishment was used as a means of control. Everything was taken from us, but we were given a number. What we did or saw was limited and controlled. We lacked human rights. Completely subjugated, many, like me, left with chronic emotional problems and knew nothing of the outside world. (Ogama).

Activists could still refer to some early experiences as being formative in influencing their actions, or as reminders of the power of resistance that remained with them for many years.

> One of the earliest memories...was at primary school. I was 10 years old, we were with the headmistress. She told a boy off [unjustly]. He got up and shouted and slammed the door and left... He was one of my heroes to see him stand up to oppression in that way...He fought back against something unjust and slammed the door. That's always stayed with me. (Emily).
>
> One young woman became aware in her teens of an atmosphere of hostility to her as a migrant:
>
> When I was young, my parents were not very involved [in politics] they kept quiet...they were immigrants to Switzerland... at that time there were two referenda to limit the number of immigrants...it was very nasty, you felt vulnerable, you could also lose your job and be sent back to your country of origin... (Bella).

In one case a woman imagined the power of state officials in a recurring nightmare.

> I had a repeated dream when I was 6 or 7 years old...in the dream there was always a representative of the state – a sheriff or policeman. They would come to the house and ask for me because they wanted to take me away to execute me. It was very frightening. And, in the dream, my mother would say "there's nothing I can do to protect you". (Patricia).

Early experiences of activism: family and friends

There were also, many stories of early exposure to activism. This could arise through family, for example, Corda whose parents were both trade unionists pointed out that 'It

was normal for me to go on marches as a child, ' I remember solidarity marches and bucket rattling for striking miners and ambulance … Marching and protesting didn't feel frightening or dangerous when I was young, it was part of life.' (Corda). Meanwhile Verity learnt her skills in advocating for people facing disadvantage early in life:

> My first sister was 3 years younger than me, and she refused to speak. I was her advocate and I've been an advocate ever since…I can speak up on behalf of other people… (Verity).

A young man's father was in the Communist Party in the 1980s '…and went to Mozambique to support the community during the war…' (Morgan).

Importance of ideas

There is no neat line between personal experience of injustice and political ideas. However, many in the cohort did express linkage to ideological or spiritual idea as important for their activism and sometimes through political mentors. Some could identify wealth disparities, even from their childhood:

> I was 10/ 11 years old…. my dad …had never explained Marxism to me before…he said "The Right is selfish" it was very fundamental. He explained the idea of "surplus value" when I was nine or 10 years old. (Morgan).

> From a very young age I saw millions starving and others doing very well. It seemed to me that such inequality was wrong. I read a lot. I began to see the conflict between capital and labour and saw it as a major cause profits were always put before people. (James).

Ideas were also transmitted by philosophers, left writers or teachers: activists from 19 years old to those in their late 60s, made specific mention of famous activists or other teachers.

> Getting into activism, movement politics - for me it was a bit of Gramsci's Marxism and the lived experience - I experienced class as real as a young person. But that lived experience re-asserted the theoretical view and gave me a pre-disposition to get involved. (Laurie).

> The catalyst for [this] social activism was in 1997…. I discovered an extraordinary event called 'World Work,' founded by… Arnold Mindell… an exciting, effective approach to transforming conflicts. (Ogama).

> And there was the youth leader - [M]… he was a great enabler - he let us make mistakes. He was a conscientious objector and a lay preacher. (Alan).

> [Many years before] I had seen Gus John talking at the University of London, he talked on equality and diversity - it transformed me. (Margaret).

> I started when I was a teenager, I was 17 or 18…living in Switzerland…I joined a reading group. We were reading Engels!…The intellectual running the group was very interesting he was involved in the 'Lega Marxista-Leninista', a Trotskyist I think… I remember I bought a lot of books, Gramsci and all that… (Bella).

> Marx and Engels - I consider them to be very important - they didn't have all the right answers but they had all the right questions. I call them teachers. They pointed to… the development of solidarity and alienation. They are still important to me today. I'm still learning. (James).

Others related the importance of ideas from faith or spiritual involvement.

> I had also been involved in the Methodist church in a rural area. My father was a local preacher. So I learnt early how to stand up in front of a group.... I was brought up with Christian values. That's always been important… I see them as being aligned to Socialist values… (Alan).

> At the Buddhist Centre people also go to some marches - it's not fuelled by anger…You could frame it in terms of love and kindness - when you are angry you often can't think clearly your words get muddled up and you can't be clear. (Temlen).

> Spirituality – in some ways it is a space to recuperate and integrate, and to be whole. Social transformation has to reflect wholeness. It has to be congruent to be meaningful, and that has seeped into my activism over the years.' (Nomol).

Direct linkage to political ideas from other movements - and awareness of personal threats was also cited.

> By my early twenties I had a strong interest in social justice and had got paid work doing administration in a human rights organisation. I had related interests in women's rights, and… in working class and postcolonial history. (Corda).

> … the activism I did, say on Gay rights in the 1980s, it came out of a sense of "first they came for the communists and I didn't say anything because I wasn't a communist etc…" So at that point I felt the finger was pointing at me. I was out of my comfort zone. I felt compelled. It was a personal threat to me. It motivated me. (Tivanj).

Importance of emotions and connections

Many interviewees referred to the energising and emotional experiences of being involved together with people in activism.

> So with the demos, they were loud, full or energy, it would get hopes up…in these demos, there was a kindness, a solidarity…There are always the arseholes of course some people are angry, they are angry with themselves, they want to break things. But with the majority of people there's a solidarity…I cried many times, and not just from the tear gas! The energy you feel in the demo, this surge of feeling… (Anthea).

> The demonstration in London [against austerity] it is also about group bonding with a quarter of a million people you get this feeling…it has an impact on your own subjectivity. (Laurie).

> I'm not strong. I've not thrown a punch. But it is empowering to see when you're in the street and there's a street battle against the police…I've had baton charges and it's scary. I've seen CS gas, mustard gas. (Morgan).

Closely related, the feeling of working together with other activists, including the connections and solidarity were cited

> I get the satisfaction in activism from a job well done, if I helped make a leaflet, or contributed to the admin, it's the *espirit de corp* - we're all in it together…we're not motivated by money. (Verity).

> … It's to feel the connection, you feel close, smell the sweat, the smell of the stuff we put on our face to protect us from the tear gas the smell of these acid stomach pills, we melt them in water and put on our face to protect our nose and ears… You share so much, there's a connection. And you are looking out for people: "Are we all here"; "Are you alright?" "Is everyone here?" (Anthea).

One activist pointed to solidarity and mutual supportive work in Canada.

> There were a lot of Black people in Toronto they lived in wooden houses many had originally come on the 'Freedom Train' fleeing from the US. So they brought me into their campaign a bit - they helped us and we helped them.'(Felicity).

Self fulfilment and the expressive self

Some activists cited an existential or self-fulfilment aspect - closer to Sartrean notions of an expression of the active self.

> Being active – it's my 'go-to' place when things are bad, activism…responding, and to be with people who are also like that… (Corda).

> When people are campaigning they are letting something out, they bring stories out and that's important. (Tivanj).

> My activism is more driven by anti-authority than ideology. This is a society with lots of things I disagree with but it is the arrogance of authority I disagree with more! (Barry).

> I gradually became disappointed. So I looked for other approaches…That's when I looked at theatre as a way of social change. I started with children…using theatre as a tool for empowerment. (Anthea).

Motivators

Activists were directly asked what they felt lay behind their current motivation. Many returned to their experiences and ideas but also mentioned events from their childhood and home.

> When my father came back from the Second World War in 1946…I was 5 years old…in the post-war election I said to my father "Which way are you going to vote"? He said: "Labour". (Verity).

> From a very early age I wanted to make it a better world, to go beyond and imagine a world where the bosses are not in control. (James).

> …what is it that drives anti-authority in me? It's the longevity of the outsider/insider in me - a feature since I was 11 years old. I want to be anti the establishment - and I want to be a part of it - to be successful in changing it! (Barry).

> It's a passion for social justice. It started with a childish sense that 'the world isn't fair' and I wanted to make it fair. (Verity).

Importance of stories and biography for activists

Finally, it is also important to draw attention to points that several interviewees pointed out during the interviews. Namely, their own analysis that the telling of their stories - or hearing of those belonging to other people like them - was often absent in their activist groups or elsewhere.

> I'm hungry to talk about these things. I can feel jaded and forget why [we do this work]...These stories remind us. (Ogama).

> People...don't often get the chance to explore why, more broadly - we do these things. (Margaret).

Further, one interviewee, pointed to a broader political aim here. For her collecting our memories was important:

> Working class history has been ignored for a long time...'All history is important - it's all related - you can't have a country all divided up so that we don't know about each other.(Nora).

Discussion and analysis

The previous section presented some of the stories and biographical material from 18 activists involved in social movements in the UK. These were examined thematically in order to gain a picture of what had shaped their engagement. Hence, activists pointed to formative experiences of injustice from their background as well as the way ideas and emotions had influenced them. Many also spoke of the importance of leaders or influential figures in their past, the expressive realm of activism, and the importance of their stories and histories.

There was no simple, or singular, reductive theme that could account for their activism. Further, extracting individuals' stories, separate from their collective context did not allow for contestation, additions of refinement, to the material presented. Undertaking that work would represent another project. It should also be acknowledged that the memories and stories illustrated here were necessarily selective, abbreviated and constructed - but their importance lies in why these tales were important to these activists. Many of their stories identified first, second or third generation historical experience covering several continents and multiple causes. They revealed, sometimes in passing, previous struggles against social inequality whether this was, for example, against manifestations of fascism, or in struggles for employment and housing.

Personal experience of poverty and injustice was an important part of the stories and biographies for most but, importantly, not for all activists. Early childhood experiences did not seem essential. However, where these stories did exist - in their school, home or even in a dream - they remained highly memorable and offered an orientation for future action. To some extent these mirrored the tales of 'famous activists' and seemed to encapsulate in shorthand a truth, a rationale, or a theory of change as in Schwabenland's (2006) research and as theorised by Ricoeur (1975). Several activists mentioned the 'normality' of going on demonstrations as children. Nevertheless, there is a danger of post-hoc rationalisation since there are also likely to be competing narratives from the past that are discarded.

Many of the activists were keen to share stories about their activist paths and their

influences. They found relatively few opportunities to reflect upon, to share or to record such stories. For many, this was not just for the individual's benefit, it was also for collective learning. It echoes the points made by Benjamin (1999) and Thompson (1963) where 'keeping the history' (or histories) was part of a political project of remembrance and a resource for future activists. Nevertheless, while current activists *may* be better equipped, technologically, with the tools to store their stories - it is not clear to what degree such tales will remain archived or accessible.

The stories offer illustrations and parables of injustice and resistance while revealing the meanings activists attributed to their actions (Portelli, 1991; Thompson, 2009). They thus hold out the prospect of operating as causative mechanisms in the world (Bhaskar, 1979) albeit in no linear or deterministic manner. In addition, they illustrated the importance of the affective realm of emotion linked to the world of politics as described by (Passerini, 1999). Biographical stories may be used - or even discovered or recovered - post-hoc as justifications for current activism. In that sense, narratives may represent a continual re-working of current life and experience. Indeed, the analysis undertaken here has not focussed explicitly on the notion of 'genre tales' as discussed by Thompson (2009:278) - whereby the style of a tale mirrors particular forms (such as public abstract language, personal self-reflection diary, or dates and chronology).

The interviews supported the notion that both 'ideas' and 'emotions' are important for stimulating and maintaining activism. Some care is needed here as these represent broad descriptors and may not always be mutually exclusive. However, the excitement of being active - for example in demonstrations - was, vividly described in several interviews and bears resemblance to phenomena mentioned by Hobsbawm (2003:73) where there is an intense 'bodily emotion' aroused in such collective settings. Naturally, much activism is more mundane or quiet. But activism based on blunt rebellion of 'the outsider' emerged in the interviews. The narratives discussed by activists draws attention to the way in which emotion and feeling interact with the political as part of their subjectivity (Passerini, 1999). Cultural aspects appear to weave in and out of many of the themes discussed here: the commitment to the group and cause, the affiliation with a group. But one element less referred to in recent literature, but which emerged from several interviews, was an existential element: a sense of activism as self-realisation or actualisation - of not being able to be oneself by *not* taking part in collective dissent. This bears some relation to religious, moral or existential needs traversed by Sartre (1976) - or the imperative to bear witness (in Quaker terms).

Conclusion

The research confirms the importance of emotion and ideas for motivating and sustaining activists' engagement in social movements. However, it also points to the importance of auto-biography and stories for activists. This indicates the on-going accumulation of learning and political analysis that forms a part of the activist's life. The 'tales activists tell' represent constructed narratives, with deep significance to activists' lives, that can provide - in sometimes startling ways - short encapsulations of injustice and injunctions to action. They provide testimony to the lives and actions of activists and - explicitly or tacitly - illustrate or analyse how social structures exert power over

individual or collective experience.

Analytically, while Costalli and Ruggeri's (2015) emotion + ideology framework, may appear reductive, it seeks to combine several approaches. Hence the ideas and emotions discussed above, when combined with an explanative or encompassing ideology, may affect emotional shifts and stimulate alternative worldviews (disenchantment) with the potential for causative action for change. In that sense, stories and biographical memories may provide a metaphorical container capturing, emotions, ideas and meanings from the experience of the activist's lives so that they lead to causal effects. These may be at a level of personal consciousness, of social reality but not as a 'given' or natural phenomena. This may affect activists' understanding and analysis of social injustice as it arises in old or new forms; but can also act as a resource for the potential engagement with others active in resistance. It was instructive, however, that many activists - across the age range - referred to the importance of Marx, Engels or Gramsci in their thinking; or teachers from within trade unions or Left political parties; or faith-based groups; or dialogic approaches; while others talked of informal mentors with whom they had worked. In particular, access to grand explanative theories containing a structural and critical analysis were important for some in providing frameworks for understanding complex social structures. The findings contribute to an understanding of the importance of ideas and emotion as motivational factors for activists' work.

In summary, the 'tales activists tell' may represent biographical stories that act as a repertoire of stored resources which garner the cognitive (and ideological dimension), the emotional (with expressive and group affiliation dimensions), within a culture of social and political work (in solidarity with others). These stories can thus be understood as latent mechanisms that in certain contexts may be triggered so as to promote action against unjust social structures. In that sense, biographical stories represent collective resources with the potential to sustain or inspire activists' work.

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(Still) writing a history of now: #NoCapitulation

Phil Hedges

Abstract

This note is a post-script to my Interface *paper Writing a History of Now: The Campbell House Rent Strike (WHN), adapting the theoretical framework presented to a different social media platform in order to write a different type of radical history. Whilst the history in WHN can be understood as longitudinal, the narrative depicted in this note is latitudinal; shallow in terms of the length of engagement, it is broad in terms of the number of actors whose voices are included. To write from this position, I switch focus from Facebook to Twitter and from a single account to a single hashtag - #NoCapitulation, created during the 2018 UCU strike over cuts to the USS pension. The introduction outlines the context of the research before a methodology section revisits theories discussed in WHN. Here I address the ethics of using Tweets in research; nominally public information, there are nonetheless ethical concerns related to using this data without consent. Drawing on Benjamin, I suggest changes to the model of the Repairer that illuminate the epistemological position of the researcher using Twitter data. The note concludes with a history of 13th March 2018 written using #NoCapitulation and reflection on the robustness of this narrative.*

Keywords: Benjamin, Historiography, Industrial Action, Labour History, Social Media, Strikes, Twitter, UCU.

Introduction

This research note is a post-script to my paper *Writing a History of Now: The Campbell House Rent Strike* (Hedges, 2017) (*WHN*). It adapts the theoretical framework to different social media platform in order to write a different type of radical history.

The history presented in *WHN* can be understood as longitudinal, exploring the rent strike through a relationship with a single actor that spanned months of material (ibid, p.73). The narrative depicted in this note is better described as latitudinal; it is shallow in terms of the temporal length of engagement, but conversely much broader in terms of the number of actors whose voices are included.

In order to write from this position, I switched focus from Facebook to Twitter and from a single account to a single hashtag. Hashtags "...index keywords or topics on Twitter. This function... allows people to easily follow topics they are interested in (Twitter, 2018a)." In effect, hashtags group together related content, enabling a themed conversation across accounts. This note focuses on

#NoCapitulation hashtag, created by the University College London (UCL) - University and Colleges Union (UCU) branch during the 2018 strike over pension cuts (Kobie, 2018).

On 12th March 2018, after six days of talks with ACAS, UCU and Universities UK emerged to put a compromise proposal to members regarding the Universities Superannuation Scheme (Weale, 2018a). A day later, it was clear that UCU members were still engaged in their fourth week of industrial action and had rejected that compromise. #NoCapitulation was an online rallying point for angry UCU strikers across the UK who saw the offer as unacceptable:

> Many branches and members had earlier expressed their hostility to the deal, which was described as derisory. People used the hashtag #NoCapitulation on Twitter to call for the deal to be rejected (Weale, 2018b).

No Capitulation existed offline too. When I walked through Bloomsbury on 14th March, it was displayed both as a hashtag on a poster outside UCL Torrington Place and as a slogan on a placard attached to the railings outside UCL CenTraS. It was also visible in both forms at the 'Break UUK: Win the Strike! National Demo' (Climate Action Movement et al, 2018) rally on 15th March. This visibility underscored the resonance and relevance of the hashtag and helped formulate the question that this note seeks to answer:

> *What would a history of the rejection of USS proposals look like if it was written solely using Tweets with the #NoCapitulation hashtag that were Tweeted on 13th March?*

Methodology discusses the process undertaken to assemble this narrative and some relevant historiographical concerns. Returning to discussions presented in *WHN* (Hedges 2017, pp.82-89), there is a more detailed account of the 'filters' applied to the sources used to construct the narrative (ibid, p.81). This is followed by a refinement of the epistemological position of Jackson's Repairer (ibid, p.84-85) and a discussion grounded in Hobsbawm's concerns around the difficulties of writing modern history (ibid, p.89). #NoCapitulation answers the research question through presenting a history based on the identified Twitter content. The note's Conclusion questions the nature of the narrative constructed and critiques its robustness.

Methodology

Focus

In the spirit of *WHN* (Hedges, 2017, p.83), the following criteria were used to filter the data used to construct the narrative:

- Top 100 Tweets from 13th March with the hashtag #NoCapitulation including photos, film, links and replies.
- The front page of any websites linked via Tweeting and any files embedded in this page.
- The profile description of the accounts Tweeting this material.

The Tweets were identified using the Twitter search functionality; mirroring *WHN* by starting the process as a user before adjusting this position inline with the literature*,* I captured the first 100 results from a "top" Tweets search in a single PDF before archiving each Tweet. I had hoped that this would provide the most relevant content shared on 13th March, the day that UCU's Higher Education Committee formally rejected deal (UCU, 2018). However, when I attempted to rerun the search to produce additional results several hours later, I realised that the results were produced by an algorithm that continually generating amended outcomes:

> Top Tweets are the most relevant Tweets for your search. We determine relevance based on the popularity of a Tweet (e.g., when a lot of people are interacting with or sharing via Retweets and replies), the keywords it contains, and many other factors (Twitter, 2018b).

This became clear when accounts relating to a third student occupation suddenly appeared in the second set of search results. This algorithmic function means that the exact set of Tweets used to create the narrative will be unlikely to appear again and that therefore the data set could not be easily expanded.

Epistemology

Moving away from the position of the user, as with *WHN,* Jackson's concept of the Repairer provides an appropriate starting point for understanding the process of assembling a narrative using social media. However, the metaphor of assembling from the debris (Hedges, 2017, p.84) requires nuance to distinguish between longitudinal and latitudinal processes.

In the former, the Repairer is following behind the Angel of History, gathering wreckage along a trail of sorts. There is a different 'physicality' to a latitudinal process, where the Repairer remains relatively static, focused on a particular area of debris. Moreover, because Twitter's "Top" search is algorithmically amended, the debris available to the Repairer is unstable. Rather than imaging the Repairer picking through ruins, it is more appropriate to imagine her at sea, where debris floats and sinks periodically. The Repairer hauls wreckage that looks interesting on to the boat, assembling a history from this flotsam. The point here is that the raw materials are fleeting and in motion.

The Repairer concept draws upon thesis IX from Benjamin's *Theses on the Concept of History*; I additionally want to ground this expanded model in thesis

V (Löwy, 2005 p.40-42). Twitter's algorithm provides a different example of the present impacting upon the past; if the "Top" searches are continually affected by user interactions after the Tweets are posted, then the interests of the present retrospectively shape the electronic flotsam that this history is built upon. The difficulties in achieving the same "Top" search results twice mean that future historical narratives using this methodology will be constructed from a shifting set of sources. I am particularly drawn to the sense of movement in the thesis, where …"the past can be seized only as an image which flashes up at the moment of its recognisability and is never seen again (Löwy 2005, p.40)". I have sought to demonstrate this motion and transience through rhetorical techniques, such as suggesting that the voices "interrupt", images "flash" and the reader is "wrenched" from location to location. The "…past flits by (ibid, p.40)".

Writing the history of now

Inspired by the observations of Hobsbawm (Hedges, 2017, pp.87-89), a final iteratively-identified filter was applied. Understanding that the long-term fallout from rejecting the offer will impact upon how the narrative is presented, my draft was completed before 19th March 2018 in order to present a history written without this influence. Whilst I continued to revise other sections, #NoCapitulation was completed by this strict deadline using only the sources identified. The value of this exercise will be uncertain until the dispute is resolved, when it may be insightful to contrast this history with other narratives. Once the outcome is certain, will the enthusiasm I have tried to depict seem ill-fated?

Ethics

Much Twitter content is considered public (Twitter, 2017); however, researchers have a responsibility to prevent harm to those that they study (BSA, 2017, p.4). Discussions undertaken at the *Archives, Activism and Social Media* workshop (Allman, Jules, Mitchell & Pell, 2017) in particular highlighted the right to be forgotten – the right to delete your content from social media later if it proves potentially harmful.

Given that the USS dispute is unresolved at the time of writing, I decided not to include Tweets from personal accounts that did not contain a reference to a political or (student /trade) union role in their profile description. This distinction was based upon personal experience suggesting that long-term activists indicate this on their accounts. This filter remains an imperfect method as replies to any included Tweets still potentially highlight non-activist/organisational accounts and strikers may be identified in photos, but it remains preferable to deliberately raising the profile of strikers who might later regret their public comments should there be any recriminations. Arguably overly cautious, this filter reduced the number of Tweets to around a third;

inspired by the Social Data Science Lab (unknown)[1], I sought to further mitigate harm by directly contacting the remaining accounts to offer the right to veto the use of their data. Of the 19 accounts contacted, 18 replied, confirming that they were happy for their Tweet to be used. I have not included data from the 19th account[2].

I have also reproduced the full Tweets in an appendix so as to comply with the spirit of Twitter's (2018c) display requirements whilst being able to use the content more flexibly elsewhere.

#NoCapitulation

We wake up to digital noise, to spam, to click-bait and personalised advertising. The first clear voice that we hear from 13th March is that of the philosopher and would-be politician. At almost ten part 8, Catherine Rowett reminds the BBC in clear terms that the compromise offer is not *acceptable* and hasn't been *accepted* by UCU members. Formerly a Green Party candidate for South Norfolk, Rowett also points out that it's not just lecturers on strike but "…all the staff your sons and daughters rely on in the library and other services too".[3] 40 minutes later, students in Edinburgh cut through our timelines to announce that the University is occupied. Some of their demands: that Principal Peter Mathieson hold joint meetings with staff and students to end the pensions crisis, publically support the defined benefits scheme and refuse to levy salary deductions from strikers.[4]

The first picket lines can be heard from Exeter at a little past nine. Declaring #NoCapitulation, one striker reminds the VC that she's struggling not only with pension cuts but also the gender pay gap, holding a hand written placard that doubles as a personal letter.[5] A while later, University of Stirling UCU deliver the same message via a stern-looking baby, presumably from a family-friendly picket line.[6]

Edinburgh makes itself heard again after ten, with a red "students in solidarity" banner and rows of raised fists; the George Aikman Lecture Theatre is now occupied[7], as is the pavement outside the UCU head office, where a "huge" crowd gathers to protest the pensions offer[8]. In the West Midlands, members at the University of Warwick gather at a hastily planned emergency general

[1] Resource signposted in https://www.britsoc.co.uk/media/24309/bsa_statement_of_ethical_practice_annexe.pdf as authored by COSMOS, Accessed: 17th March.

[2] The 19th account eventually replied long after this paper was drafted. Given the time frame imposed on assembling the narrative, I have decided not to include this content since it subjectively feels 'outside' of the piece.

[3] https://twitter.com/catherinerowett/status/973470822731042816

[4] https://twitter.com/EdiSolidarity/status/973480957679423488

[5] https://twitter.com/ExeterUCU/status/973485186452213760

[6] https://twitter.com/UCU_Stirling/status/973495453051510785

[7] https://twitter.com/EdiSolidarity/status/973500349381267456

[8] https://twitter.com/joanofsnark/status/973501796298739712

meeting. Attending at 12 hours notice, the UCU branch decisively votes down the proposed compromise, 115 to reject with just 5 abstentions[9] as red and orange smoke drifts down from equally fired up pickets at the Williamson Building, University of Manchester.[10]

At eight minutes past eleven, Warwick flashes us an image of the UCU head quarters, and we see an ocean of protesters filling out the road as far as the camera can show[11]. It's just gone ten past eleven and there's a sense that Rowett was right to warn the BBC, that the done deal could be more an undone deal. As if to prove the point, UCU at Cardiff University suddenly cut through the noise to proclaim that they "...pretty as dammit [sic] unanimously" voted at a "packed open meeting" to reject the offer.[12] Off to lobby the Welsh government, we don't hear from them again until after one o'clock, when Cardiff UCU reappear outside parliament with Darth Vader, complete with a placard proclaiming in his best James Earle Jones voice that "I find your lack of pensions disturbing."[13]

Meanwhile, Labour MP Chris Williamson damns the offer as "...woefully inadequate"[14] before being interrupted by Oxford Brookes UCU, who are proclaiming a list of branches that have rejected the proposals. Ulster, Cambridge, Sussex, SOAS, Goldsmiths, Bath, Manchester, Reading, Sheffield, Nottingham, Leicester and Warwick... Strathclyde, Glasgow, Edinburgh, Aberdeen, Newcastle, Keele, Liverpool, Hull, York, LSHTM and Exeter... Stirling, UEA, QMUL, Bristol and Cardiff.[15] We could have checked one of the Google docs of course to find this out[16], but that somehow seems to detract from the drama of Twitter accounts proudly listing where the offer is getting kicked back.

In this spirit, UCU at University Of Warwick share their own list[17] after reminding us they aren't playing ball[18]. Sheffield UCU declare at almost ten minutes to midday:"Motion rejecting the deal passed by our EGM."[19] St Andrews make a similar statement close to half past.[20] Nottingham UCU take until five to one to chip in but when they do, it's via a carefully worded letter damns the deal as a "...betrayal not only of our own members but also of our

[9] https://twitter.com/WarwickUCU/status/973505926153101312
[10] https://twitter.com/WilliamsonBldg/status/973507061752455168
[11] https://twitter.com/WarwickUCU/status/973516140570963968
[12] https://twitter.com/CardiffUCU/status/973519112109477888
[13] https://twitter.com/UCU_Vader/status/973545085953552384
[14] https://twitter.com/DerbyChrisW/status/973520570821246977
[15] https://twitter.com/BrookesUCU/status/973524585361616896
[16] https://docs.google.com/document/d/10n4YwP_VyUyr4qxaQDuRiaEUxJtwlSsKpXE7-oeqb4I/preview
[17] https://twitter.com/WarwickUCU/status/973529540424339457
[18] https://twitter.com/WarwickUCU/status/973525282983464963
[19] https://twitter.com/sheffieldducu/status/973526255269236737
[20] https://twitter.com/ucustandrews/status/973535803229032448

allies in the labour movement.[21]"After all this, it's Birkbeck UCU who answer what we're all wondering: "All reject it; none accepting so far. [22]"

These voices coming in from branches around the UK mingle with voices on the street outside and roar into the UCU headquarters. "…[N]ot a single delegate has supported [the] rotten deal… - all reports from membership are unanimous or near unanimous rejections…" The union "…cannot squander what has been achieved…"[23] These voices make us wonder who thought this offer was acceptable in the first place.

It's in that spirit that, while still digesting Nottingham's letter, we are pulled down into a Cambridge street. The protest is outside Old Schools, where a hand painted banner proclaims "Cambridge Betrayal – Staff Are Not For Sale!" as dozens gather.[24] A couple of minutes later, UCU at Oxford Brookes inject - at 12.58pm, they proclaim the tally stands at 45 reject, none accept[25] – before we are wrenched back to the rival city to be reminded that the dozens protesting in front of the great wooden doors of the college are "…what democracy looks like".[26]

It seems like everyone has spoken. The chatter becomes click-bait again. At almost two thirty, Exeter UCU inform us that the "…Higher Education Committee now going into closed meeting to decide what to do with that information."[27] We check again in the evening to find Old Schools occupied and a subvertised out of order sign that reads:

> "Corporation Cambridge is out of order. Apologies for the inconvenience. We are working to get democracy back in use as soon as possible."[28]

Conclusion

Rereading my answer to the research question (#NoCapitulation), it is worth asking what I have written. A partial narrative that requires triangulation in order to be robust, it captures only part of a conversation. It is closer to a mapping of a particular data set, generated in a manner that is arguably unrepeatable and rendered into a stylised narrative that attempts to represent a particular theoretical framework. Insomuch as it is ever possible to present a definitive account, it is inappropriate to present this as a picture of a key point in a strike. It is the beginnings of a fuller exploration, one that uses its deliberate limitations to stimulate discussions around historiography and methods.

[21] https://twitter.com/UoNUCU/status/973543106313445376
[22] https://twitter.com/BirkbeckUCU/status/973532628531007489
[23] https://twitter.com/UCL_UCU/status/973539278419619846
[24] https://twitter.com/CambridgeUCU/status/973543443275419648
[25] https://twitter.com/BrookesUCU/status/973543774184976385
[26] https://twitter.com/CambridgeUCU/status/973545228945719297
[27] https://twitter.com/ExeterUCU/status/973566656734785537
[28] https://twitter.com/CamDefendEd/status/973647481727868928

This research question excludes many voices. For example, of the 100 Tweets, not one came from an account identifying as a UCU activist. Pending confirmation through further research, these findings hint that those who were vocal about rejecting the offer from their personal accounts did not prominently identify as active trade unionists or conversely, maintain Twitter profiles where declaring this would be a disadvantage. And reflecting again on Thompson, a latitudinal approach starkly foregrounds the lack of context and the nature of pre-existing activist cultures (Hedges, 2017, p.83).

Conversely, focusing upon a hashtag seems to me to be an example of how the researcher's "…values should determine the questions we ask…" (Zinn, 1997, p.504; Hedges, 2017, pp.85-86). Hashtags relating to a certain conversation will inevitably shape the topics covered. For the historian, this could be one way to write radical history. Coupled with other methods that the increase empirical robustness of the study undertaken, writing a history of these conversations could be useful for generating questions that allow the researcher to look at an event from a critical perspective.

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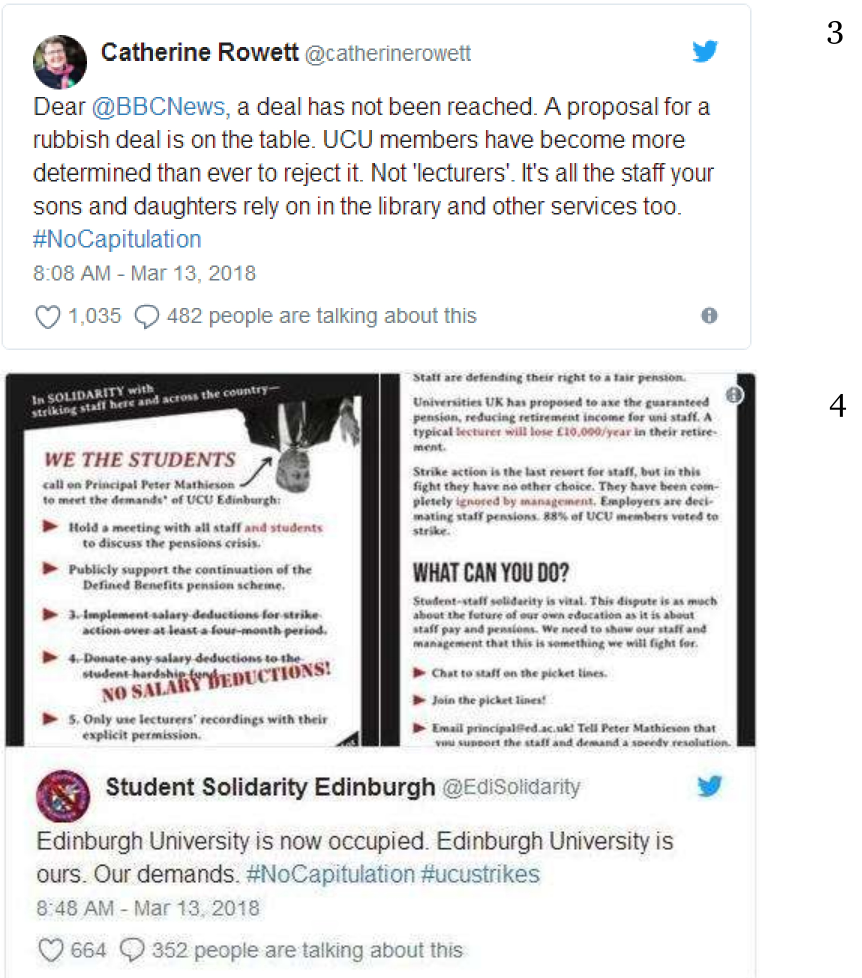
Appendix

Tweets captured using Twitter Publish and paired with footnotes.



3

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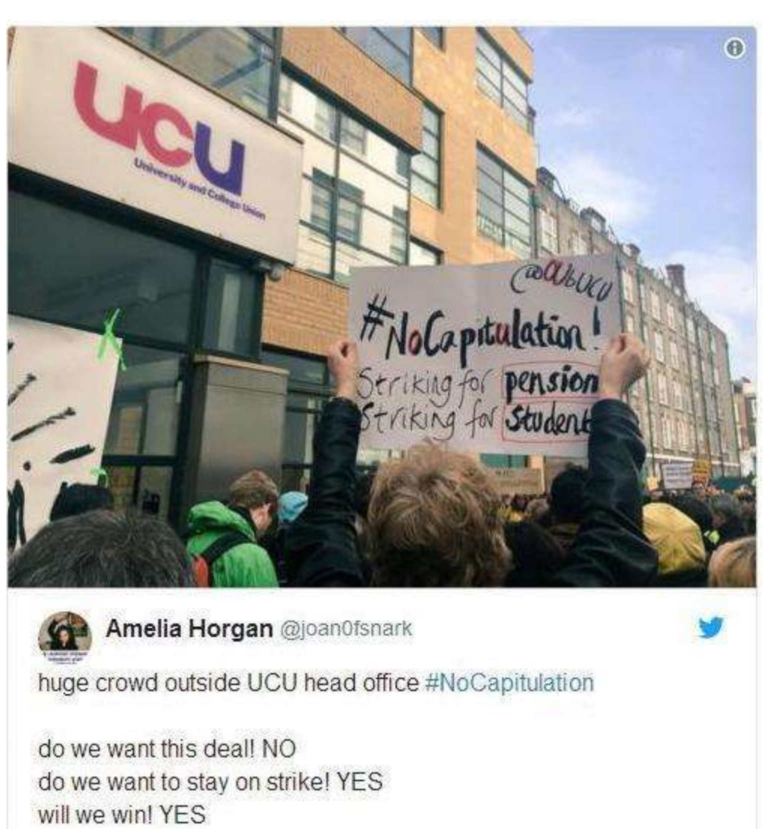


8

9

10

11

12

Cardiff Uni UCU @CardiffUCU

Proud to say that a packed open meeting of @cardiffUCU just voted (pretty as dammit unamimously) to REJECT deal offered by @UniversitiesUK.
This afternoon we go to lobby the @WelshGovernment to support us in our call for REAL, decent, & just pensions. #NoCapitulation #USSstrike

11:20 AM - Mar 13, 2018

309 193 people are talking about this

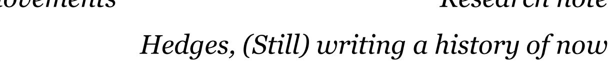
13

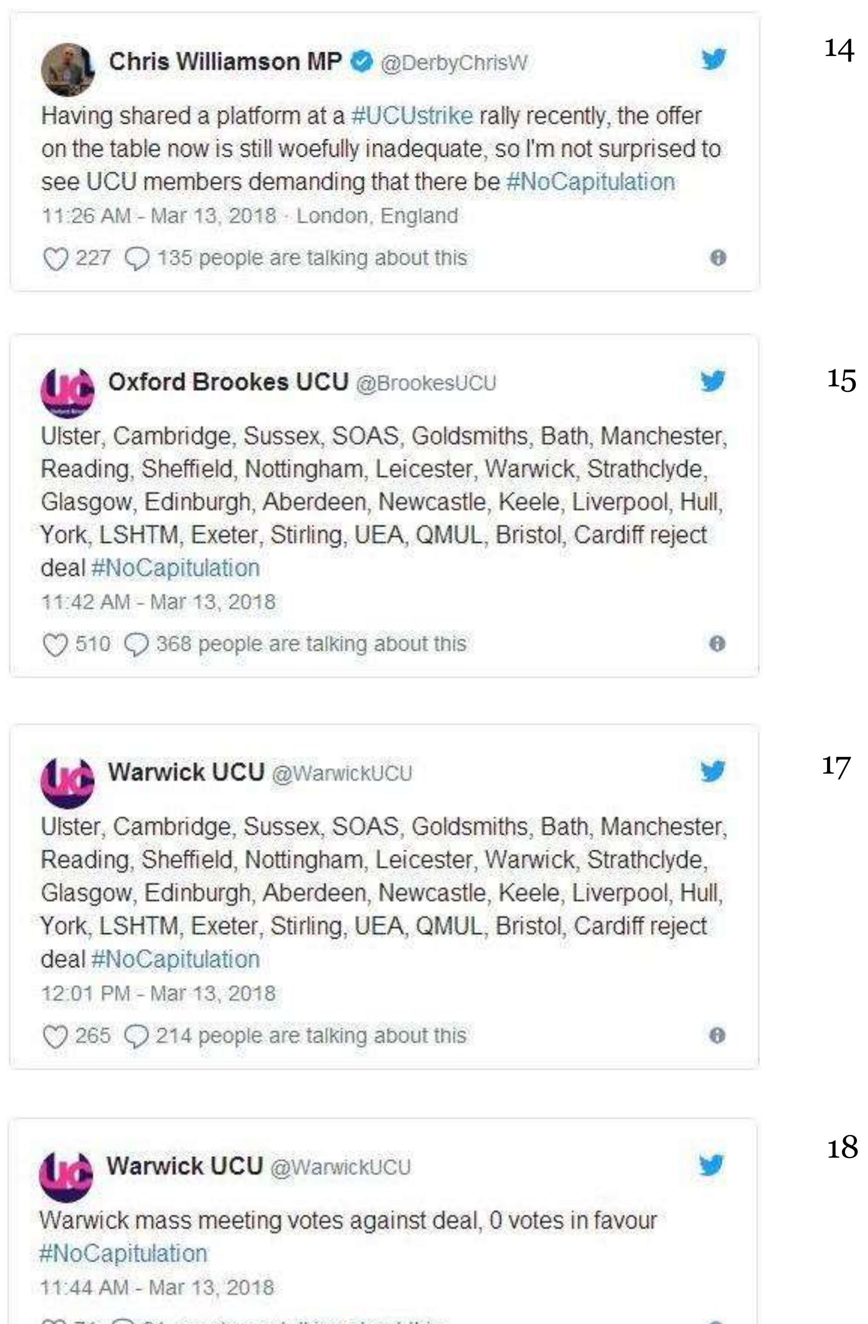
UCU Vader @UCU_Vader

The @CardiffUCU Rebel alliance is more powerful than ever #USSstrikes #NoCapitulation

1:03 PM - Mar 13, 2018 · Welsh National Assembly- The Senedd

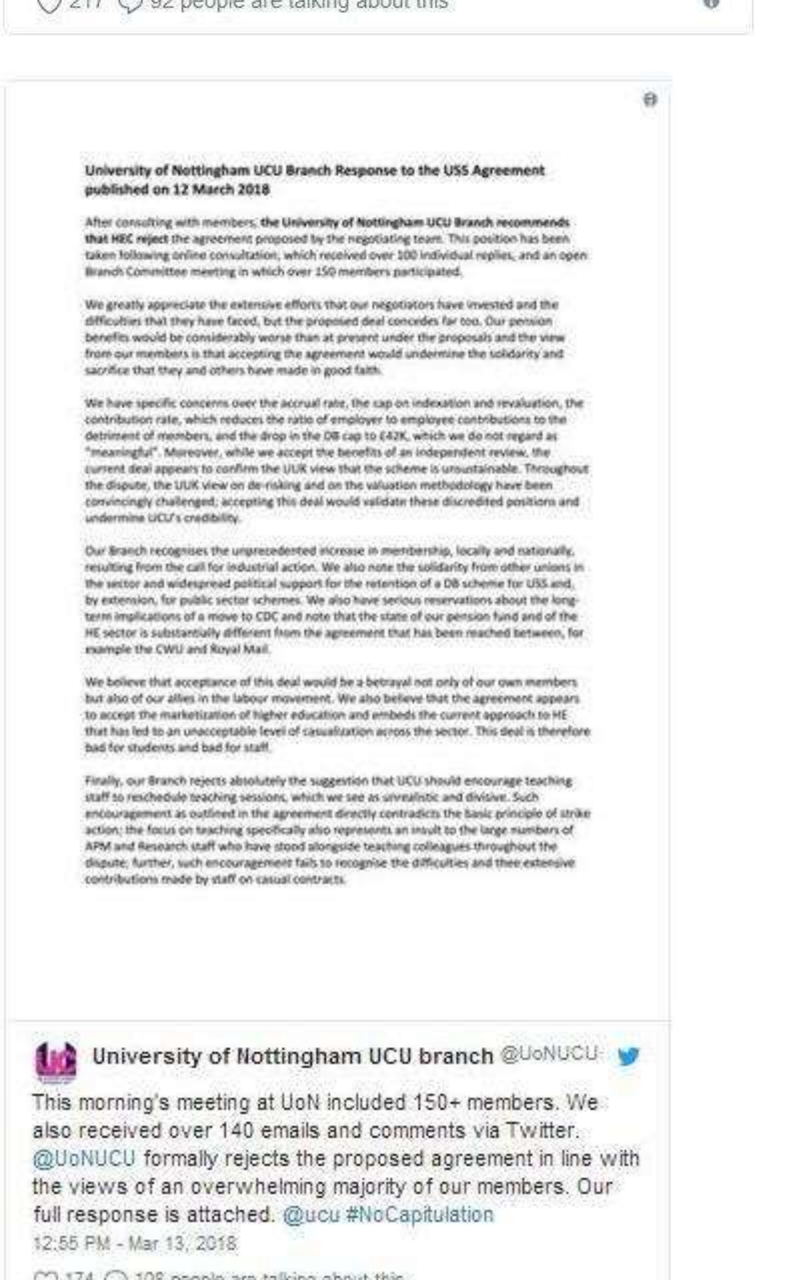
20 See UCU Vader's other Tweets




Chris Williamson MP @DerbyChrisW
Having shared a platform at a #UCUstrike rally recently, the offer on the table now is still woefully inadequate, so I'm not surprised to see UCU members demanding that there be #NoCapitulation
11:26 AM - Mar 13, 2018 · London, England
227 135 people are talking about this
14
Oxford Brookes UCU @BrookesUCU
Ulster, Cambridge, Sussex, SOAS, Goldsmiths, Bath, Manchester, Reading, Sheffield, Nottingham, Leicester, Warwick, Strathclyde, Glasgow, Edinburgh, Aberdeen, Newcastle, Keele, Liverpool, Hull, York, LSHTM, Exeter, Stirling, UEA, QMUL, Bristol, Cardiff reject deal #NoCapitulation
11:42 AM - Mar 13, 2018
510 368 people are talking about this
15
Warwick UCU @WarwickUCU
Ulster, Cambridge, Sussex, SOAS, Goldsmiths, Bath, Manchester, Reading, Sheffield, Nottingham, Leicester, Warwick, Strathclyde, Glasgow, Edinburgh, Aberdeen, Newcastle, Keele, Liverpool, Hull, York, LSHTM, Exeter, Stirling, UEA, QMUL, Bristol, Cardiff reject deal #NoCapitulation
12:01 PM - Mar 13, 2018
265 214 people are talking about this
17
Warwick UCU @WarwickUCU
Warwick mass meeting votes against deal, 0 votes in favour #NoCapitulation
11:44 AM - Mar 13, 2018
71 31 people are talking about this
18

19

20



University of Nottingham UCU Branch Response to the USS Agreement published on 12 March 2018

After consulting with members, **the University of Nottingham UCU Branch recommends that HEC reject** the agreement proposed by the negotiating team. This position has been taken following online consultation, which received over 100 individual replies, and an open Branch Committee meeting in which over 150 members participated.

We greatly appreciate the extensive efforts that our negotiators have invested and the difficulties that they have faced, but the proposed deal concedes far too. Our pension benefits would be considerably worse than at present under the proposals and the view from our members is that accepting the agreement would undermine the solidarity and sacrifice that they and others have made in good faith.

We have specific concerns over the accrual rate, the cap on indexation and revaluation, the contribution rate, which reduces the ratio of employer to employee contributions to the detriment of members, and the drop in the DB cap to £42K, which we do not regard as "meaningful". Moreover, while we accept the benefits of an independent review, the current deal appears to confirm the UUK view that the scheme is unsustainable. Throughout the dispute, the UUK view on de-risking and on the valuation methodology have been convincingly challenged; accepting this deal would validate these discredited positions and undermine UCU's credibility.

Our Branch recognises the unprecedented increase in membership, locally and nationally, resulting from the call for industrial action. We also note the solidarity from other unions in the sector and widespread political support for the retention of a DB scheme for USS and, by extension, for public sector schemes. We also have serious reservations about the long-term implications of a move to CDC and note that the state of our pension fund and of the HE sector is substantially different from the agreement that has been reached between, for example the CWU and Royal Mail.

We believe that acceptance of this deal would be a betrayal not only of our own members but also of our allies in the labour movement. We also believe that the agreement appears to accept the marketization of higher education and embeds the current approach to HE that has led to an unacceptable level of casualization across the sector. This deal is therefore bad for students and bad for staff.

Finally, our Branch rejects absolutely the suggestion that UCU should encourage teaching staff to reschedule teaching sessions, which we see as unrealistic and divisive. Such encouragement as outlined in the agreement directly contradicts the basic principle of strike action; the focus on teaching specifically also represents an insult to the large numbers of APM and Research staff who have stood alongside teaching colleagues throughout the dispute; further, such encouragement fails to recognise the difficulties and thee extensive contributions made by staff on casual contracts.

21

Birkbeck UCU @BirkbeckUCU
List of @ucu branches whose position on the proposed deal is known. All reject it; none accepting so far.
docs.google.com/document/d/10n... #NoCapitulation
12:14 PM - Mar 13, 2018
UCU Branch votes on proposed deal
z Additional URLS here:
https://docs.google.com/spreadsheets/d/199KdRI
OxeQTrMwCY05vWd1q45GDkQ/edit#gid=0
docs.google.com
153 179 people are talking about this

22

UCL-UCU @UCL_UCU
Ucu branch delegates meeting at ucu HQ- not a single delegate has supported rotten deal so far - all reports from membership are unanimous or near unanimous rejections - cannot squander what has been achieved so far. #NoCapitulation
12:40 PM - Mar 13, 2018
138 82 people are talking about this

23

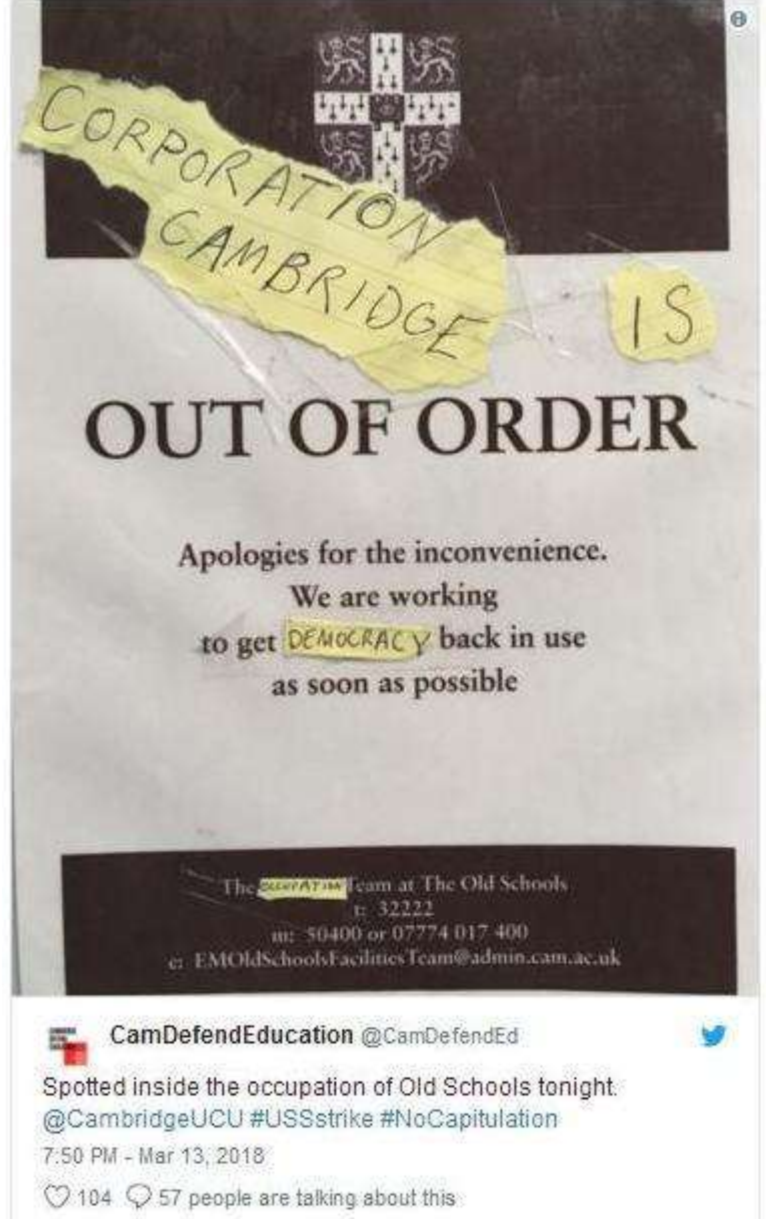
Cambridge UCU @CambridgeUCU
In front of Old Schools now! #NoCapitulation
12:56 PM - Mar 13, 2018
36 See Cambridge UCU's other Tweets

24

25

26

27



28

Rural agitation in Ireland 1710-2010: a bibliography

Tomás Mac Sheoin

Abstract

This bibliography brings together recent secondary literature on agitation in rural Ireland over a period of three centuries.

Keywords:

Ireland, rural agitation, land war, peasant resistance, Whiteboys, rural protest, tithe war, Ribbonism

Introduction

Studies of various aspects of rural agitation in Ireland have flourished over the last four decades. Prior to the publication of T Desmond Williams' edited collection on secret societies in 1973 –generally seen as the beginning of this flourishing- rural unrest had not been a major subject of unrest: aside from O'Donoghue's work on tithes and a variety of work published in local archaeological and historical journals, the land war had been almost the sole such subject of interest to mainstream Irish historiography. This changed with the arrival of social history and 'history from below' under the influence of English historians such as E.P. Thompson.

As Fitzpatrick noted in a 1985 review essay 'In addition to the three volumes under review, at least twenty-two major studies of various aspects of rural unrest have been published since 1978' (Fitzpatrick 1985: 98). By the time Cronin published her review in 2012 her bibliography had swelled to twelve pages, though some of the listed works were contextual rather than focused on specific cases of agitation. My recent review in *Interface* featured a bibliography of eighteen pages, though again a fair number of the listed works were contextual.

It is of course difficult to sort out the bounds within which rural protest may be contained. The general understanding is that it concerns contentious activity by the lower orders and the dispossessed, in a phrase poor people's social movements. However we also need to include, for example, the activities of the landlords' social movements, social movements from above. These would include the massive evictions after the famine as well as landlord organisations –such as the Property Defence Association- formed during the long land war. We also need to include the north-eastern exception, the Orange Order being definitely associated with, if not responsible for, a variety of rural unrest.

Cronin divides her treatment into four periods: the age of mass protest (1750-

1825), changing protest (1845-79), the transformation of protest (1879-1903) and reforms, solutions and disillusionment (1903-60). Cronin is an excellent guide to the different positions historians have taken up in attempting to explain rural unrest. It does however have blind spots, the largest of which, the peculiar disappearance of the period 1826 to 1844, means that treatments of the tithe war are missing. Her closing date of 1960 seems appropriate as traditional agrarian agitation may be seen as ending in the 1950s. This bibliography continues past that date in recognition of the fact that rural protest did not cease then, but simply changed in response to a new set of circumstances, including the late industrialisation of Ireland which led to the setting up of extractive and productive industries in rural areas. The majority of rural protest since then has involved objections to locally unwanted land uses, which were also a source of urban protest.

The bibliography is divided in two: the first section lists publications in episodes of unrest chronologically; the second consists of thematic and contextual approaches. The contextual section is necessarily brief and selective, as the vast majority of publications on Irish history could arguably be described as providing context for the understanding of rural unrest. For landlords and estates, those articles dealing with relations with tenants are chosen: those wishing to examine further aspects of this phenomenon are referred to Dooley's fine guide to sources. Similarly references to the agricultural, economic and geographical literature are selective. While the core of the literature has been produced by historians –both academic and amateur- contributions to the literature have also come from, anthropology, criminology, cultural studies, economics, geography, legal studies, social movements studies and sociology.

I hope this bibliography will be of use to all those who wish to engage with the history of protest and agitation in Ireland. As well as showing the achievements of the literature, the bibliography also shows where gaps in the literature exist. Jim Smyth, the historian who both noted the tendency of historians of the 1790s to concentrate on the United Irishmen and ignore the Defenders and was the historian who attempted to remedy this bias, noted in 1992 that 'the basic narrative history of the Defenders has still to be written' (Smyth 1992:100): twenty-five years later, it still awaits writing. One of the fundamental methodologies of historians has yet to be used i.e. publication/editing of original texts. Gibbons is the only publication of actual agrarian communications. Compare this dearth of publication to the massive editing and publication by historians and history journals of the texts of the enemies of the people: church, state, landlords, etc. The voice of the people –in Irish, the *cosmhuintir* (pedestrians, i.e. those without horses)- is beginning to be heard but is still only faint.

Thanks are due to the many local studies librarians in county libraries who provided a variety of access to their collections: this bibliography would be much poorer without their assistance. Thanks are particularly to the librarians at Ballinamore Library, County Leitrim.

Chronological

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About the author

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Why do men join the men's rights movement in Malta?

Michael Briguglio and Christabelle Caruana

Abstract

This article explores the reasons why men join the Men's Rights Movement (MRM) in Malta, the southernmost and smallest member state of the European Union. In particular, reference is made to the Association for Men's Rights (AMR).

For this purpose, a qualitative research method has been adopted, whereby activists within AMR were interviewed to discuss their experiences and the reasons why they joined the organisation. The Weberian concept of verstehen *is therefore the main methodological inspiration of this study.*

Contextualisation

The Maltese political context is dominated by two political parties (Labour and Nationalist) and an influential Catholic Church. At the same time, non-mainstream political forces and civil society have been increasing their influence amid new windows of opportunity such as Malta's EU accession and multi-level governance (Briguglio 2016).

In matters related to family life and gender, Angela Abela (2016) argues that in the 1990s men still exercised considerable privilege, that household chores were commonly very traditional, and that as recently as the 1980s women who did not marry were subjected to derogatory remarks (28).

More recently, a 'gender re-shifting' and a changing social construction of what it is to be male or female are taking place (ibid 2016, 23). This has been accompanied by legal reforms which favoured more gender equality.

These included Malta's ratification of international conventions on equal pay for women and men and against all forms of discrimination against women in 1988 and 1991 respectively. In 1993 Malta's civil code removed discrimination against women in marriage and in 2004 a National Commission for the Promotion of Equality for Men and Women was set up. Domestic violence became criminalized through the 2006 Domestic Violence Act, and in 2014 Malta ratified the Council of Europe Convention on Preventing and Combating Violence against Women and Domestic Violence. In 2011 divorce was in introduced in Malta (Abela 2016; Baldacchino et al 2016).

Despite these developments, various current issues remain characterised by gender inequality. These include violence, poverty, pensions, media portrayal, body politics and female participation in politics (Baldacchino et al 2016, 159-162).

Though Malta never had a mainstream women's movement, various groups were set up from 1944 onwards. There are mixed views on their impacts on Maltese society, though one can safely say that they helped raise awareness on gender-related issues (Baldacchino et al 2016).

By the turn of the century, LGBTIQ movement organisations were also set up, and Malta's EU accession in 2004 as well as movement pressure resulted in the outlawing of discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation in the new Employment and Industrial Relations Act. Following the election of a Labour government in 2013, Malta introduced a wave of progressive legislation such as civil unions; right to adopt; gender identity, gender expression and sex characteristics; as well as outlawing gay conversion therapy, through which the country was ranked first in Europe by the International Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Trans and Intersex Association. Just a few years before, Malta was a European laggard in LGBTIQ rights (Baldacchino et al, 2016, 167; Agius & Dalli 2016, 359-361).

Why study men joining the men's rights movement?

Despite the existence of gender inequalities in Malta, this does not mean that there are no men who are experiencing difficulties in their life. Michael A. Messner emphasizes that even though 'men, as a group, enjoy institutional privileges at the expense of women, as a group' (2000, p. 5), they also 'tend to pay heavy costs – in the form of shallow relationships, poor health, and early death – for conformity with the narrow definitions of masculinity that promise to bring them status and privilege' (2000, p. 6). He adds that 'Men share very unequally in the fruits of patriarchy; hegemonic (white, middle- and upper-class, and heterosexual) masculinity is constructed in relation to femininities and to various (racial, sexual and class) subordinated masculinities' (2000, p. 8).

The existence of the (small) Association for Men's Rights (AMR) is in itself of sociological interest in this regard. Could this be related to what some sociologists are referring to as the 'crisis of masculinity' (Barker 2012, Real 2013) and to men's 'silence' (Addis 2011) with respect to negative experiences they face in their life, including violence, marriage breakdown, suicide and substance abuse? For example in Malta, police figures between 2009 and 2013 showed that 120 out of 131, or 91.6 per cent of suicide victims were male, and the same goes for 52.8 per cent of patients diagnosed with intentional self-injury between 2010 and 2012 (Diacono 2014). Is Anthony Giddens (1992, 59) correct when he states that 'in Western culture at least, today is the first period in which men are finding themselves to be men, that is, as possessing a problematic "masculinity"'?

This article does not aim to deconstruct feminist research, nor does it aim to provide a masculinist dismissal of injustice and repression against women, for example in cases of domestic violence. To the contrary, it aims to show that discourses on gender and social movements may have many dimensions,

including those of men experiencing difficulties in their lives. As Addis puts it, it is important to see why men's silence and invisibility exist, particularly when we treat them as normal, rather than seeing them for what they are: major social problems that can be remedied if we understand where they come from and take the right steps to change them (Addis 2011 n/p).

Literature on the Men's Rights Movement

In order to proceed it is imperative to briefly present an overview of sociological literature on the men's rights movement. In this regard Messner (2000) proposes a 'terrain of the politics of masculinities' (p. 12). This includes a model of eight different types of men's movement organisations, namely men's liberationists, men's rights advocates, radical feminist men, social feminist men, men of colour, gay male liberationists, Promise Keepers, and the mythopoetic men's movement.

Messner dubs the Mythopoetic Men's Movements and the Christian Promise Keepers as engaging in 'essentialist retreats' (2000, p. 16). They oppose the 'feminization' or men and propose the recapturing of 'true manhood' (2000, pp.16-17).

The Mythopoetic Men's Movement is anti-intellectual and anti-political, attracting relatively privileged males who forms spiritual and therapeutic bonds between them (2000, pp. 21-23). The Promise Keepers, on the other hand fear feminization and call for men to take up a leadership role in their families, in line with a fundamentalism Christian 'biblical essentialism' (2000, p. 30) that prioritizes tradition and a god-given division of labour.

On the other hand the Men's Liberation Movement is concerned with how boys and men were socialized into being competitive, thus prohibiting them from expressing themselves emotionally (2000, p. 37). Most notably, back in the 1970s Warren Farrell (1974) had said that whereas women were being construed as 'sex objects', men were being construed as 'success objects'.

Men's Rights Advocates argue that men are facing disproportionate hurdles and costs on their masculinity (Messner, 2000, p. 41). During the 1970s and 1980s they referred to men as being the true victims of divorce settlements, false rape accusations, domestic violence and other experiences. In this regard, Farrell shifted from a men's liberationist to a men's rights advocate when in 1993 he published his often-quoted 'The Myth of Male Power'.

Men's Rights movement organisations who adopt this standpoint are therefore active to fight for men's rights vis-à-vis women through grieviances such as 'father's rights' in matters such as child custody and post-divorce settlements (2000, p. 44).

At the other end of the ideological spectrum, radical feminist men's organisations have attempted to create a politics of 'antisexist practice' (2000, p. 52) by linking up with feminist organisations active against men's violence, pornography and sexual abuse. On a similar wavelength, socialist feminist

men's organisations focused on structural causes of inequality such as class, gender and patriarchy, thus resulting in plural masculinities, including men who are oppressed at work and powerful within family life (2000, pp.57-59).

Racialized masculinity politics, on the other hand, focuses on manhood within a broader racial political narrative (2000, p. 54). Advocates within this approach include those who believe that men from racial minorities need to assert their (patriarchal) manhood, and, on conversely, those who believe that men and women should work together against racial and class oppression (2000, p. 72).

Finally, gay male liberation owes its roots to the gay liberation movement that took off in the 1970s in the USA, but which now has shifted towards a more liberal and individualistic discourse that is assimilated into a 'commercial, capitalist order' (Messner, 2000, p.81).

More recently, men's rights organisations were also categorized into three broad categories, namely men's rights, mythopoetic and profeminist men's movements (Fox 2004). In this regard, the profeminist men's movements recognise what they consider to be male dominance (ibid, 2). The men's rights movement can be conceptualised as having two wings: One (the 'gender reconciliation wing') which considers itself to be compatible with certain forms of feminism with respect to equal opportunities and responsibilities, and another (the 'backlash wing') which sees itself as anti-feminist and pro-traditional masculinity (ibid, 3). Finally, the mythopoetic men's movement which is largely a self-help or quasi-religious movement (ibid, 3).

Hence, whilst not all men's organizations are antifeminist, others do propagate this approach (Blais and Dupuis-Déri 2012, 22). Messner (1998) says that Warren Farrell is the best-known example of the antifeminist approach, despite his 1970s stance in favour of men's liberation. Indeed, by the 1990s, Farell spoke of 'the myth of male power' and man as 'the disposable gender', taking men's rights discourse to a new level, now claiming that, in fact, women have the power and men are powerless (Messner, 1998, 269).

Despite their differences however, what unites these different strands of the men's organisations is their 'masculinity politics'... where ... 'the meaning of the masculine gender is at issue, and with it, men's position in gender relations. In such politics masculinity is made a principal theme, not taken for granted as background' (Connell 2005 p. 205).

In hindsight, the study of such movement organisations is perhaps even more timely today, when 'the era of unquestioned and unchallenged male entitlement is over' (Kimmell 2013 pp. xi-xii) but where a lot of 'angry white men' exist, in view of 'aggrieved entitlement because of the past; they want to restore what they *once had*. Their entitlement is not aspirational; it's nostalgic' (p. 63). The rise of populist politics which fuels such sentiments is particularly telling in this regard. The next part of this article will analyse the motivations for joining social movements in general and men's rights movements in particular.

Why do people join social movements, and why join a movement for men's rights?

One main reason why people join movements has to do with biographical availability (Goodwin and Jasper, 2003). One's individual circumstances can help develop consciousness and membership of a movement organisation. This may have to do with experiences of inequality, oppression, discrimination, and so forth (McCarthy & Zald 1973, McAdam 1986, as cited in Goodwin and Jasper 2003, p. 51).

Another reason for joining a movement may have to do with belief in its ideology. Collective identity may be shared through cultural beliefs and shared ideology (Goodwin and Jasper, 2003), encouraging people to devote their time and effort to disseminate the goals of the movement (Melucci 1996, as cited in Goodwin & Jasper 2003).

One may also join a movement through social networks, for example if one already knows members of a movement or if one aims to develop new relationships. (Snow, Zurcher & Ekland-Olson 1980, as cited in Goodwin & Jasper 2003). Indeed, social networks are seen as 'predictors of individual participation' (Della Porta and Diani 2006, 339) and 'a precondition for the emergence of a movement as well as the explanation for who was recruited' (Goodwin and Jasper 2003, 51). In this regard, Mario Diani claim that networks encourage individuals to become involved, and strengthen activists' attempts to put forward their aims, which in turn can have an impact on their sense of social well-being (Della Porta and Diani 2006).

Within the field of men's rights movements, Blais and Dupuis-Déri (2012) observe that men's rights activists may be recruited by movement leaders to take part in actions, trials and forms of solidarity towards men considered to be wronged for their actions. Another form of recruitment may result from conscientization of organic intellectuals of masculinity.

Research on reasons for activism within the men's rights organizations shows a variety of motives.

One main motivation is that men's rights organizations represent a collective identity. Blais and Dupuis-Déri (2012, 26) relate this to men who see themselves as victims of women and feminism. In this regard, they consider the men's rights movement to be a countermovement due to its masculinist reaction to the feminist movement (ibid, 32)

Messner (1998, 268), on the other hand states that the most successful rallying point of such organizations has been fathers' rights. At the same time, however, Messner (ibid, 255) agrees with Blais and Dupuis-Déri that the men's rights movement has adopted an anti-feminist stance, which contrasts with its earlier 'men's liberation' stance that was in place in the early to mid-1970s. This position is also shared by Clatterbaugh (2000, 890), who refers to the 'restoration of traditional masculinity' as the movement's main goal, thus contradicting the previous promise to do away with traditional masculinity.

As Blais and Dupuis-Déri (2012, 25) put it,

> Masculinists not only scapegoat women and feminists for the problems men face, for instance, because of transformations in the job market; they also mobilize to defend male privileges (such as those related to the gender-based division of labour) and to oppose the real advances achieved by women, since these force men to share power and give up certain prerogatives. The masculinist movement is grounded in political, economic, and social power relations between men as a class and women as a class. It combats feminism and the progress women have achieved with the help of feminists, just as neo-Nazism strives for the domination of one group (the Aryans) over another (essentially the Jews), or as the white supremacist movement fights against the legal and social gains accomplished by the descendents of Afro-American slaves, which entail a loss of advantages for whites.

Thus divorce, child support and similar issues are used by men's rights organisations to attempt to retain male privilege, despite the achievements of feminist movements (ibid). Here, there are two types of activists: the 'leaders' who act as spokespersons and undertake legal and political actions; and the 'rank-and-file activists ... [who]... often join men's or fathers' groups in the hope of finding psychological and legal support' (Blais and Dupuis-Déri 2012, 25).

In this regard, some sociologists and psychologists have paid increased attention to what is sometimes referred to as the crisis of masculinity (Barker 2012, Real 2013) and to experiences of oppression which might not be recognized by society (Inckle 2014). The fact that many men, as individuals, keep 'silent' and 'invisible' (Addis 2011, 7) on their vulnerabilities in their relationships, employment and/or health, does not seem to help things.

Biddulph (1994) for example, takes a sympathetic view towards men in their experience of problems such as violence, health issues and suicide, as they are related to central sources of influence such as compulsive competition and emotional timidity. Faludi adds that

> the Second World War proved to be the 'last gasp' of the useful and dutiful male as the ideal of manhood.. [as]... the boy who had been told he was going to be the master of the universe and all that was in it found himself master of nothing (Faludi, 1999, as cited in Barker, 2012, p. 315).

Without attempting to downplay the antifeminist approach of various men's organisations, one should recognize that there are different men whose 'trouble' (Barker, 2012 p. 315) may be the main reason why they join men's organisations.

Malta's own Association for Men's Rights

In order to verify the reasons why persons joined the Association for Men's Rights – Malta (AMR), it is important to present a brief profile of the organisation.

AMR was founded in 1990 (Association for Men's Rights (Malta) n/d). Its proclaimed aims include the promotion of liberties and freedoms highlighted in the European Convention and helping in cases related to marriage breakdown, to serve as a pressure group with respect to anomalies in family law and for more private hearings during court sittings (ibid). This was a time when men's rights movements elsewhere were gaining prominence elsewhere.

The website of one of its founding members, family lawyer Emy Bezzina, states that the AMR

> campaigned against the impediment of departure[1] used against men in separation/annulment cases and won on 1st October 1995 when a law was passed through the Maltese Parliament for the removal of the impediment of departure. We have introduced in Malta the International Men's Day on 7th February of every year like it is done in most countries of the world. We have campaigned for the introduction of a Family Court in Malta and more discreet hearings and that the Family Court be placed outside the Court Building as family matters should not be handled as criminal sittings. We have also campaigned for the introduction of a Divorce Law for Malta. Malta is the only country in Europe and one of three countries in the World that do not have a Divorce Law. Malta is dominated by the Catholic Church and Catholic Fundamentalism. We have protested to the Council of Europe, written to the United States President and U.S. State Department. We also protested at the Malta Courts against the Malta Catholic Church and the Vatican about the Marriage Law imposed on Malta by the religious fundamentalists on Maltese who are not members of the Catholic Church. We publish our own newsletter MALE ORDER (http://www.emmybezzina.org/mensra.html)

AMR was one of the first organisations to proclaim itself in favour of the introduction of divorce in Malta – something that was eventually done in 2011. It also believes that male victims of domestic violence and other injustices are neglected, and thus provides legal, social and financial assistance in this regard. AMR adds that it comprises different sections, including a youth section which focuses on counselling, a reconciled couples section and a women's section, the latter comprising women who support their sons during marriage breakdown. The association also has children's rights section which focuses on custody issues (ibid).

AMR's small size may be related to what Turner (2008) considers to be men's

[1] Men were being prevented from going abroad if the Court of Justice considered this as being risky in relation to the provision of maintenance to their respective wives.

shyness to find help, especially in cases of separations. The organisation is also popularly referred to as '*Għaqda tal-Irġiel Imsawwta',* (ibid) which, in English, is translated as 'organisation for beaten up men', which may reflect a social trend of making fun persons who are perceived to be weak.

The Men's Rights Association was dissolved in 2010. Co-founder John Zammit said that this was due to 'a lack of interest by Maltese men and financial problems' related to lack of state assistance and tax matters (www.timesofmalta.com).

By this time Malta was different to what it was in the 1990s. Malta was an EU member state, there was increased awareness of women's and LGBT issues, and divorce was about to be introduced. Incidentally, AMR participated in Malta's first ever gay pride in 2004 (http://www.maltagayrights.org/pridezone.php)

In the meantime two of the movement's co-founders, Zammit and Bezzina, were active elsewhere both together and separately, most prominently in small political parties which failed abysmally in elections.

This study will now proceed to analyse what motivated its small number of members to join its ranks.

Research method

This research made use of semi-structured, open-ended face-to-face interviews, with the specific purpose to 'gather information' (Berg 2009 101). Qualitative interviewing was essential as it served to obtain face-to-face information which otherwise would have been very difficult to obtain. Each interview was an important 'encounter" (Goffman 1967, as cited in Berg 2009, 103) and a 'social interaction' (Fontana & Frey 1998, as cited in Berg 2009, 103).

Each interviewee opened up in the respective interviews, enabling an in-depth look at the interviewees' lives (Newman 2011), thus providing first-hand life histories on why such people joined the Association of Men's Rights in Malta.

The interviews were carried out in accordance to the highest ethical standards possible. The research proposal was approved the Research Ethics Committee of the University of Malta.

Interviews were carried out by Christabelle Caruana at the ARM's office in Valletta. Michael Briguglio's acquaintance with a leading activist facilitated this process, thus enabling trust and respect.

Respondents were male members of AMR who were prepared to express their personal experiences. It was not easy to find respondents, especially due to the small size of the organisation. Eventually, seven respondents were found, most of whom chose to remain anonymous. One notable respondent who did not opt for anonymity was Emanuel Bezzina, the legal advisor of the movement and a vociferous opinionist on political issues in Malta.

Findings

The following table summarizes the salient characteristics of the participants of this study:

Participant	Status	Reason for Joining AMR
Activist 1	Civilly annulled	• Negative experience with wife. • Perceived injustice by the Court of Justice.
Activist 2	Single	• Sharing the ideology of the movement.
Activist 3	De facto separated	• Perceived injustice by the Court of Justice.
Activist 4	Legally separated	• Negative experience with wife. • Perceived injustice by the Court of Justice.
Activist 5	Single	• Sharing the ideology of the movement. • Friendship with other committee member.
Activist 6	De facto separated	• Negative experience with wife. • Perceived injustice by the Court of Justice.
Activist 7	N/A	• Professional legal experience on family cases.

The Men's Rights Movement in the eyes of participants

Participants of this study hold that a main characteristic of AMR is its activism against discrimination of males.

An example of this was its activism concerning the impediment of departure. Activist 1 said that this practice was ironic when certain men had to work abroad in order to be able to pay the respective maintenance.

> We had members who used to work in Libya, for example, and on ships as radio officers. However, they could not do so because of the impediment of departure.

Activist 3 said:

> The court had not informed me that I was subject to the impediment of departure. So I planned to go on holiday, not to escape from Malta. However, when I got on the plane, they treated me like a criminal.

Another example referred to by respondents is related to the separation processes. References were made to experiences when males are ordered to leave the household.

Participants also referred to the supporting role of the Movement towards its members. This includes legal advice and emotional support.

Participants also held that even though the Movement defends men's interests, it indirectly also promotes the rights of women. One example in this regard was the Movement's lobbying for the introduction of a Family Court as being distinct from law courts focusing on criminal cases. AMR was also one of the first organisations to speak in favour of the introduction of divorce, years before the national referendum campaign which led to the introduction of divorce in 2011.

Personal experiences of participants who joined the Men's Rights Movement

One main finding of this research is that most respondents joined the Men's Rights Movement because of personal experiences.

When interviewed, activists of AMR expressed personal experiences which they underwent. One participant referred to the sense of guilt he felt during the separation process with his wife. Emotional and physical abuse were also referred to. In the words of a respondent,

> I was physically abused by my wife, and I am not shy of talking about this. She used to hit me with a funnel and a frying pan. Even though I was physically stronger than her, I have never hit her, because if I used to, I could kill her, and

> the Court surely does not see this as self-defence.

Activist 1 said that his relationship with his wife lacked reciprocity and that he was unfairly treated by the Courts of Justice as regards maintenance and custody of children. Subsequently, his relationship with his children disappeared, as they did not want to see him but he found no support from the Courts. This participant said that if he were a woman he would have had more favourable treatment. In his words:

> About two months, but not more than three months after my case, when the judge told me that he cannot do anything about my case, there was a similar case, but the roles were reversed. This means that the mother left the house with her partner, and she left her children with their father. So, the court gave the custody to the father with an access to the mother. However, the children didn't want to see her, especially when she is with her partner. Like me, she petitioned the court. In this case, the judge, instead of telling her that he cannot do anything, told the father that if the children don't want to see their mother, they will have to be placed in a care centre. So in my case, he couldn't find a solution, but in hers, he did.

Activist 1 added that he eventually founded the movement together with Activist 6.

> I had written some articles in the *Times of Malta* about injustice on men, and about the fact that we had to organize ourselves to change things. Then, [Activist 6] had written to me, and we met in a particular place. On that day, we decided to found an organization. I had a particular advocate, and he accepted to be our legal advisor. We started to organize meetings, discussions, and so forth, and we started receiving applications from members.

Activist 6 had just passed through a negative experience when his marriage broke down. As he put it,

> I had the right to see my children, but do you know what this was? Only one hour on Sundays, and in that hour I had to prepare them food, and one hour passes so quickly. On a particular day, she put one of my sons in a children's care centre at [Malta's sister island] Gozo, and thus, to see him, I had to go to Gozo even in winters when the weather is not so good; otherwise, I couldn't see him. Those were the rights of men, and you couldn't do anything about it.

This activist also faced verbal abuse from colleagues at work. There was no support group at the time (during the 1980s), and he resorted to psychiatric help.

> However, today, when I look back, I have satisfaction that I didn't give up. It is as if the lack of encouragement I faced, encouraged me even more.

Activist 3 said that he experienced 'torture' when the Court of Justice applied the impediment of departure when separating from his wife. When he read about MRM in a newspaper, he decided to join it.

> When you work with a group, you are showing that we, as men, exist. Instead of being me alone, we are a group, and have a right to speak as a pressure group. From my experience, it difficult to speak up alone, as no-one takes notice.

Activist 4 said that 'I used to work abroad for the family, and my [ex-] wife was a pleasure-seeker, and she betrayed me. That's my story!'

However he attributed his friendship to Activist 6 as a main reason why he joined AMR. Once again, social networks influenced one's membership in the movement. Malta's small size presumably facilitated this process.

Another activist, Activist 7 also joined the movement out of personal experience, but this time it was due to the fact that was an advocate who specialized in family cases. His biographical availability was therefore tied to his profession and not to life circumstances.

Other activists did not join the movement due to personal experiences or networks, but due to ideological belief. For example, Activist 2 said that he couldn't stand the labelling of men as abusers, when male victims of abuse also existed. 'We need to take care of the two extremes for true equality'.

For other activists, ideology and social networks were both important factors that influenced their membership within the movement. This was surely the case for Activist 5, who, like other members, knew Activist 6, who, seemed to act as a nodal point for prospective members.

Attitudes of significant others on participants' membership of the movement

This study also looked into the reactions of participants' significant others when they joined MRM.

Activist 1 had favourable feedback, especially from his elder sister, as 'she was very progressive and was aware of the contradiction that exists in society'.

On the other hand, other participants had negative feedback. Activist 3 said that when he joined MRM he was not even invited to a family wedding. Activists 5 and 6 said that they experienced exclusion from family members, though in the case of Activist 5, his family later on caught up with his 'progressive' ideas.

Yet Activist 6 is still experiencing exclusion from family members. His sister experienced verbal abuse at work because of his activism. In his words,

> My mother and my siblings say that I ridiculed them. My sister, especially, believed that she resigned from work and ended up in a depression because of me as her colleagues used to abuse her verbally. In fact, today my family is still not talking to me. Only my father inspired me, but unfortunately today, he is dead.

Activist 2 was not excluded by significant others, but his mother warned him to leave the movement as soon as possible 'because it is all in vain'. And Activist 4 did not inform his family members about his membership, adding that other people's opinions do not bother him.

Impacts of the Men's Rights Movement on participants

AMR enabled some participants to strengthen their social networks by sharing experiences and building new friendships. Activist 1 said that such company kept him active and helped him defeat fear and loneliness. Activist 3 said that the movement enabled him to speak without feeling as sense of shame, and Activist 4 said that the sharing of experiences enabled a sense of belonging.

Activist 5 said that his membership enabled him to meet different people, thus increasing his sense of tolerance and understanding to different experiences. The movement also gave legal assistance to members.

Yet, not all was so positive. Activist 2 said that AMR could not help his personal situation. In actual fact, he joined to help others, but he was rather pessimistic on possible outcomes due to prevailing social attitudes.

The importance of the Men's Rights Movement

Participants in this research felt that the MRM had an important role to play in Maltese society.

Activist 1 said that the movement acts as a safeguard towards injustices by proposing equal rights. Activist 5 said that the movement is required so as to break down social taboos which need to be discussed.

Other activists expressed the need for more activists within the movement. Interestingly, this was expressed by Activist 6, who was instrumental in encouraging other members to join and who now had to stop being active himself. Could this be a main reason why AMR has ceased being publicly active?

Other activists, such as Activists 2 and 4 feel that their issue is a lost cause. Committee Member 4 expressed to the lack of activism from men who need support. 'I cannot understand how people can ignore an organisation that wants to help them'.

Discussion

The interviews carried out with AMR activists have resulted in a range of findings which convey commonalities and difference among the interviewees' perceptions on their activism within the movement organization.

One main finding is that the activists do not tend to proclaim a masculinist ideology of male dominance and patriarchy (Messner 1998, Blais and Dupuis-Déri 2012, Clatterbaugh 2000), but are more inclined within the gender reconciliation wing of the men's rights movement as identified by Fox (2004). Indeed, activists did not use patriarchal and antifeminist discourse, but tend to articulate men's interests within the context of anti-discrimination and social equality. They also valued AMR's scope to support males in difficult situations such as marriage breakdown. This viewpoint can be situated within conceptualizations of vulnerabilities and crises experienced by males (Addis 2011, Barker 2012, Real 2013). It can also be reconciled with the proclaimed aims AMR referred to earlier in this article.

Activists whose family experiences were a main source of influence with respect to their membership of AMR referred to experiences such as marriage breakdown, children's custody and abuse. Other activists referred to professional interests and friendships with AMR members as sources of influence with respect to their membership of AMR.

In this regard, personal experiences were the predominant motivation for membership within AMR, followed by ideology and social networks. Such motivations are also found among activists of other movements (Goodwin and Jasper 2003).

Most activists were in possession of biographical availability (Goodwin and Jasper 2003, 51) to join the organization. During the interviews activists opened up on their experiences and showed how they found a sense of belonging within AMR. Their rights as fathers (Messner 1998) and other negative experiences (Biddulph 1994, Barker 2012) were passionately spoken about during the interviews.

Ideological affinity was also given importance by some activists. In this regard, interviewees referred to their agreement with the core beliefs of the organization, which, again, is a source of membership among activists in other movements (Goodwin and Jasper 2003). And in some cases, ideology and social networks were considered to be interrelated (Della Porta and Diani 2006), where activists were encouraged to join AMR and thus put forward their aims and goals. In a Southern European small-island state like Malta, which has a population of 400,000, social networks are very important and the small size of the islands makes it easier to connect with like-minded persons. Social capital, and in particular, homophily (Lin 2001, Briguglio and Brown 2008) can explain this phenomenon, as 'interactions tend to occur among individual actors occupying similar or adjacent and slightly different positions' (Lin 2001, 39), with the intentions of getting returns, for example through activism.

The interviews also expressed certain commonalities among activists with

respect to the impact of AMR on their wellbeing. For example, attitudes by their significant others with respect to their membership of the movement were mostly negative. In a way, this might be associated with silence and invisibility of males on negative experiences they may encounter (Turner 2008, Addis 2011). It may be the case that men's organizations are perceived as being associated with shame, which, once again, in a Southern European context of pride and honour, is not usually celebrated or propagated.

At the same time, however, most activists recounted positive impacts of ARM on their personal lives and wellbeing. Some felt a sense of belonging through social networks, which, in itself is of value in societies which are becoming increasingly liquid (Bauman 2000), less reliant on durable social bonds (Putnam 2000) and characterized by the manufacture of risk (Beck 1992).

In this regard, such activists valued what they defined as empowerment and support experienced through their membership of AMR. Once again, such empowerment is not the patriarchal, anti-feminine and authoritarian type of empowerment discussed by critics of masculinist men's organizations (Messner 1998, Blais and Dupuis-Déri 2012, Clatterbaugh 2000). It had more to do with a sense of belonging, a way how to break their silence, and to reclaim their lives amid situational factors in family life (Cheal 2002).

Finally, activists confirmed the small size of AMR when they referred to the need for more activists within the movement. Perhaps a critical evaluation of this fact is that such smallness best explains the moderate 'gender reconciliation' (Fox 2004) approach taken by activists, and that were the movement larger in size, it would have been encouraged the movement to adopt more of a 'backlash' anti-feminist position (ibid). Yet on the other hand, a larger movement might also have experienced institutionalization and cooption within state structures, leading to more moderate approaches (Goodwin and Jasper 2003), though such 'taming' does not always happen within civil society (Briguglio 2013).

It is important to contextualize the findings within then general Maltese social formation. Given that the interviewees are neither representative of men who suffering in silence nor of men in general, would it be valid to assume that replies can be transposed to Maltese society? This study would be over ambitious to assume that this is the case, and it would be wise to declare that the findings relate only to activists within the Men's Rights Association. Other studies using different research methods would be able to add both validity and reliability to the study.

Studies should also verify whether the Men's Rights Association earned respect from the Maltese public and policy makers. What were the outcomes of the movement on Maltese policy making? Was the movement considered to be a strange agglomeration of men who did not fit in mainstream society, or was it seen as representing a tip of the iceberg of men who suffer in silence?

The Men's Rights Association in Malta could be seen to be closest to the Men's Rights Movement in terms of its goals and aims. It focuses on greviances of

males who perceive an unfair deal in their relationships, for example in matters related to child custody, and settlements after marriage breakdown. It is not calling for a sexual revolution or for alternative communities. It is merely emphasising that males get a fair deal in their family life, albeit through traditionalist family settings.

Conclusion

This study concludes that there are different motivations to join AMR. These include biographical availability, social networks and ideological affinity.

In this regard, three participants did not perceive a crisis of masculinity in their personal life experiences; however they joined the movement as they believe that other men may be undergoing such experiences. Such activists tend to disagree with the feminist narrative of patriarchal males and repressed females, but this does not mean that they adopt masculinist narratives. What they did was overcome the problems of silence and invisibility (Addis 2011) and joined AMR.

Not all respondents were optimistic about the impacts of the organisation, but others felt a sense of belonging and affinity within it. Such affinity is itself a manifestation of social capital in an increasingly individualized social context, and may be a truer defining characteristic of Malta's men's rights movement than the 'masculinist' tag given by certain authors in the field.

Hopefully, this article can help motivate further research in the field of movements based on gender, wherein a spectrum of realities and experiences should not necessarily be seen in terms of a zero-sum binary that can actually reinforce gender stereotypes. In short, motivations to join an association for men's rights may not necessarily contradict one's beliefs for a fairer and more equal society.

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All the protestors fit to count: using geospatial affordances to estimate protest event size

Austin Choi-Fitzpatrick; Tautvydas Juskauskas; Md. Boby Sabur

Abstract

Protest events are a hallmark of social movement tactics. Large crowds in public spaces send a clear message to those in authority. Consequently, estimating crowd size is important for clarifying how much support a particular movement has been able to garner. This is significant for policymakers and constructing public opinion alike. Efforts to accurately estimate crowd size are plagued with issues: the cost of renting aircraft (if done by air), the challenge of visibility and securing building access (if done by rooftops), and issues related to perspective and scale (if done on the ground). Airborne camera platforms like drones, balloons, and kites are geospatial affordances that open new opportunities to better estimate crowd size. In this article we adapt traditional aerial imaging techniques for deployment on an "unmanned aerial vehicle" (UAV, popularly drone) and apply the method to small (1,000) and large (30,000+) events. Ethical guidelines related to drone safety are advanced, questions related to privacy are raised, and we conclude with a discussion of what standards should guide new technologies if they are to be used for the public good.

Keywords: Protest, methods, crowd estimation, privacy, surveillance, drones, unmanned aircraft systems

Protest size matters

Size matters for social movements (DeNardo 1985; Lohmann 1994; Oberschall 1994; McCarthy, McPhail, and Smith 1996; Chenoweth and Stephan 2011; Popovic and Miller 2015; Biggs 2016; Wouters and Van Camp 2017). Whether it be the number of names on abolitionist-era petitions or the number of people present at a "million-man" march, the ability to mobilize people (especially as citizens and consumers) and engage in coherent claims-making is a hallmark of collective action. Visible and sizable mobilization matters for both the movement's target as well as the general public that so often mediates a movement's effects (Agnone 2007; Burstein 2003).

Visibility matters because the ability to clog a major thoroughfare or fill a notable landmark demonstrates strength in numbers. This observation, like so many others, is strikingly similar to something Charles Tilly (1999) has already said: public collective action efforts demonstrate WUNC—worthiness, unity, numbers and commitment. This is not to say that the only path to movement

success is mass mobilization—legislative strategies, violent struggle, elite brokerage, court decisions, and opt-out tactics like boycotts—have all proven their value in helping challengers secure gains from incumbents. While mass mobilization is not the only path to success, it is an enduringly important part of the movement repertoire for the past two centuries (Klandermans 2008; Caren, Ghoshal, and Ribas 2011).

Not all success requires mass mobilization, and not all large-scale protests are successful. Heaney and Rojas (2015), for example, demonstrate the extent to which broader changes in the political landscape—e.g., the election of a Democrat to the U.S. presidency—eliminated the impetus to protest American wars in Iraq and Afghanistan. The disconnect between the turnout in climate change gatherings and American environmental policy is particularly striking. Erica Chenoweth and Jeremy Pressman have initiated a Crowd Counting Consortium to open-source the estimation of turnout to public political events.[1] By their estimation, between 5.9 and 9 million people protested in 2017, with the vast majority (89%) estimated to be protesting Donald Trump. These protests have not dampened Republican support for the regime and its policies. It is quite likely that they had the opposite effect, pushing moderate Republicans to demonstrate a sort of counter-protest support for the President. Not only are some large-scale social protests unsuccessful, future empirical analysis may prove them to be counterproductive, as suggested anecdotally in the case of Trump.

If large-scale protests have bifurcated outcomes (leading to success or counter-mobilization and even repression), there is no disputing their symbolic impact. The notion that 2-3% of Americans are protesting a sitting President over a year's time is an important barometer for public attitudes. The cumulative, crowd sourced approach adopted by the Crowd Counting Consortium is premised on the idea that turnout matters, whether it is large or small.

This is different than historic approaches to turnout. To date, much of the conversation about protest size has focused on newspaper data. A number of problems have dogged this usage, however. It turns out that the *New York Times* and *Washington Post* covered fewer than half of all disorders that occurred between 1968 and 1969, for example (Myers and Caniglia 2004). In that period, coverage was determined by event intensity, distance from the paper, event density, the city's population size, the type of actors involved and the day of the week. Newspaper coverage matters (or mattered in the 20th century) for media cycles, public opinion, and the concomitant sense of urgency policymakers feel regarding the issues that have brought people onto the streets. All news is not created equal. The punch line here is that violent riots in big cities got covered but the kind of events that comprise much of the Consortium's data were ignored.

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[1]Crowd Counting Consortium: https://sites.google.com/view/crowdcountingconsortium/home
See also the work of Count Love: https://countlove.org/

Recent work by Michael Biggs (2016) suggests that it is the size of an event that matters more than the total number of events. His analysis undermines an entire vein of movement scholarship that has drawn on event-count data on protests. Biggs argues that it is protest size that explains the newspaper coverage that gets indexed in the first place. Relevant here is Biggs' observation that protestors do their best to maximize their size at single events, not to spread themselves over many smaller events. Why else do they gather in capital cities and in front of Parliaments? His observation reinforces the findings of Myers and colleagues (Myers and Caniglia 2004; Ortiz, Myers, Walls and Diaz 2005).

However unintentionally, this critique provides a backhanded compliment to newspaper data: journalists and editors do a remarkable job of noting large and significant events. Large movements also create opportunities for attracting new supporters, whether on the street or as conscience constituents who support from home. They also have the effect of creating hospitable environments for counter mobilization by other civil society actors (Meyers and Staggenborg 1996). Large numbers of people on the street also represent symbolic challenges to authorities and practical challenges for administrators and bureaucrats. The temptation, then, may be to engage in repressive or co-opting responses in the event movements' target entrenched interests. This is true whether the target is a university, hospital, church or government (Walker, Martin, McCarthy 2009). Size matters for targets, for the general public, for newspaper editors, and for social movements themselves.

Two arguments can be identified thus far: the Crowd Counting Consortium's implicitly cumulative argument and Bigg's explicit emphasis on large-scale protests. This essay does not set out to resolve this tension, but to provide a method for obtaining better data on the turnout for all protests, whether large or small. The reason for this is that *both* approaches rely on accurate data on event size. For social movements, perceptions matter. Political opportunities, it is widely noted, are only as real as they are perceived (Goodwin and Jasper 1999). If a movement perceives an opportunity where there is none, it is possible they may respond with enthusiasm and a redoubling of their efforts (Rasler 1996). In this way a closed opportunity opens. Perception might not be everything (after all, if a movement lacks the resources necessary to complement their enthusiasm, all may come to naught), but it cannot be ignored altogether. The same can be said of the threat experienced by institutional targets facing a challenge from a newly formed bloc of voters in a Parliamentary plaza or group of students mobilized on the campus quad. The salient point here is that *perceived* protest size matters. This is why so much effort has gone into contesting exactly how large an event is—demonstration turnout is a crucial political resource for social movements (Wouters and Van Camp 2017: 450).

In sum, a "Million Man" March has nothing but alliteration going for it if it turns out the number is inflated by one million. Protests are inherently political and politicized events. Thus, the *actual* number of protestors matters to at least

one of these four parties (i.e., movement, target, media, general public). The Million Man March itself is often cited as a prime example of the inadequacies of crowd size reporting (McPhail, McCarthy 1996; Watson, Yip 2011). Organizers of the event placed attendance numbers between 1.5 and 2 million. The United States Park Service estimated the crowd to be around 400,000 people. The discrepancies between the two numbers resulted in the legal action taken against the National Park Service by March organizers.

Nobody doubted that a tremendous number of people took a stand with Louis Farrakhan against the economic and social conditions of African Americans. But once again, it is not just the number itself that matters, but its relationship to perception. Was the march a success or a failure? Whose interests were served by the varying answers to that question? In some ways the answer is mediated by the gap between perception and reality of the event's size, factors themselves directly connected to the movement's perceived worthiness. Of the many important factors at play in studies of protest turnout, this study focuses in on a key methodological puzzle: how best might the size of an event be estimated? What is important overall, and the subject of this article, is the process involved in getting the numbers right.

Estimating protest size methods

A broad survey of crowd estimation techniques suggests there is significant methodological fragmentation across media, authorities, academics and social movement actors. Lay approaches range from naïve guestimates to politicized declarations of "actual size." Official approaches are often plagued by political factors (Kielbowicz and Scherrer 1986). Gitlin (1980) cites instances in which the *New York Times* simply passed along police estimates of Vietnam War protest sizes. Mann (1974) found newspaper estimates of crowd size often matched the publisher's political leanings (as measured by their editorial board). Edelman (1986) found higher police estimates for established political candidates and lower for more radical groups from the left and the right, when compared to his use of the industry-standard Jacobs Crowd Formula (JCF) (which we used in this study, as discussed below.). Several of these examples are emphasized by Michael Biggs (2016), who explicates these complications in great detail.

In what follows we will leave aside these politicized and haphazard approaches and focus our attention instead on the development of estimation methods within the scholarly literature on protests. Here it seems there is little debate, since the crowd size estimation method is fairly well established, despite a relative lack of attention to the issue. Estimation techniques among movement scholars appear to have remained virtually unchanged since the 1960s. Those readers eager for a significant reimagining of the status quo will be disappointed. What we propose here is rather a transposition of the existing methodological approach to a new platform. We suggest an extension and improvements rather than a radical revision.

The industry standard method of estimating the size of static crowds has been relatively stable for the past five decades (in this study we leave to the side moving crowds, a matter for another day). Herbert Jacobs, a journalism professor at UC-Berkeley, pioneered the approach from an elevated angle as he observed the Free Speech Movement's birth outside his office window.

He noticed the concrete pattern in Sproul Plaza provided the perfect grid format for consistent estimation size. The refined version of this approach appeared in the *Columbia Journalism Review* in 1967. The central assumption is that loose crowds were comprised of one person per 10 square feet (0.93 square meter) of space, while the same person occupies only 4.5 (0.42 square meter) square feet in a dense crowd and a mere 2.5 square feet (0.23 square meter) in the front of an event, assuming of course that there is a "front of the event."

The task, then, was to accurately estimate the (1) square footage of the site, (2) the percentage of the site occupied by participants, and (3) the density of the crowd. Considered together, these factors underline the principal of the Jacobs' Crowd Formula (JCF) and would allow any individual an accurate estimation to any crowd size. In table 1 we apply general assumptions to several recent sites of protest.

Table 1: Public gathering places and carrying capacities at different density levels

		Number of people at 1 person per -		
	Area in square meters (in sq. feet)	*0.23 m^2 (2.5 ft^2)*	*0.42 m^2 (4.5 ft^2)*	*0.93 m^2 (10 ft^2)*
Int'l football field	10,800 (116,250)	46,956	25,714	11,612
US football field	5364 (57,733)	23,321	12,771	5768
National Mall (US) (total area between the Ulysses S. Grant Memorial and the Lincoln Memorial)	1,200,000 (12,916,692)	5,217,391	2,857,142	1,290,322
Trafalgar Square (UK)	21,000 (226,042)	91,304	50,000	22,580
Tiananmen Square (China)	380,000 (4,090,286)	1,652,173	904,761	408,602

Red Square (Russia)	70,000 (753,474)	304,347	166,666	75,268
Tahrir square, Cairo, Egypt (Square + surrounding areas)	85,000 (914,932)	369,565	202,380	91,397
Maidan, Kiev, Ukraine	50,000 (538 195)	217,391	119,047	53,763
Kossuth Lajos ter (Parliament Square, Budapest, Hungary)	70,000 (753 473)	304,347	166,666	75,268

NOTE: Area calculations were done on Google Earth Pro (Trial version), though similar results can be obtained using ArcGIS, GIS Atterbury, Daftlogic, etc. While calculating we also included surrounding areas that also have crowd carrying potential. Those surrounding areas might include green areas, parks, wide streets, crossroads, etc. Our estimates occasionally differ from those found elsewhere (e.g., http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_city_squares_by_size).

Jacob's principal has been redefined and adapted a number of times (Seidler, Meyer, Gillivray 1976; Swank 1999; McPhail, Clark and McCarthy 2004). In the 1970s, the United States Park Police developed a formula of their own (McPhail and McCarthy 2004). Others incorporated aerial photography from helicopters and official site measurements from city square footage plans. Taken together these factors allow for a more accurate assessment than what Jacob's formula in general would account for. These improvements to accuracy were made at the margins however, and the importance of the original three factors—site dimension, percentage occupancy, density—remained intact.

The JCF reached its current industry standard formulation through the work of Clark McPhail, who has consulted extensively on the issue. McPhail and McCarthy (2004) add one component (comparative data) to suggest four rules for the most credible estimation of crowd size:

1. Carrying capacity of site;
2. Density of the crowd;
3. Observations from multiple vantage points, some of which must be elevated;
4. Combined direct onsite estimation and indirect passenger volume estimation.

This approach is notable for its integration of both the direct estimation recommended by Jacobs as well as complementing that data with assessments of other measurements, such as the number of busses used to bring people into an event from far away (a practice as common in New Delhi as in Washington D.C.).

We have established that real and perceived crowd size is an important signaling mechanism (whether it is followed with political action is another matter altogether—see Heaney and Rojas 2015), that accurate assessments of crowd size are important, and that there is in fact a relatively stable approach for measuring crowd size. The shortcoming in this method, we argue, is that it is difficult to secure multiple vantage points from which to watch or photograph a crowd. Movement actors do not usually have access to the roofs of the buildings surrounding the protest space. Significant crowds may form in places other than those anticipated by authorities, journalists, or even the movement itself. Multiple crowds may converge in different locations simultaneously.

In these, and countless other conditions, observation from multiple elevated vantage points is simply impossible. Of course these obstacles can be overcome by having an airplane or fixed-wing aircraft secured for the day of the event and deployable to consecutive locations on a moment's notice. This solution, however, has two significant weaknesses: (1) it is expensive, usually well beyond what any movement actor is able to afford; and (2) it assumes open airspace, something that cannot be counted on in many of the political contexts where authorities feel threatened (e.g. the US Federal Aviation Administration closed the airspace over Ferguson, Missouri at the height of the 2014 protests over state repression there, perhaps in response to the deployment of drones by journalists).

In what follows we argue that geospatial affordances—new ways of doing things from the air, here including drones, balloons and kites—provide the benefits of a helicopter or fixed wing aircraft (multiple vantage points at altitude) without the associated challenges (cost and airspace access). In providing an extension of the JCF to a new geospatial affordance (the drone) we provide civil society actors with a means for securing affordable, easily deployable, high quality, aerial footage of protest events and a method for easily analyzing this visual data.

An aerial-based crowd estimation method

We use a consumer-grade unmanned aerial vehicle (UAV,[2] or drone) to implement the Jacobs Crowd Formula (JCF, hereafter). It is important to note that the same technique works regardless of how the image was made, so long as (1) the camera is at sufficient altitude, and (2) the imaging sensor is

[2]We like the term "remotely piloted aircraft system," as it reflects the wide range of payloads and the reality of a pilot (of any gender), but fear it is not long for this world as algorithms make more in-flight decisions, rendering useless the phrase "remotely piloted".

perpendicular to the ground (i.e., the camera is pointing straight down). While we suggest several modifications (listed below) they are simple extensions of the JCF. Thus, the main advantage of the proposed method is its ease of use. While the technical details of the method are spelled out in greater detail elsewhere (Choi-Fitzpatrick and Juskauskas 2015), a brief overview of the approach bears mentioning.

Step 1: Drone platform – All tests in this study were conducted with a commercially available DJI Phantom 2 Vision+. We chose this device for five reasons: it was the industry standard at the time of testing; no additional equipment is required for flight; its GPS capabilities allow it to be flown quickly and safely by pilots with a range of experience; it has a "return home" function that ensures a safe landing if the operator is detained or the link is broken; and it is a "prosumer" product, meaning it combines some professional features with a consumer price point.[3]

Step 2: Digital image – We made one important change to our device: We modified the UAV to ensure the camera was angled perpendicular to the ground, effectively eliminating issues related to estimating at an angle—an issue that plagues Jacobs estimates from rooftops. We used commercially available software to eliminate the round lens flare known as the "fish-eye effect".

Step 3: Area measurements – The process for securing an area measurement are described in greater detail in Choi-Fitzpatrick and Juskauskas (2015). We began by laying a 10- meter marker onto the ground and used that as our reference point. Once the exact length of the reference point or line had been determined, we used publically available software (GIMP) to translate it into pixels as this is the unit of analysis for digital imagery. Table 2 shows a few dimension-sizes at three standard altitudes.

[3]When purchased, small consumer drones ranged in price from approximately US $300 to around US$3000. This device was purchased for US $1000.

Table 2. Area Measurements and Crowd Estimation

	A		*B*		*C*
Altitude in meters (feet)	Photo dimensions in pixels after fish-eye correction	Fish-eye correction in GIMP software (main, edge)	Reference on ground in M (ft)	10m on ground in pixels	10m x 10m on ground in pixels
50 (164)	4384x2466	-20, -20	10 (32)	533	533x533
100 (328)	4384x2466	-20, -20	10	270	270x270
150 (492)	4384x2466	-20, -20	10	174	174x174

Source: Choi-Fitzpatrick and Juskauskas (2015)

Step 4: Grid digitally applied to image – Placing a digital grid over the digital image allows for the rapid estimation of individual unit density and counting of total units. After determining the number of pixels that correspond to the 10 m. reference line, a simple grid can be applied to the picture. A grid application is accomplished in two basic steps using open sourced software and described in Choi-Fitzpatrick and Juskauskas (2015).

Step 5: Estimating the density levels of each grid – With the grid then applied, and with each grid measuring 10 meters between each gridlines, it is now possible to estimate the number of individuals within each grid. Using (Western) density levels established in the literature, we are able to base estimates on five density levels, effectively, where there are no people, where the crowd is very loose, relatively loose, relatively dense, and very dense.[4] Specifically, the five possible density levels are as follows:

> *Empty* (Density Level 0) – A rooftop, or any other empty space, counted at zero.
>
> *Very loose* (Density Level 1) – A very loose crowd with a very low density level. You could ride your bike through this crowd easily. It is counted manually.
>
> *Loose* (Density Level 2) – A somewhat loose crowd with a pretty low density level. This is a crowd you could walk through easily without bumping into too many people (imagine about 1 person per square meter).

[4]Recent work by Sorokowska et al (2017) suggest that personal space varies significantly by culture, meaning that a loose crowd would be looser in Romania (where people prefer to stand about 120cm from one another) than in Bulgaria (preferring only 90cm apart).

On average, at this density level there are usually about 109 people in the grid. [one person in 10 ft^2 or 0.93 m^2]

Dense (Density Level 3) – This is a dense crowd. You would have a hard time moving through this crowd, but it would be possible (imagine more than 2 people per square meter). On average, at this density level there are usually about 238 people in the grid. [one person in 4.5 ft^2 or 0.41 m^2]

Very dense (Density Level 3) – This is an extremely dense crowd. It would be nearly impossible to move your arms in this crowd (imagine more than 4 people per square meter). This is the same as the very front of a concert, just in front of the stage. On average, at this density level there are about 435 people in the grid [one person in 2.5 ft^2 or 0.23 m^2].NOTE: this density level rarely occurs.

Step 6: Compile estimate of crowd size – The sixth step is counting how many squares of different density levels the grid has. The actual number of the crowd is summed up.

Step 7: Determine intercoder reliability – Some users may choose to incorporate Cohen's Kappa—a statistic that measures agreement between different estimators—as an optional seventh step in this estimation methodology.

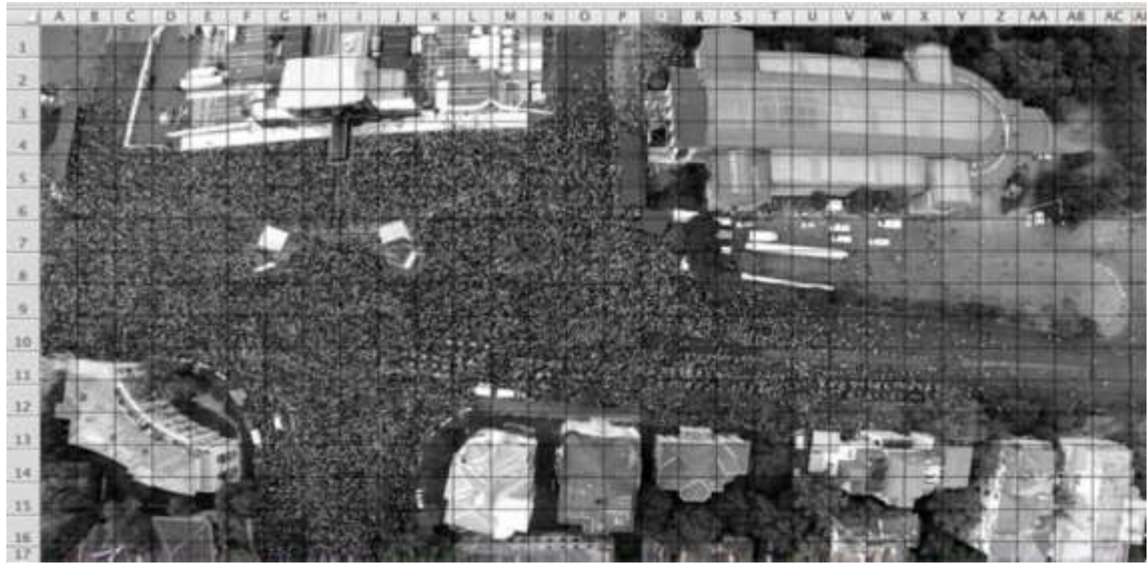
Implementing the drone-based crowd estimation model

We applied this method in two public gatherings in Budapest, Hungary. The first was a concert and the other was a protest event. General detail about each event (date, time, weather and GPS coordinates) and specific information regarding estimation parameters (i.e., inter-coder reliability) can be found in Choi-Fitzpatrick and Juskauskas (2015) and briefly in Appendix I.

First field test: concert

The image was made at 160 meters in altitude. Clearly larger crowds will require "zooming out," an action accomplished by increasing the UAV's altitude so that a greater surface area is covered by the image. Prior to photographing the crowd we made the estimation necessary to insert the grid in GIMP.

Image 1: Concert event of 37,500 (est)



To do this we identified a line that was clearly visible from this altitude. With knowledge of the line's actual length on the ground (15.6m), we used GIMP to measure the pixel length of this referent. The 15.6 meter line on the ground is equal to 237 pixels within the digital photo file. As we need a grid of regular 100 m^2 squares, we need to convert 10 meters into pixels. The formula for determining this ratio is described in Section "*Step 3: Area measurements*". In this case, 10 meter reference equals 152 pixels in the picture. A 10m x 10m square on the ground is therefore a 152px x 152px grid in the image (Image 1).

We recruited research assistants from a cohort of graduate students. Volunteers received a modest voucher and brief verbal introduction to the process and were given approximately 90 minutes to accomplish this task. We found that 80 minutes was the average amount of time required to accomplish this task, and that the instructions led to very few misunderstandings about the task, or any particular step in the task. As detailed in Choi-Fitzpatrick and Juskauskas (2015) coders were instructed to determine the density level within each grid (X, O, 1, 2, 3), to manually count any persons within density level 0, and to then determine what percentage of each grid was filled at the indicated density level (25%, 50%, 75%, 100%). These tasks were accomplished with an 8x10-sized printout of the photograph and a white marker. Coding decisions were made directly onto the image itself.

This data was then entered into a spreadsheet by the article's second authors and a Cohen's Kappa, an industry standard inter-coder reliability estimate, was applied to the data. Our final iteration of the test resulted in an inter-coder reliability estimate of .7 and a crowd estimate of between 37,112 and 37,695.

While we are pleased with this level of agreement, we would have preferred to offer a benchmark for comparison. Three are desirable but in this case were not possible. First, ticket sales or turnstile counts; unfortunately for our purposes

(but fortunately for concertgoers) this was a free event and neither data point existed. Second, other media sources: several bloggers after the event claimed the event was attended by several tens thousands of people. Third, "indirect passenger volume estimation," such as busses: this event took place close to a public transportation hub, making comparative data hard to obtain.

Second field test: protest

The second field-test of the method was implemented at a demonstration held by a civil society organization. The event was held during a national holiday and targeted social injustices and lack of democracy in Hungary. In our coding of this data we determined there were 2,609 people present at the event. Using the process described above, external coders (who were unaware of our own estimate) determined that between 2,589 and 3,750 individuals were present, with a Cohen's Kappa of .85.

While we could have cropped the image to make counting easier, we have left it untouched in order to emphasize one additional question unaddressed by this method: Who is part of the event? Who counts? Are the people in squares E3, E4 and E5 part of the event? We can ask the same question of almost everyone in columns 1, 2, 3, 5, 9, and 10. Presumably the answer to this question varies based on the size of the event—for a large event the cells bounding the central mass of individuals may be counter-protestors, police, reporters, or bystanders. They may also be comprised of individuals debating whether to join the event. Clearly birds-eye data must be complimented by on-the-ground data.

Image 2. Protest event of 2,000 (est)

UAV data are agnostic about turnout — e.g., we would never know if lots of counter-protestors infiltrated an event in order to disrupt it. It is important to augment the single method of measurement introduced here with observations on the ground, and with comparative benchmarks, where possible. In this regard both quantitative and qualitative data matters. At this event, media estimates of the turnout ranged from 700 to 3,000. The most frequent estimate was in the 1,500-2,000 range. Here we face a question deserving additional exploration: should the significance of mass mobilization events be measured by supporter turnout or total turnout?

If an event attracts 10 protestors but 100 counter-protestors, this ratio is salient. But if an event attracts 100,000 protestors and 5,000 onlookers, should the onlookers be included in the estimation of the event size? Presumably a large number of onlookers indicates that the event is important not only to the protestors, but to other publics as well. We leave this puzzle to others.[5]

[5]One concerned reviewer suggested that our approach shifts debates from the public domain to that of specialists, as it sets up technical experts to debate particular definitions, parameters, personal distance rates, crowd composition, boundary puzzles, and so forth. We would be quite disappointed if this turns out to be the case. Our objective is to make the estimation of crowds easy to perform and audit. Our goal is explicitly anti-specialist, as it were. Subsequent adoption and debate will suggest whether our optimism is warranted.

Discussion

Unmanned aerial vehicles are the subject of increasing attention in public, policy and commercial arenas (Choi-Fitzpatrick, et al 2016). Yet the bulk of this attention has remained focused on two debates: the first on how the state should regulate UAVs used for commercial purposes, and the second on what should be done about the use of UAVs for military purposes.

This essay is meant to provoke discussion in a third area of inquiry related to the use of drones by a broader array of actors. This contribution is timely, as protestors flew drones over Maidan in Kiev during the upheaval that led to the ousting of then-President Viktor Yanukovych and used them to document police abuse of water protectors at Standing Rock. *Russia Today* documented the protests that followed a police shooting in Ferguson, Missouri, researchers documented anti-regime protests in Budapest, Hungary, and a South African arms manufacturer has begun shipping “anti-riot” drones equipped with non-lethal armaments, including rubber bullets and tear gas.

These developments, and our intervention, raise three critical questions regarding the relationship between technology and surveillance. The first question is whether movement communities should broaden their focus from the state’s use of drones for surveillance and targeted killing to the use of drones by the state (for other purposes), corporations, and civil society actors. Clearly we believe the answer is unequivocally in the affirmative – if new technology is encroaching on (and perhaps expanding) the public sphere, then this matters for both scholars and practitioners of protest. While we have answered in the affirmative, it appears activists have not had a broad and vibrant debate over drone use by civil society actors.

The second question is whether drones should be used by state, corporate, and civil society actors. If the answer is a simple *no*, then a significant amount of hard-nosed pragmatic work must be done to undo a decade’s worth of technological innovation in terms of robotics and artificial intelligence. It is more likely that the answer is more complicated, and will require some sort of disaggregation of actors, intent, space, etc. At present it appears that corporations have taken the lead in developing this technology, states have taken the lead in weaponizing and deploying this technology, and that change-oriented actors within civil society have been regulated to a reactive stance.

The third question is what sort of general principles should guide the use of this new category of digital devices. Legislative frameworks are being hastily constructed at the international, national, and sub-state level, but these frameworks are technical prescriptions, and elide broader ethical puzzles. To this end we follow earlier work in advancing a six-fold set of guiding principles and puzzles for the use of UAVs by civil society actors (Choi-Fitzpatrick 2014).

1. Subsidiary – Should drones only be used in those situations where other actions or technology already yield the desired result? Can new technology be original without being useful? If so, how might we know the difference?

2. Physical and Material Security – Appropriate measures (training, flight-planning, etc) must be taken to ensure the security of people and things in the area where a UAV is used. As drone use increases, who will coordinate these efforts? How will anti-establishment actors (e.g., protestors) fit into this space?

3. Do No Harm – This concept, pioneered by Patrick Meier and colleagues, emphasizes the importance of the public good: benefits must outweigh costs and risks. Yet the nature of the public good is a matter of great debate; is documenting an embarrassingly small turnout on a key social issue harming the movement's cause (assuming the key issue is for the public good)?

4. Newsworthiness – This concept is borrowed from journalism's focus on the greater good and emphasizes the importance of a free press (in both corporate media and citizen journal models) in holding the powerful to account. Must pro-social and advocacy footage only be made "for the greater good" or is aerial data collection important in its own right? Is ubiquitous drone surveillance a simple step up from Google Earth in terms of frequency of coverage or is it a scale shift that represents a fundamental threat to privacy?

5. Privacy – While debates about privacy and technology are ongoing, and users of digital media appear less worried about the issue than advocates, what is the proper balance between the privacy of private citizens and newsworthiness and the public good? Privacy is treated differently across national contexts, and no blanket legislation is possible, meaning the increased use of drones is likely to lead to very different policy approaches.

6. Data Protection – Data protection is critical. Social movements who use camera equipped drones to monitor police action at a political protest, for example, must take great care to ensure that the privacy of protestors is protected and that the digital data is kept secure.

It will be immediately obvious to the reader that some of these criteria are in tension with one another. Should one protect the privacy of an oligarch who has made private millions through secret concessions on public works? It is newsworthy, but documenting private homes, villas, and other sites of auspicious wealth raises new questions with regard to privacy (oligarchs have families) and subsidiary (the same information might be gleaned from tax records). We can apply these standards to the deployment of a drone detailed in this article.

Subsidiarity – Is it possible to estimate the size of medium to large crowds using existing approaches. At present there is no auditable method for estimating the size of a crowd in an unbounded space. By sealing off a space and adding a turnstile, one can easily measure ingress and egress—but this violates the *unbounded space* condition that applies in most public events. Use estimators to count off through the crowd in a rigorous way and you can generate an estimate—but this violates the *auditable* and *affordable* conditions that makes this approach apolitical. We determine that we have met the subsidiarity threshold.

Physical and Material Security – We did our best to launch, fly, and land our UAV beyond the edge of the crowds depicted in this study. New parachute technologies have emerged in the time that has transpired between our data gathering and this publication. These would add a further level of safety to our flight. Furthermore, the first two authors have tested camera-equipped balloons which remain tethered to the ground, thereby eliminating a host of safety concerns. We determine that we have nearly met the security threshold in our past efforts, but future efforts will certainly meet them fully.

Do No Harm – The gathering and publicizing of data about public events is inherently in the public interest and the provision of this data is for the public good. Our activities could have caused harm had our camera captured individually identifiable faces. Critics of our work have pointed out that the current analysis overlooks another significant area of potential harm: our approach could highlight the extent to which important events suffer from low turnout rates, thereby amplifying criticisms from opponents. We thus leave open the question of whether we succeeded in doing no harm.

Newsworthiness – Gathering and publicizing data about events that social actors desire to make public are inherently worthy of public attention. As a result, our documentation of a protest event (Image 2) is decidedly newsworthy. Whether our documentation of private citizens at a public concert (Image 1) is newsworthy is less clear-cut, although we feel that such events are regularly covered by newspapers in the arts and entertainment section. We leave open the question of whether we met the newsworthiness threshold in one of our two cases.

Data Protection – Data captured during public events should be secured. How it is secured, and at what level of protection, is a matter of ongoing debate. All of the raw footage for this project is stored in the first author's Dropbox account, which synchs over password-protected WiFi connections to the hard-drive of his password-protected MacBook Air. Is this a secure arrangement? This approach is sufficient for apolitical data, but would be easily hacked by a sovereign, or state-sponsored agents intent on disrupting protest activity. Our data protection is sufficient at one level and insufficient at another.

Privacy – By engaging the camera function on our UAV only at a high altitude, we elided the complicated issue of privacy. Activating the camera at a lower altitude, however, was technically feasible and would have certainly captured discernable faces. Here we face a puzzle: should activists document public events in such a way that capture individually-identifiable features? To date citizen journalists have argued in the affirmative, and a wave of scholarship on new digital technologies (i.e., smartphones) has suggested that these new tools level the playing field when it comes to capturing and telling stories (Milan 2013). The first author's sense, however, is that individuals who express enthusiasm for smartphones are often more sanguine when it comes to UAVs equipped with cameras (or other sensors). Why might this be? A sustained conversation about the deployment of drones by protestors, police, and the media is long overdue, and will raise far more questions than this essay will

answer. Returning to this study, we have respected the privacy of individual actors by capturing and presenting data that obscures individual identities.

We will let the reader determine whether or not we have met these thresholds. More broadly we hope our guidelines are subject to debate, as they represent an initial effort to establish broadly applicable ethical norms. Our thinking is that these could guide individuals and institutions in establishing specific guidelines around questions like 1) who gets to fly these devices, 2) where, 3) with what training, and 4) under what conditions.

It is critical for movement communities to debate these issues. While free spaces are critical in fostering the kind of solidarity and commitment necessary to sustain radical politics (Cross and Snow 2011), these are consistently subject to encroachment by the state. This is one way the state kills movements (Davenport 2014). The advent of new digital tools means efforts to create solidarity (online for example) are subject to a host of new threats. Cress and Snow (2011: 119) argue that a “security culture” must be developed within activist circles if free spaces are to remain “free”. Movement engagement with these tools and the development of new practices that balance solidarity and security should always be kept within view.[6]

Returning to the methodological intervention that lies at the heart of this article, the combination of a camera-equipped UAV with a simple but accurate methodology improves on the status quo established by Jacobs and extended by others. This improvement is six-fold.

Firstly, with regard to scalability, the method can be used to estimate a crowd of 100 or 100,000. The linking of altitude to square meters of ground cover, and of ground coverage to image pixels, represents a fresh approach to crowd estimation. As a result, crowds of all sizes can be measured using this method.

Secondly, with regard to cost, the results produced in this study were performed using equipment costing one thousand US dollars at the time of purchase and half that at the time of publication (doubtless a comment on both the youth of the technology and age of this essay!). The same results could be obtained by balloon for a fraction of this amount. These expenses pale in comparison to the cost of renting a fixed-wing aircraft or helicopter to perform an estimation of similar accuracy.

Third, portability: while it may be too obvious to deserve mentioning, this solution can be deployed from a backpack or carryon-sized luggage. Even more easily deployed technology is available and new devices are quickly entering the market.

The fourth benefit, ease of use, relates to the fact that off-the-shelf units such as the one used in this test, and indeed any others utilizing GPS capabilities, can be deployed comparatively quickly.

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[6]Doing so is not always easy, as creators of technology, users of technology, and critics of technology rarely come from the same milieu (c.f., Hoople and Choi-Fitzpatrick 2017).

The fifth benefit, replicability, refers to the fact that the method we introduce produces comparable data regardless of location, crowd-size, camera dimensions, UAV-type etc. The first author has captured aerial imagery using a helium balloon as well as a kite. Both platforms provide the exact same level of coverage as a UAV, but without attendant concerns about safety and novelty.

The sixth improvement we bring is in regard to the incorporation of an inter-coder reliability estimate and a relative standard error term. Together, these benefits combine to recommend this solution to anyone interested in quickly deploying inexpensive equipment to accurately estimate the number of people present in crowds of all sizes.

Listing these benefits should not obscure the complexity involved in using this technique. The entire enterprise raises a host of issues, especially related to privacy and security. As suggested earlier, it is not at all clear how to best balance privacy and transparency, especially when social movements set out to challenge those in positions of authority. This study is an example of innovative use of a new technology in the absence of a policy framework. Regulations devised for an earlier age are unwieldy and ill-matched to new technologies and uses.

Taken a step further, UAVs push a broader question regarding whether privacy is a core collective good, as some have recently suggested (Livingston and Walter-Drop 2014). Any attempt to answer this question will surface deep philosophical divisions between the United States and the United Kingdom and much of continental Europe. Recent recognition of the "right to be forgotten" in Spanish courts has hardly elicited a shrug from Americans actively uploading all manner of content to the cloud, despite the thin guarantees provided by click-through user agreements. While a majority of Americans are pessimistic about commercial and personal drone use, this discomfort may decrease with familiarity, although this depends entirely on developments in both regulatory and commercial spaces. Whether the technology is emerging or settled, the best approach is an ethical approach.

In brief, we believe we have managed to blend old methods with new technology in such a way that respects provisional guidelines for its ethical use. Of course, caveats abound. To begin with, it is important to note that while we have used a quadcopter, this approach should work with both fixed wing UAVs as well as satellites.[7] Also, the method is guided by several main assumptions: the first is that the crowd is static—not going anywhere—which is mostly the case in protests and demonstrations that gather and remain at a particular public place. More sophisticated methods are required to address the flow of crowds found in marches.

[7]My colleagues at the University of Nottingham are, for example, applying machine learning to large datasets of satellite imagery in an effort to establish a baseline of brick kilns in the "kiln belt" in India, Nepal, and Pakistan, an area disproportionately plagued by bonded labor and human trafficking (Boyd et al 2018).

Secondly, our methodology assumes individuals are standing on level ground. It is not clear to what extent our calculations would have changed were the ground uneven. Shifting the drone off-center for safety purposes, for example, would increase security but make subsequent imagery harder to inspect visually ("ocular inspection" as some say). Thirdly, we made these images during the day in order to ensure we could capture imagery of discrete individuals. Modifications would be necessary to extend this method to count crowds in low light conditions.[8]

Working in the Global North there were fewer security issues related to theft of the device. Security may present an issue in more densely populated countries where there might not be as many places suitable for the safe launch and landing of the craft. It may also be that crowds are more dense or loose in other parts of the world. A final consideration when working with this method outside the Global North, but present worldwide at the moment: anonymity is hard when the novelty of UAVs attracts the attention of passersby.

Of course, nothing about the technology prohibits a drone operator from securing footage during ascent and descent, or from navigating the drone through a crowd in an effort to, for example, capture footage of police brutality. The framework introduced here only begins to address the ethical considerations related to the use of this setup for citizen journalism.

This method is platform independent, as it can be applied to images made at altitude by an airplane, helicopter, satellite, drone, balloon, or kite. In choosing to test the method with a UAV platform, however, we hope to initiate a broader conversation about the role new technologies play in the protest repertoire. At a time when artificial intelligence and machine learning are being coupled with autonomous devices (especially drones and robots) in order to gather data that is subject to pattern analysis and facial recognition, scholars and advocates have an opportunity to decide whether or not they want to experiment with these technologies, call for their abolition, or ignore them altogether.

We anticipate these preliminary tests can easily be augmented with more sophisticated methods and techniques. For example, from the very beginning the biggest puzzle for us was area measurements. If area measurements are automated or expressed in an algorithm, it would make things easier. We are confident overhead imagery can be combined with current innovation in the field of computer vision to begin automating the estimation of crowd size (Ryan 2013). Ongoing research has also produced more sophisticated methods for estimating density levels. Both issues might be addressed by the development of a mobile application or purpose-built software that could automatize the whole estimation process. Others are also working on the issue of automating the assessment of visual data (e.g., Marana et al 1999; Zhan et al 2008; Ryan et al 2009; Ryan 2013; Kong, Gray and Tao 2005 and 2006), though not from the same platform as ourselves. There is plenty of room for growth in this area.

[8]Presumably, future work could incorporate infrared cameras rather than traditional cameras to capture images that are amenable to the same methodological treatment.

Conclusion

But what does any of this tell us about social movements? We hope our method will prove useful to those with an interest in the actual size of protests, riots, marches and other politicized mass gatherings. In referring broadly to "those with an interest" we mean to describe police, policy-makers and protestors alike. McCarthy, McPhail, Smith (1996) have established the close link between protest size and media coverage. To date the gap between estimated and actual protest size have fluctuated based on the location (it's easier to estimate events in popular locations where prior estimates have been established) and the media's decision to report police or protesters' estimates (the latter almost always being higher than the former).

More accurate estimates are not necessarily good news for social movements, who sometimes take advantage of the perception of large events to advance claims. This issue aside, our method frees movements to make their own estimates independent of the state, which is often more likely to possess the resources necessary to produce credible estimates. Additionally, thanks to social media, this information can be easily and instantly uploaded and disseminated. Social movements have the technology, capability and ethical framework to use UAVs in order to ensure accurate and verifiable crowd estimates. Whether they do so is another matter altogether.

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APPENDIX I: General Details of Flights

	Test 1	Test 2
Date	16th June 2014	23rd October 2014
Time	20:25 (GMT +2)	16:00 (GMT +2)
Weather	+24, clear	+10, rainy
Wind	5 km/h	4 km/h
GPS	9 satellites	10 satellites
Altitude	160 m.	80-90 m.
Take-off	Heroes square, Dozsa Gyorgy Way, south-east side	Blaha Lujza Square, Budapest
Reference (px)	10 m (152 px)	10 m (308 px)
Grid square (px)	100 m^2 (152x152 px)	100 m^2 (308x308 px)
Total number of people (est)	36,000	2,609
Cohen's Alpha Intercoder reliability	.73	.85

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Volume 10 (1-2): 322 - 365 (2018)

Book reviews: *Interface* 10 (1–2)

Review editors: Bjarke Skærlund Risager, Sutapa Chattopadhyay[1], & Dawn Paley

Books reviewed in this issue:

Review essay: Social Activism, Academic Belligerence, and Critical Animal Studies

David Alan Nibert and Sue Coe, 2017, *Animal Oppression and Capitalism*. Santa Barbara, California: Praeger (644 pp; Two Volumes; $164.00); Atsuko Matsuoka and John Sorenson, 2017, *Critical Animal Studies: Towards Trans-Species Social Justice*. London; New York: Rowman and Littlefield International (374 pp; £29.95)

Review essay author: Andrew Kettler

Wolfe, Mikael D. 2017. *Watering the Revolution: An Environmental and Technological History of Agrarian Reform in Mexico.* Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press. (317 pp. Paperback $26.95).

Review author: Dawn Paley

James Kelly, 2017, *Food Rioting in Ireland in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries: The 'Moral Economy' and the Irish Crowd*. Dublin: Four Courts Press (hardback; 272pp.; €45)

Review author: T Mac Sheoin

Pierpaolo Mudu and Sutapa Chattopadhyay, 2017, *Migration, Squatting and Radical Autonomy*. New York: Routledge (294 pp.; €32–114)

Review author: Leslie Gauditz

[1] Sutapa Chattopadhyay has not been involved in editing the review of their own book published in this issue.

Zeynep Tufekçi, 2017, *Twitter and Tear Gas: The Power and Fragility of Networked Protest*. London: Yale University Press (360 pp.; CA$30)

Review author: Pascale Dangoisse

Anna Feigenbaum, 2017, *Tear Gas: From the Battlefield of World War I to the Streets of Today*. New York: Verso (218 pp. + Bibliography and Index; US$ 19.95 paperback)

Review author: Alexander Dunlap

Sabrina Zajak, 2017, *Transnational Activism, Global Labor Governance, and China*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan (xi + 286 pp.; US$129, ebook US$99)

Review author: Melanie Kryst

Gonzalo Villanueva, 2018, *A Transnational History of the Australian Animal Movement, 1970-2015*. Basingstoke: Palgrave macmillan (284pp., hardcover, 84.99€)

Review author: Marie Leth-Espensen

Lee A. Smithey and Lester R. Kurtz, eds., 2018, *Paradox of Repression and Nonviolent Movements*. New York: Syracuse University Press. 368 pp. $65.00 (hardcover), $34.95 (paperback).

Review Author: Ayman Alsadawi

Volume 10 (1-2): 322 - 365 (2018)

Review essay: Social activism, academic belligerence, and critical animal studies

Review author: Andrew Kettler

David Alan Nibert and Sue Coe, 2017, *Animal Oppression and Capitalism*. Santa Barbara, California: Praeger (644 pp; Two Volumes; $164.00).

Atsuko Matsuoka and John Sorenson, 2017, *Critical Animal Studies: Towards Trans-Species Social Justice*. London; New York: Rowman and Littlefield International (374 pp; £29.95)

As part of a recent academic sojourn, I joined a conference on Thinking about Animals at Brock University in Ontario, Canada. The forum offered a delightful representation of the internal workings of a social movement that has the emotionality and aptitude to create considerable change, but still faces both substantial internal discord and aggressive external resistance that prevents serious influence within the public sphere. The Sociology Department at Brock offers some of the leading voices for Animal Studies, and provided their symposium as an activist space for scholars to voice philosophical concerns with the pace of Animal Liberation and as a book launch for two new editions that summarize the field of Critical Animal Studies (CAS). This review essay offers attention to those two editions, a multi-volume activist project from David Nibert and Sue Coe and a single volume academic edition collected by Atsuko Matsuoka and John Sorenson. These publications, and the debates that were offered at Thinking about Animals, suggest that CAS is at an electrifying but troublesome crisis point. Like many social movements that offer activist scholarship for public consumption, CAS must avoid floundering in onanistic tendencies.

Externally, Critical Animal Studies (CAS) faces the intense and multifaceted power of the Animal Industrial Complex (AIC). The AIC, the governmental, media, and corporate links that combine to support various animal product industries, provides the general public a sense of detachment from the horrors of the slaughterhouse through both semiotic manipulations and material controls that conceal the pain animals experience on the disassembly line. The many cultural and physical forms of the AIC work to prevent Animal Liberation, a social state wherein nonhuman animals retain legal protections as individuals and are not used for human consumption, material creations, or medical research. Simply, the AIC works to limit social and nutritional spaces for common persons hoping to avoid using animals in their diets and fetishized lives. Westerners rarely question whether meat is healthful as a central part of the human diet, an example of the hegemonic influence of the AIC to conceal

and shift connotations to create an alimentary culture amenable to corporate gains.

Internally, CAS faces increasing academic discord. For a present field essentially founded on activist projects out of Peter Singer's *Animal Liberation* (1975), CAS has always voiced more public concerns than academic discussions. The central internal threat to Animal Liberation is whether increasingly accumulative academic deliberations will take the movement from the sidewalks before slaughterhouses to new spaces of class privilege only accessible for those versed in the vestiges of critical and environmental theory. The advanced scholarship presented at Thinking about Animals, and within the editions under review, expose that CAS is primed to meet the public through more direct, broad, and emotional forms of advertisement and progressively more widespread modes of political agitation.

Animal Oppression and Capitalism and *Critical Animal Studies* are specifically for those scholars interested in animal rights from a legal, linguistic, and material perspective. The works demonstrate the contours of a field that must make choices on theoretical discussions to quickly establish narratives potent enough to change the minds of those everyday persons who live each day without a single care for the causes of early animal rights activist Jeremy Bentham or radical vegetarian moralist Leo Tolstoy. The debates in these editions portray that CAS must become increasingly introspective on issues of public change and less belligerent on dialectical issues of critical theory. Importantly for these concerns, both of these essential editions relay both academic and activist theses. Sorenson and Matsuoka's collection is decidedly more academic, while Nibert and Coe's volumes are patently more activist, especially due to the violent imagery of the slaughterhouse provided through Coe's images, which separate the sections of the two volume edition.

Critical animal dialogues

Matsuoka and Sorenson lay out the contours of CAS in a summary introduction to their edition. They define speciesism, radical veganism, and eco-feminism to introduce their intersectional assertion of the importance of Trans-Species Social Justice, whereby Animal Liberation will create pathways to greater human liberation. Part one on Activism looks at language, resistance, and escape. Examining her own case studies in the wake of Jason Hribal's *Fear of the Animal Planet* (2011), Sarat Colling's chapter continues work to dispel the myth that domesticated animals are complicit because they contractually exchange their bodies for human protection. She expands a debate regarding how the language of animal resistance is often modified to define animals who escape the horrors of the slaughterhouse as exceptional, thus supporting the idea that the remaining billions of animals who do not escape remain complicit. Ian Purdy and Anita Krajnc follow with a chapter that links the radical veganism of Tolstoy with the idea that modern CAS should *bear witness* to the horrors of the slaughterhouse. The chapter summarizes how Toronto Pig Save creates a

model for introducing the public to the AIC through creating subjects of animals at ceremonial and demonstrative vigils.

Part two on Representing Animals starts with Karen Davis' antagonistic study of the ethical blindness that occurs due to reporter's indifference to animal escapes, childhood tales of animal complicity, and the performative pardoning of turkeys on Thanksgiving. Davis explores how even as animal cruelty becomes more visible, hegemonic structures of language and comedy develop to conceal suffering. Matthew Cole and Kate Stewart follow with a similarly representative analysis of television advertisements for meat in the United Kingdom. Their examination explores commercials for McDonalds, Aldi, and different breakfast cereals to show how childhood education on television primes the English mind for the dissociation necessary for the AIC to persist. Their analysis displays how meat is frequently normalized through imagery of farms that rarely include representations of actual animals.

Part three on New Disciplinary Advances productively looks at academic fields making inroads into CAS. Daniel Sayers and Justin Uehlein submit a chapter on the introduction of historical archaeology through evidence from the Great Dismal Swamp in modern Virginia and North Carolina. Their analysis offers a history of maroons who may have participated in anti-capitalist forms of agriculture that protected animal populations. Despite considerable historical issues related to questions of slave agency, the ideal of introducing digital mapping to questions of Animal Liberation is a noble goal. Paul Hamilton follows with a desire to introduce political science into discussions of Animal Liberation. He offers that many theorists often use animals in their discussions of othering and human politics, but rarely discuss the place of animal rights in modern political worlds. Hamilton astutely submits that in many modern discussions of cultural relativism, Animal Liberation is often sidelined due to respect for different concepts of consumption in diverse global communities. Richard White and Simon Springer continue to discuss the use of geography within CAS as a means to explore the space of the slaughterhouse as lived experience. They advocate for a form of anarchist geography that can apply a praxis of exposure. Gordon Hodson and Kimberley Costello hope to add the field of psychology to CAS. Their chapter focuses on deconstructing interspecies prejudices that link animalization and racialization. The authors explore conceptual links that show how populations who retain racialized belief systems are also often belligerent against animal rights.

Part four focuses on imperative discourses related to Animals and the Law. Maneesha Deckha provides a chapter on the different legal discourses used by CAS. Many legal scholars, following in the tradition of the Nonhuman Rights Project, apply the central idea of *practical autonomy* to achieve rights of personhood for specific species of animals that can be proven rational. However, because a legal concern has arisen amongst scholars in CAS regarding the cyclical assertion of human rationality as a prevailing classification, Deckha looks at new legalisms that do not use the language of rationality, as within *Tilikum v. Sea World* (2012). Krithika Srinavasan continues this discussion of

legality through cases where human reason is not used as a means to create protections. Reading Animal Liberation through Michel Foucault and specific Indian case studies, Srinavasan explores how stray dogs are protected through Animal Birth Control Rules and specific turtle species find protection from zoopolitical legalism based on a broad conception of bio-politics defined within a rubric of both harm and care.

The intellectually commanding fifth section focuses on Philosophical Arguments. Josephine Donovan offers an important chapter on consolidating debates between environmental theorists who support the New Materialism and scholars of CAS who resist equating animals and material objects. Donovan states claims against the scholarship of Jane Bennett, Donna Haraway, and Karen Barad, through asserting that the New Materialists falsely remake the subject within a quantum field of equivalencies that denies animals the subjectivity necessary for liberation. Successively, Elisa Aaltola puts forward another central philosophical debate in the field of CAS, proposing resistance to the idea that empathy is a failed pathway for Animal Liberation. She summarizes the work of T.J. Kasperbauer, who posited that empathy is such a limited emotion, and is so determined by other factors, that it becomes futile as an activist sentiment. Aaltola deconstructs his arguments piecemeal through exploring empathy in linguistic relations and as part of the Animal Liberation dialectic that still emphasizes Singer's pragmatism rather than modern forms of precarious sentimentality. Jason Wyckoff next provides a wonderful chapter that offers different historical understandings of language and power, proposing that CAS should explore diverse theories of mind to understand the meanings of words for both the speaker and within manipulated and relational fields of meaning.

Critical Animal Studies ends with an exploratory section on Indigeneity and Animal Rights. Margaret Robinson, a Mi'kmaw woman from Ontario, offers the penultimate chapter, which explores discord between indigeneity and veganism through providing how Robinson came to understand a new ethics through which to assert vegan ideals as an indigenous woman. Robinson exposes how using oral traditions about respecting animals helped her overcome indigenous critiques that veganism is simply a settler, upper class, and non-traditional manifestation that may further subdue First Nations. A similar analysis is provided in the concluding chapter to the edition, wherein Matsuoka relays the tale of Ruth Koleszar-Green, a Haudenosaunee woman who similarly battled with ideas of tradition and narratives of colonialism in coming to terms with her veganism.

Matsuoka and Sorenson's edition sets a standard that links academic and activist literature for social movements concerned with animal rights. The chapters summarize profound questions related to the proper language to apply to activism in the courtroom, the historical, material, and linguistic influences of speciesism within the AIC, and modern debates for the proper pathways for Animal Liberation concerning indigeneity, subversion, and the material transgression of radical veganism. There is some concern that consistently being

pulled into arguments with New Materialists, journalists, and humane farmers may distract academics from pursuing significant links with activists. However, the edition does offer specific instances of how to pursue legal and social activism, especially in the chapters by Purdy and Krajnc, Davis, and Deckha.

Eating and engineering flesh

Within a binary for this review, *Animal Oppression and Capitalism* is correspondingly more activist than academic, providing narratives of a radical, romantic, and emotional CAS against the oppression of the AIC. Nibert, as part of an introduction that summarizes his formative *Animal Oppression and Human Violence* (2013), asserts the central goal of CAS should be to explore a singular discourse of how neoliberal capitalism continues to accelerate long-term masculine abuses of both subalterns and animals. He outlines an assured type of abusive male desire to control nature, what he calls domesecration, which quickens within late capitalism to increasingly offer cruelty to animal populations who are both part of the working class as agents and victims of continued disassembly.

The initial volume of *Animal Oppression and Capitalism* focuses on eating animal flesh through chapters on hegemonic language and material abuses of the AIC. In the first chapter, Kimberley Ducey analyzes how animals and subalterns are linked in a discourse beneath an essentially elite-white-male-dominance system. This system specifically conceals the violence of the Chicken-Industrial-Complex through increasingly preventing alternative political and legal discourses. In chapter two, Matthew Cole focuses on contemporary masculine definitions for dairy agriculture. He analyzes advertisements that portray milk as necessary for proper male bodies. Within this narrative, cows are considered complicit and passive interspecies mothers. The third chapter, from Jana Canavan, explores the social construction of these happy cows through examining Swedish milk advertisements. Canavan discovers how political narratives of the socialist middle way are partly created through the use of different gendered bovine imagery. Tracey Harris follows with analysis of responses to reports of worker abuse of animals at Maple Leaf Foods hatchery in Ontario. Often, consumers are concealed from the general abuses of capitalism because the mistreatment of animals is associated solely to individual workers, specific anecdotes about misuse, and particular companies.

Animal Oppression and Capitalism continues into debates on sentiency, empathy, and suffering. Akin to Aaltola's chapter in *Critical Animal Studies*, Mary Trachsel continues Nibert's edition with an exploration of Ag-gag laws through focusing on how empathy should be used as a means of critique. Through analyzing pork production in Iowa, she looks at how forms of empathy can be productive for Animal Liberation through a memorable childhood anecdote of her love for a family pig named Wilbur. In the sixth chapter, Taichi Inoue looks at the suffering of tuna caused by long-line commercial fishing in Japan, which shows that animal distress cannot be understood in simply human

terms. In an important chapter for the public sphere, Peter Li follows with a history of the dog meat trade in China. The trade, though it rests on some minor historical precedents, only accelerated into an operative market during the 1980s. This marketplace growth is part of a new rural survival mechanism due to the growing wealth gaps in the urbanizing Chinese economy. The nonagricultural trade exists through kidnappings that employ small crates, trucks that feed specific vendors, larger agronomic concerns that use dog meat as filler, and within the infamous Yulin festival.

The edition returns to discussions of hegemony and power with Kadri Aavik's discourse analysis of the Estonian government's support of the AIC. This chapter offers a more broadly applicable analysis of how dietary guidelines are manipulated to conceal the healthfulness of veganism and promote continued flesh eating as the most healthful of diets. Marcel Sebastian's subsequent chapter offers structural analysis of similar forms of capitalist hegemony. Presenting a comparison between deficient US and German unionization in the AIC, he explores how the historical assembly line was created to deconstruct animal bodies rather than as a means to create new materials for the Western oligopolies of the late nineteenth century. This historical narrative, by offering how the deskilling of workers and a downward pressure on prices was necessitated by the AIC, points to a larger goal of Nibert's edition, which links humans and animals as a common working class in resistance to neoliberal bio-politics, a point explored through multicultural analysis in Corrine Painter's later chapter.

Discussions of hegemony and false consciousness arise again in the next two chapters. Arianna Ferrari continues with complex debates on the use of in-vitro-meat engineering. She submits that CAS may only support in-vitro-meat if the backing is ethically driven, as there are both conceptual and material concerns of speciesism that arise when supporting flesh eating, even if the meat does not come from a living animal. Vasile Stănescu follows with a similar analysis of troublesome developments, through providing how the Humane Farming Movement may blur activist goals through falsely reproducing omnivorous ideas that uphold factory farming. This theoretical reading offers how the AIC is supported through the post-commodity fetish, whereby consumers often buy a performative humane identity rather than become truly compassionate.

Painter's foreshadowed chapter focuses on case studies of the most abominable horrors of factory farming through a narrative of how capitalism justifies the AIC through ideas of human exceptionalism. She argues against the outermost submissions of Nibert's structural determinism, offering how choices still exist for humans in the most destructive of ecological conditions, and activists should be able to blame workers who abuse animals, even with an understanding that the capitalist structure is essentially to blame for the violence of the AIC. Livia Boscardin ends the first volume with similar discussions of false consciousness foregrounded earlier in the edition through offering how the greening of capitalism may be a subterfuge. Akin to the chapter by Stănescu, she describes

how ecological and vegan movements that green capitalism are possibly part of a *mirror move* that reinforces the AIC.

Society of the animal spectacle

The second volume of *Animal Oppression and Capitalism* concentrates on the history of keeping animals for entertainment, beginning with John Sanbonmatsu's clear and concise use of Marxist theory to discuss how capitalism changed human/animal relationships, and the continued acceleration of these processes of reification. The next chapter, from patrice jones, offers how taking an outside view to critique these forms of capitalism is essentially impossible for humans due to the vast linguistic hegemony of the AIC. Consequently, one possible way to find a viewpoint from outside of capitalist structures is through adopting animal perspectives. These new ethics, specifically read through urban pigeons and feminist standpoint theory, show the augmented importance of resisting privatization, as animals consistently invade private property. Núria Almiron follows through applying Edward Herman and Noam Chomsky's *Manufacturing Consent* (1995) to explore how aqua prisons like Sea World articulate a false narrative that orcas consent to their role in zoos due to a history of intra-species violence. With her work, Almiron hopes to institute a change in public sphere consciousness, as with the tumult that came after the release of *Blackfish* (2013).

Rob Laidlaw focuses next on how zoos create such narratives of conservation and complicity to solidify the profit motive, explored here through the use of animal babies, mega exhibits, and roller coasters that frequently increase funding links between governments and private companies. In a similar field of institutional control, Carol Glasser offers how vivisection strengthens ties between research universities and corporations to the detriment of animal welfare. Specifically, vivisection becomes a profit sector that allows universities to sell their research, while colleges also peddle the idea of analysis as a means to obtain higher tuitions.

Nibert's editions shift back to language and hegemony with Michele Pickover's analysis of how shifting meanings of wild and domestic are a way to enter new commodities into neoliberal markets at a faster rate under the guise of conservation. Specifically, the protection of different animals in South Africa often disrupts categories of endangerment through class narratives of development. Lara Drew continues with a chapter on the application of the kangaroo as a symbol of Australian identity. She offers complexity to this masculine chronicle through analyzing how kangaroos are defined as pests, which often leads to a concealment of the violent commodification of the kangaroo as both meat and zoo entertainment.

In the next chapter, Nibert's edition takes a more activist path, as Julie Andrzejewski asserts that the sixth mass extinction is presently occurring. This has transpired through direct means, as with hunting of specific species, and due to structural issues relating to fracking, deforestation, and climate change.

In important activist terms, this chapter outlines fifteen pathways for how to support animals as these mass extinctions continue, including assisting indigenous rights groups, pushing laws for the protection of public lands, and choosing vegan lifestyles. Corey Wrenn looks at similar patterns of praxis through the vegan feminist theory of Carol Adams, as fashioned in her *Pornography of Meat* (2003), to expose historical patterns of feminization within the AIC. Generally, capitalism rests on a logic of male hegemony through the idea of controlling the flesh of women and flesh to eat, exemplified through interspecies controls on reproduction, eggs, and milk. Luis Cordeiro-Rodrigues offers a similarly radical tenor of activism in his succeeding intersectional narrative regarding how nonhuman animal metaphors are used to classify Portuguese homosexuals within fractured and liminal legal spaces.

Activist goals continue in the subsequent chapter, where Lauren Corman questions how CAS should apply empathy to understand animal suffering from the creature's perspective. This process of cognitive ethnology will increasingly turn animals from objects into individual subjects. Richard White's following analysis offers how vegan praxis may not be valuable without a larger anarchist critique of capitalism. He attends that veganism can persist as a revolutionary ideal through linking with everyday aspects of anarchist praxis within the household, but must avoid commodification within narratives of Green Economies. In the final chapter of Nibert's edition, Roger Yates charts possibly troublesome spaces where this commodification of veganism may be occurring. To conclude, John Sorenson provides an afterword that explores patterns of proven resistance, which include grassroots confrontations, radical anarchist struggles, and the everyday application of veganism.

The public is primed

The two editions under review focus CAS to a specific number of significant academic debates that should quickly be settled. Within these works, academics question whether to apply narratives of rationality to assist in the liberation of the most intelligent animals at the expense of possibly liberating all animals. Theoreticians question whether to write about animal agency from case studies of specific exceptional animal subjects who escape their confines, when doing so may support hegemonic narratives of complicity. Practitioners who believe in Animal Liberation debate whether humane farming is a proper pathway to liberation, or simply another hegemonic twist that elongates the duration of the AIC. Moralists continue to question whether to accept the money of religiously and socially misled hunters to fund conservation movements. Critical analysts, especially in Nibert's edition, offer that workers caught in the structures of capitalism may not be liable for their abuse of animals. The questions mount. Is multiculturalism a roadblock to Animal Liberation? Are the goals of environmentalism among the New Materialists anathema to animal rights? Should activists associate the painful human imagery of the Civil Rights Movement to Animal Liberation? Will exposure of the vilest aspects of the AIC turn away needed eyes? Is veganism simply a reified settler performance?

Even as these editions occasionally offer chapters on similar topics through comparable methodology, they are both essential for the field of CAS because they provide romantic and operative remnants of the original links between public influence and activist concerns that must remain central to Animal Liberation. Broadly, the scholars in these two editions present the self-critical nature of CAS. This introspection arises from a deep concern with securing protections for threatened animals. As part of the general activism the editions apply to secure these goals, it may be time for scholars of CAS to quickly come to terms with New Materialist distractions, especially as the public sphere is primed for new eco-critical narratives.

Ongoing resistance to the Animal Enterprise Terrorism Act, Yulin, and Ag-gag legislation show a focused public eager to hear of AIC abuses. The vital emotionality caused by *The Cove* (2009), *Blackfish* (2013), and *Trophy* (2017) show an even broader public ready for an entertaining, strong, and fruitful message. The continued legal and radical pursuits of the Animal Liberation Front, the World Wildlife Fund, and People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals show an already activated NGO infrastructure for public application. Accordingly, what the editions under review contribute is that CAS must arrive quickly to a prefigured chronicle for public instigation. Like many social movements that become burdened with critical theory, CAS must find a pathway to directly engage various publics that are increasingly being destabilized and fetishized through forms of New Media propaganda.

For CAS, a pathway must develop that offers praxis that meets radical organizations on their fundamental terms, while also offering an anticipatory public a more digestible narrative than the inedible forms of debate that often fill the clean, white, and settler spaces of JSTOR and EBSCO. If CAS is able to create broadly significant dietary changes through an activist praxis that meets the public in spaces where the AIC still holds media and material hegemony, the movement can set a potential paradigm for applying direct strategies of exposure and emotionality to create civic change in wider social movements that rise against the most deeply embodied and subconscious forms of bio-political capitalism.

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Book Review: Mikael D. Wolfe. *Watering the Revolution: An Environmental and Technological History of Agrarian Reform in Mexico.*

Review author: Dawn Paley

Wolfe, Mikael D. 2017. *Watering the Revolution: An Environmental and Technological History of Agrarian Reform in Mexico.* Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press. (317 pp. Paperback $26.95).

Not long ago, I toured the municipal archives in the northern Mexican city of Torreón, Coahuila. On a wide wooden table in the middle of a small room filled wall to wall with books and archives sat a pile of folders and volumes. "That," said Carlos Castañón, the head of the archive, as he gestured toward the documents, "is Mikael Wolfe's pile."

The fact that the archives Wolfe consulted sit, seemingly untouched, a year after his book *Watering the Revolution: An Environmental and Technological History of Agrarian Reform in Mexico* has appeared in print, tells us something about the amount of historical research taking place in this part of Mexico. Torreón and the surrounding area, known as La Laguna, was a touchstone of popular resistance during (and after) the Mexican Revolution, but Wolfe's book is one of just a handful of titles published about the region in past years.

Wolfe situates his work at the crossroads of postrevolutionary state formation and environmental history in Mexico, both areas which he notes are "largely overlooked" (p. 2). In 1936, La Laguna was home to the largest and most important process of agrarian reform in Mexico, which was the result of "two decades' worth of mass-mobilization and unionization of *campesinos* and workers," though it is often misattributed to the generosity of President Lázaro Cárdenas. "The *reparto de tierras* (distribution of the land) was fast and relatively easy. The *reparto de aguas* (distribution of the water) for this new land regime proved to be a far greater technical challenge that was never fully overcome," writes Wolfe (p. 4).

So begins *Watering the Revolution*, a meticulous, thorough, and at times dry (no pun intended) examination of decades of conflict over access to water in the region, with a focus on the high dam built on the Nazas River following the 1936 land reform. Article 27 of the Constitution of 1917, written in the wake of the Revolution, designated lands, water, mineral and hydrocarbon resources property of the Mexican people. Article 27 also made "popular access to water into a social right. As a resource scarcer than land, water in Mexico was equally valuable and generated powerful interests invested in it" (p. 17).

Nowhere is the gap between access to water and land clearer than it is in La Laguna, formerly a region of lakes fed by the only two rivers in Mexico that drain into land and not into the sea. Comparisons between the Nazas River at the turn of the 20th Century and the Nile abound: both shifting paths depending on the year, both flooding layers of fertile sediments into valleys that would become extremely rich cotton growing areas, and both recharging underground aquifers. Since the dam building projects of the 1930s and 1940s, which Wolfe carefully documents, what was once a region of lakes in northern Mexico has been transformed into semi-desert.

Flood-farm irrigation (known as *aniego*), in which waters "flow through an elaborate network of small diversion dams, earthen canals, acequias, dikes and levees" was the norm in La Laguna until the 1930s, providing a natural means of flood and pest control (p. 34). "Far from being 'wasted', as nearly all engineers claimed, the unused water from flooding filtered back underground into the subterranean water supply" (p. 35). Wolfe documents tensions between the Tlahualilo Company, a major cotton estate in the upriver area of La Laguna, and the regime of Porfirio Díaz, tensions which would remain until most of Tlahualilo was expropriated by Lázaro Cárdenas in 1936. Wolfe examines Francisco Madero's proposal for a high river dam on the Nazas, which was first made as early as 1906. Madero's plan was essentially about controlling the flow of the river, in order to better organize capitalist production in the area. A powerful local landowner, Madero would go on to become President of Mexico.

Watering the Revolution provides a compelling account of the Mexican Revolution in La Laguna, with the Nazas River and its flux at its narrative center. Though La Laguna was an important node of activity for Francisco Villa's revolutionary armed División del Norte, change was slow to come. "In 1920, as the Revolution's military phase wound down… much as during the Porfiriato, tenants and large sharecroppers cultivated 60 percent of Laguna landholdings" (p. 61).

Industrial and peasant organizing through unions, the Regional Mexican Labour Confederation (CROM) and the Mexican Communist Party intensified for 15 years after the Revolution, reaching "a crescendo during the first two years of the Cárdenas presidency (1934–40)" (p. 63). Demands for agrarian reform, as well as access to water, were central to the movement. Years of great river flow followed by years of drought would result in ebbs and flows in production and labor mobilizing in La Laguna, and Wolfe does a magnificent job of keeping his telling of this period in synch with the bounties of the still free flowing Nazas and Aguanaval Rivers.

By the 1920s, unrest prevailed in the factories and the fields. Madero's proposal for a high river dam was resuscitated as a possible solution to the crisis. Referencing the work of historian Luis Aboites, Wolfe describes this as a period of promoting "revolutionary irrigation," by which "hydraulic technology would bring social liberation to the agrarian masses without the government radically altering existing land-tenure patterns" (p. 72). Meanwhile, the pumping of

groundwater became increasingly commonplace, and was welcomed as a means to reduce dependence on unpredictable river flows.

As appealing as "revolutionary irrigation" was to some, the days were numbered for the old land regime. "The massive Cardenista agrarian reform of the 1930s was one of the most ambitious and far-reaching social experiments of its kind in Latin America, if not the world. Nationwide, it distributed a total of 45 million acres to eleven thousand ejidos populated by nearly a million people" (p. 95). And La Laguna – where over half of irrigable land was distributed to 38,000 families over a six week period in 1936 – was the centerpiece of this reform.

Wolfe focuses on what he calls "the hydraulic complement to agrarian reform," beginning with a political consensus around the high river dam in 1935 and following through, in great detail, to the ribbon cutting on the completed Nazas dam, named "Lázaro Cárdenas," in 1946. Though the dam had been envisioned by Cárdenas and his team as about irrigating *ejido* (collectively owned) lands, by the time the dam began to function, President Miguel Alemán (1946-52) was determined that the dam do the opposite. "Whereas Cárdenas wanted the dam to principally serve ejidos through preferential access to its reservoir water, Alemán wanted it mainly to help private landowners at the expense of ejidos" (p. 222). Flows from the dammed river maligned communal landowners, resulting in a re-concentration of irrigated land in the hands of a small elite.

In *Watering the Revolution*, the flows of the Nazas River guide us through the history of social and popular movements, the Mexican Revolution, intra-elite organizing and rural-urban labor mobilizations, as well as weaving a grounded, complex narrative about the advances of Cardenismo and the near immediate attempts at counter-revolution. We are shown the capitalist face of land reform in La Laguna, as well as corruption on the part of Mexican officials that favored the interests of U.S. groundwater pump manufacturers. Wolfe returns again and again to the power of local knowledge and the potential of local organizing, too often steamrolled by a technocratic state oriented towards centralized control of waterways and the guarantee of regular returns on production.

The historiography of La Laguna is enriched through Wolfe's attention to detail and his focus on the Nazas River as a passage through which to examine regional history. *Watering the Revolution* describes the impacts of neoliberalism stemming from the presidency of Carlos Salinas on water and land management in Mexico and more specifically in La Laguna. Historian Carlos Castañón, who showed me the pile of folders consulted by the author, calls the history of La Laguna the history of "one of the great ecocides of Mexico." It bears mention that the depletion of aquifers because of dams as well as groundwater pumping has led to a crisis of toxicity in the region, primarily in the form of widespread arsenic poisoning. In the words of Wolfe, "The current of undeniable envirotechnical success met a horrific toxic undercurrent" (p. 216). Wolfe ends off in 2007, when two new dams were built on the Aguanaval River, which "control the Aguanaval's torrential flows and, in the process, have largely suppressed the last vestiges of the centuries-long method of more ecologically sustainable aniego irrigation" (p. 228).

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Today, the dried up riverbed of the Nazas River separates the city of Torreón, Coahuila, from that of Gómez Palacio, Durango. There are a handful of bridges crossing where the river once ran, but it's often just as easy to drive across the riverbed to the other side. Surrounding both cities are communal lands, the same ejidos created by Cárdenas, mostly sitting parched and fallow. It is these lands that have been transformed into killing fields over the last 12 years of the War on Drugs in Mexico. Homicides and disappearances in the region began to rise as La Laguna was militarized in 2008, reaching a climax in 2012. Though the violence in La Laguna is a topic understandably not broached by Wolfe, his layered, environmentally focussed reading of regional history adds valuable context to any attempt to understand inequality and conflict in the region today.

About the review author

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Book review: James Kelly, *Food Rioting in Ireland in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries*

Review author: T Mac Sheoin

James Kelly, 2017, *Food Rioting in Ireland in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries: The 'Moral Economy' and the Irish Crowd*. Dublin: Four Courts Press (hardback; 272pp.; €45)

Traditionally Ireland has been seen as a country that did not do food riots, a view summed up by E.P. Thompson (1991: p. 295) when he wrote "it is often stated that there is not a tradition of food rioting in Ireland". However, cautious historian that he was, Thompson followed this statement with references to a small number of food riots and a suggestion that food rioting was under-reported. Related to this was another myth that Ireland was quiet during the Great Famine, a position accepted by historians. However anyone who read the local history literature (of parishes, areas, counties and regions) became aware of examples of food riots and famine protests. Notoriously Irish historiography up to the 1970s showed a strong bias towards high politics as well as an obsession with nationalism. Only from the 1970s and under the strong influence of historians outside Ireland, on one hand Thompson et al. and on the other innovative empirical work by, in particular, James Donnelly, did attention turn towards the activities of the lower orders. Since then work by John Cunningham (2010), Andres Eiríksson (1997), Christine Kinealy (2002) and Moran Gerard (2015) began to document food protest in Ireland. James Kelly's book may be seen as the culmination of this historical revisionism and is a long overdue reconsideration of the history of food protests in Ireland.

The book's first chapter reports Kelly's empirical findings, the second analyses these findings, the third looks at the timing, composition, size, gender aspects and violence of food riots, the fourth at state and elite responses, and the final chapter examines whether Thompson's concept of "moral economy" helps explain Irish food protest. Kelly has found evidence of 286 food riots between 1709 and 1845 and 1945 cases of "plundering provisions" during the period of the Great Famine between 1846 and 1850, over half of which occurred in the year known as "Black '47". Kelly notes the conditions that led to popular action: "the high points of food rioting […] chime with the high prices in staple foodstuffs – oats, wheat, flour, bread and potatoes – that were a feature of famine and subsistence crises" (p. 71). He attributes the late appearance of food rioting in Ireland to Ireland's late urbanization, a result of Anglicization following conquest.

Kelly's first chapter, "The chronology and geography of Irish food protest, c.1700–c.1860", is a tour de force which documents the development and distribution of food protest over a century and a half, making highly effective use of maps to illustrate the spread of food protest and providing many

examples of specific protests. In this and the following analytical chapters Kelly depicts food rioting as going through a number of phases, emerging in 1700 to 1740 in the ports and market towns of Munster and Leinster to lower food prices and prevent export of food, with the highest intensity of rioting during the famine of 1740-1741, during which an estimated thirty percent of the population died. This was followed by a second phase from 1745 to 1785 when the tradition of food riots consolidated, shown in the propensity of urban crowds to take action outside of times of acute distress, and the extension of action to a wider range of food, including cattle exports to England, and the fact that there was "no year in the late 1760s and the early 1770s in which a food riot did not take place in some location or another" (p.41), proving that food rioting had become normalized; the later part of this period saw "the incremental expansion of food rioting from the ports and larger urban centres [...] to smaller towns, and, after a modest fashion, the countryside" (p. 42). Kelly also notes "a shift from a primarily maritime to a primarily inland phenomenon in the early nineteenth century" (p. 111). He characterises the period from 1785 to 1822 as the mature phase of Irish food rioting: in this period "food rioting was spatially concentrated in the counties in the western half of the country with the fastest growing populations, the largest percentage of poor and a strong tradition of agrarian protest" (p. 57), reaching its peak during the 1817 subsistence crisis, with 43 protests during six months with "a near island-wide geographical distribution" (p. 51). From 1822 to 1842 Irish food protest contracted, while its move westward meant it cross-fertilized with agrarian agitation.

This was succeeded by the final phase manifested in the explosion of protest during the first two years of the great famine. Kelly's data on food protests at the beginning of the famine "echo and amplify the case made by Eiríksson, Kinealy and Cunningham that the long held view that the famine years were 'conspicuously (*sic*) for their tranquillity' is not simply misleading: it is wrong" (p. 62). For 1846, only two out of 32 counties were without incidents of "plundering provisions", but 41.9% of the national total occurred in two Munster counties, Cork and Tipperary, counties with long traditions of food protest and arguably the most commercially oriented agriculture in the country. In "Black '47" only one county saw no food protests, with the greatest concentration in the south- and mid-west. These protests "had more in common with agrarian protest than orthodox food protest" (p. 75). As the subsistence crisis intensified the "distinction between food protest and famine-induced crime narrowed" (p. 83), with an increase in robbery, intimidation and the use of weapons. This was accompanied by mass protests demanding relief and public works programmes.

The final phase, from 1848 to 1860, sees the disappearance of food rioting in Ireland, illustrated by an epilogue documenting an absence of food protest during the subsistence crisis of 1860-1861.

Kelly rightly points to the growing interconnections between food and agrarian protests during the nineteenth century. He uses the broader term food protest as well as the term food rioting: this is justified as the action repertoire he

recounts includes petitioning and marching as well as impeding the movement of food by attacking ships and carts and breaching canals and raiding grain stores, shops and warehouses. I would suggest that in his consideration of the connections between agrarian agitation and food rioting, Kelly misses a chance to embrace at least some agrarian agitation within his definition of food protest. At base, food rioting and some agrarian agitation was concerned with defending and obtaining access to food for the lower orders to prevent hunger, starvation and famine. In the case of urban food rioters this involved immediate access to traded food; in the case of, specifically, cottiers, agricultural labourers and some rural town labourers, what was required was access to land on which they could grow potatoes to ensure their own food supply and thus stave off hunger and starvation. This is most obvious in the struggle to obtain conacre land (conacre was a form of land holding taken by landless labourers to grow potatoes for one season only, with either a money or labour rent); but can also be seen in the struggle against rent, tithe and other forms of taxation, which impaired the ability of the rural population to feed themselves and their families adequately.

Kelly differentiates agrarian protest from food protest by describing the former as daytime and the latter as night-time, from which we might extend the comparison to the former being overt and public and the latter covert and private. However, the difference is not as clearcut as this: for example, some agrarian assassinations took place in broad daylight, as did other actions: for example, Flannan Enright (2008: p. 221), the source Kelly uses for the Terry Alts, notes “during 1830 the main emphasis was on controlling the price of potatoes and maintaining a supply for the poorer classes”. Donnelly reported both nocturnal (levelling walls and fences) and daylight (turning up grazing land by crowds) actions, noting that the latter involved 591 such actions between January and May 1831 in Co Clare and finishing with the comment, “This mass popular mobilization, the largest of its kind in the pre-famine period, was a giant food riot Irish-style” (Donnelly, Jr. 1994: p. 34). Ann Coleman (1999) reports similar activity by Molly Maguires in Roscommon in the run up to the Great Famine which took place in broad daylight, including one protest in 1845 where the “leader” proceeded onto the land to be dug up with a loaf attached to the top of a pole, a symbol Kelly shows being used by urban food protesters. While Kelly states the food riot tradition ends in the 1860s it should be noted that popular protest in response to distress (the euphemism in use for hunger and starvation) in 1879 led to the formation of the Land League and the land war and in 1886 to the Plan of Campaign, both rural campaigns.

Irish historians may be described as insular and atheoretical, paying little attention to international comparisons. (This observation is spent on my last two years spent reading little but the work of Irish historians.) Kelly does not suffer from this problem and constantly refers to the experience of contemporaneous food protests elsewhere in Europe throughout the book. Notably these comparisons are not confined to England: the French comparisons are particularly interesting. Nor is Kelly afraid of theoretical concepts: his final chapter is an examination of whether the moral economy concept is applicable to Irish food riots. Here he comes to the sensible position

that both Thompson's moral economy and John Bohstedt's "pragmatic economy" have value as interpretive models, noting food protests can be "conceived of as a changeable and changing tradition that embraces more forms of protest than can be accommodated within the concept of a 'moral economy' as it is commonly understood" (p. 110) before concluding that "In Ireland, food rioting was less about the defence of a traditional paternalist economy than it was about securing access to food" (p. 241). Kelly also correctly challenges the description of food rioting as unpolitical or prepolitical, a position held by analysts on both the left and the right, arguing "it is the definition of politicization that is at issue if food and allied purposive protests continued to be regarded as apolitical" (p. 231).

Kelly is to be commended for recovering and documenting a long tradition of food rioting and protest in Ireland that lasted at least a century and a half. It is essential reading for anyone interested in the history of social movements in Ireland. The book is unfortunately expensive but superbly produced: particularly praiseworthy is the publisher's practice of placing notes on the foot of the page to which they refer rather than placing them at the end of the chapter or, worse, at the end of the book. Hopefully a paperback edition will follow to make this excellent work more widely available.

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Book review: Pierpaolo Mudo and Sutapa Chattopadhyay (Eds.), *Migration, Squatting and Radical Autonomy*

Review author: Leslie Gauditz

Pierpaolo Mudu and Sutapa Chattopadhyay, 2017, *Migration, Squatting and Radical Autonomy*. New York: Routledge (294 pp.; €32–114)

Migration, especially refugee migration, has been a hot topic in past years. *Migration, Squatting and Radical Autonomy* is for everyone who wants to see and understand the multiplicity of emancipatory movements already tackling these issues before 2015 and its so-called long summer of migration. As a movement scholar working on similar issues, I personally loved this book, for its unique and authentic insights into specific struggles and challenges that could or could not be overcome. Also, it is comparably easy to read, so for those who engage in these kind of projects (or at least for those individuals in your collective who do the intellectual-analytical work) and those who want to inform themselves about already existing experiences, it is a rich source.

What's inside?

The book assembles stories and analyses of struggles at the intersection of the titles' topics: migration, squatting and radical autonomy. This focus so far is unique which makes it of practical relevance for people involved in emancipatory and radical movements around housing and migration. It is written and edited by activist-scholars, mostly belonging to a collective called Squatting Europe Kollective (SqEK), and assembles authors from various perspectives with three chapters written by activist collectives. Readers learn how squatting houses is a tactic of survival for migrants and Roma especially in (gentrified) urban areas and about engagement with radical activists of citizenship. Importantly, it then highlights how these categorizations are blurred and unproductive for the analysis of inequality, discrimination and large-scale power dynamics, which manifest locally. The editors claim that all squatting makes visible the seriousness of housing crises which leave the most precarious and poor people without the safety a roof provides. They identify the common thread of people involved in these struggles as "the refusal of the 'status' of migrants and the manifestation of legality and illegality that has surfaced in North America and EU around [them]" (p. 26). Not accepting the inequality of citizenship and other discriminatory classifications arguably goes hand in hand with refusing that houses are empty, when others need them.

The book assembles knowledge about struggles from diverse local settings in eight EU countries and the US. Each chapter is arranged around a local case study or the analysis of a specific policy implementation. The selection of places and stories seems to stem from the composition in the authors' network rather than being representative of an international squatting and migration movement. This would be an impossible task anyways, as the book shows how there is no such coherent movement. Still, more often than not reading the different stories together reveal some repeating patterns across supposedly singular experiences.

The organization of the book focusses on readability. Next to introduction, conclusion and an enthusiastic foreword of top-of-the-field Professor Bridget Anderson, the book has 22 contributions of between 3 and 16 pages. There is no necessary reading order but you can browse through whatever you find most interesting. This makes *Migration, Squatting and Radical Autonomy* comparably accessible to an everyday reader, who might be uninterested in longer academic dialogue but in informing herself about analysis of minority and invisible struggles which usually are not covered by big media broadcasters.

There are also some limitations to the accessibility of the book to politically interested readers. A general challenge, the fact that it's only published in English, is actually mentioned by the authors (p. 1), and seems to have been unavoidable given the resources. It is being published with Routledge, a major academic publishing house. Prices range from around 30 euro (Kindle edition) to 120 euro (hardcover), so the book is not highly affordable for marginalized groups, but it possibly reaches a broader audience than more activist publishing houses.

Facing the variety of contributions, the editors did a fine job in framing the different contributions. Their introduction discusses the challenges and different forms of solidarity presented in the book and classifies the "repertoire of contention" (p. 18-20). Overall, authors and editors make explicit how their analysis is politically informed, while consciously highlighting contradictions in the social movements they are or have been part of. The book is explicitly positioned to be a political intervention and to contribute to self-reflection of movements (p. 249).

Summary of the book

The 22 chapters are organized into five thematic parts. Part one, "Borders and frontiers" focusses on the political global context of bordering. Andrew Burridge writes about the US program "Operation Streamline" at the US-Mexican border, which since 2004 aims at fast-track deportation. Protesters have supported individuals, and made visible racial profiling and criminalization of undocumented migrants, but they have not been able to harm the operation itself. Sara Cosella Colombeau describes the role of the military operation FRONTEX (established in 2004 as well) in preventing people to enter EU territory. Next to blurred legal responsibilities of states and different actors, she

points out how FRONTEX has become a central producer of the narrative on border-crossers strengthening their criminalization, while its own role in human rights violations is mostly swept under the rug. Dutch researchers Henk van Houtum and Kolar Aparna criticize the borders entwined with the nation-state's binary logic of citizen vs. non-citizen. They argue for "the recognition and acceptance of pluralities of human relations" (p. 52) as people with precarious legal create bonds with citizens and people with permanent papers through friendship and love relationships thereby creating a sphere of affective solidarity. The collective Calais Migrant Solidarity describes squatting at the French-British border between 2012 and 2015. In an easy to read narrative, they inform about the legal context and the tactics through which they temporarily came to hold squats legally, against contrary efforts by the municipality.

The second part, "Squatting for housing", zooms in on local experiences in France, Italy and Germany since the 1990s. Three contributions show multiple facets in Italy. Nadia Nur and Alejandro Sethman give an extensive overview about the urban struggles in Rome since the 1990s, Cesare di Feliciantonio writes about students in Rome which often are internal migrants who cannot afford living in the Italian capital without squatting, and Federica Frazzetta sheds light on an occupation in the city of Catania (Southern Italy), where a radical left group in 2012 planned to squat an old palace in which, however, several Roma and Bulgarians already lived. The Italian activists found it almost impossible to form collaborations with or foster solidarity amongst the different inhabitants, but still became their advocates in the face of eviction. In France most squats are occupied by multiply discriminated migrants as Florence Bouillon carves out in an overview about the situation in Paris and Marseille. She challenges common categorization of squats (e.g. political, non-political, artistic), arguing that all squatting is political because they highlight mechanisms around social housing. Azozomox and Duygu Gürsel offer an explanation of the perception of squatting as mostly being a practice of radical activists. They describe squatting experiences in the 1980s and 90s in the Berlin neighborhood Kreuzberg, which migrants and especially migrant women were an essential part of, but whose stories have been marginalized and forgotten by the radical left-wing narrative which is still mainly told by non-migrants.

Part three, "Resistance to exclusion, criminalization and precarity", informs about broader struggles. Stephania Grohman elaborates on the discursive combination of the socially excluded figures of the "migrant" and the "squatter" by British media, pointing out that these can lead to dehumanizing processes of marginalized groups. Thomas Aguilera discusses the stigmatization of Roma as nomads while reporting how Roma settlements in France are regularly evicted. He states that collaboration with activists normally fails and that NGOs are the most important supporting actor, but that they seldom challenge the broader framework of discrimination. This is a bit contrary to Fulvia Antonelli and Mimmo Perrotta's account of activists' engagement with squatting alongside Romanian and Roma migrants to Bologna in 2002-05. The detailed story is enriched by its retrospective perspective and information about people's situation ten years later, showing that Roma migrants' living conditions stay

immensely difficult. Lastly, the contribution of Simone Borgstede talks about broad civic solidarity in the city of Hamburg with the refugee migrant group “Lampedusa in Hamburg”. According to her analysis the emergence of this solidarity was due to the group’s insistence on being political subjects, as well as the existing experience of struggles against inequality around squatting and migration in the neighbourhood of St. Pauli.

While various chapters mention challenges around cooperation and communication between different actor-groups (such as citizen squatters, refugee migrants, Roma) the three chapters in part four zoom in on this topic. Serin Houston points out how only heterosexual individuals without criminal record are able to be supported by the Christian New Sanctuary Movement in the US. The collectives Azozomox and IWS Refugee Women Activists discuss their experiences of sexism and challenges around creating a women’s space inside the self-organized refugee squatting movement in Berlin around 2012 to 2014, as well as difficulties of being properly represented by the press. From his insights on the migrant squatting in Madrid, Miguel Martínez derives a classification of four dynamics of (political) squatting and migration: Autonomy, Solidarity, Engagement and Empowerment. While he states that these forms overlap temporally and in various projects, he diagnoses an increase in empowerment squatting after the 15M uprisings in Spain in 2011.

The fifth part is called “Social centers, radical autonomy and squatting” and regarding country-context it is the most diverse part of the book. The contribution by Tina Steiger on the Trampoline House community center discusses inclusiveness and autonomous action in Copenhagen in a setting where a building is rented but its self-organization is informed by people experienced in squatting. Romain Filhol analyses the long-term struggle of the MMRC (“movement of migrants and refugees in Caserta”). Since 2002, this project has struggled for migrant workers’ rights in Caserta (Southern Italy), where thousands of migrants, mostly from African countries, work precariously in the food production sector, and where the area is largely controlled by the mafia organization Camorra. Most activities are planned by the Italian activists and then the migrants decide how they participate. The migrant interviewees emphasize how joining the MMRC is a sacrifice and a risk, but worthwhile as they feel empowered. The Athens’ squatting scene is illustrated by Vasiliki Makrygianni who states that “migrants’ squats during the last decade redefined the meaning of squatting in Greece” (p. 254) and that migrants’ reappropriation of the city opened spaces for struggles against broader neoliberalism, the impact of which intensified with the economic crisis after 2008. Claudio Cattaneo combines his analysis of squatting waste-pickers’ situation in Barcelona with the discussion about resource scarcity and degrowth. Hans Prujit shortly tells the story of a European artist who founded a squat in New York in the 1980s, which was not welcomed by everyone in the neighborhood. Lastly, Deanna Dadusc reports from the struggle of the “We are here to stay movement” in the Netherlands. Migrants in precarious living situations, together with citizen-activists, squatted various buildings and a church throughout 2012-2014

thereby gaining visibility and a voice until interventions by the municipality destroyed the unity of the group.

Room for improvement

Migration, Squatting and Radical Autonomy could have been improved by better contextualizing and more accurate referencing. These issues seem to stem from trying to find the balance between the two target groups of squatting activists and academics.

The issue of contextualization mostly concerns the target audience of politically interested readers. Most texts are easy to follow, relay rich stories, but too often details of the local context are mentioned without adequately explaining the background (e.g. politicians are named without informing about their political positions). Following local issues becomes additionally complicated with long foreign names of groups and projects, which some authors did not translate. Thus, my degree of confusion varied according to how much the authors helped with footnotes etc.

The issue of referencing concerns the target audience of academics, but also the general question of credibility of the work. With only few exceptions, the contributors' references are rather imprecise, without referencing page numbers. Also, too often the specific names of mentioned laws and policies are not given. While this is perhaps common in more activist texts, it sometimes seems unacademic.

Finally, a comment on the timing of this publication. The empirical focus in this book ends around autumn 2015, which means that the book obviously couldn't deliver anything about the most recent developments. But, especially in Europe, the situation around (refugee) migration has changed drastically after the summer of 2015. At first glance, it came as a disappointment to me, that the book didn't cover this important change. But then I realized that the book offers a must-read account of the state of things exactly before the hype around the "refugee crisis" took off, which analyses of subsequent developments can build on.

To conclude, although showing some weaknesses in style, I highly recommend *Migration, Squatting and Radical Autonomy* to everyone interested in unexpected connections and unknown stories around squatting and migration.

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Book review: Zeynep Tufekçi, *Twitter and Tear Gas*

Review author: Pascale Dangoisse

Zeynep Tufekçi, 2017, *Twitter and Tear Gas: The Power and Fragility of Networked Protest*. London: Yale University Press (360 pp.; CA$30)

Zeynep Tufekçi's *Twitter and Tear Gas* sets out to understand the interrelations of social movements with the networked public sphere's social, cultural, political and economic pressures and allowances. Her book primarily investigates first-hand accounts of the Arab Spring's uprisings and more specifically the uprisings in Egypt, Tunisia and Turkey (her native country). She incorporates examples of social movements she has studied or observed, like the US Civil Rights Movement of the 1950s and 1960s, the Zapatistas, and Occupy to contrast them with recent social movements such as the ones witnessed during the Arab Spring. The latter, she argues, grew rapidly, thanks to digital tools, often at the expense of developing strong internal organizational structures. Tufekçi's main argument is that the current rapid development of media technology ultimately risk hindering a movement's capacity to thrive past demonstrations.

Twitter and Tear Gas contributes to the study of networked public spheres, social movements, social media, and protest movements by introducing readers to some key social movement theories such as communication in a globalized world, network societies, or gatekeeping. As a techno-sociologist Tufekçi has a deep understanding of coding and sociology, and *Twitter and Tear Gas* also brings in perspectives from the fields of psychology, economics, business and communications. To understand why the contemporary social movements she studies fall short of the goals they set up for themselves, she delves into both traditional and more recent theoretical and conceptual frameworks, from Jürgen Habermas's public sphere theory to Evgeny Morozov's "slacktivism" theory. Tufekçi studies social media with the mind-set that is part of the larger media environment, thus following in the footsteps of scholars such as Andrew Chadwick (2013) (hybrid media system theory), Nick Couldry (2014) (media as a practice theory) or Anna Feigenbaum, Fabien Frenzel and Patrick McCurdy's media ecology in *Protest Camps* (2013). To support her inquiry, Tufekçi utilizes ethnographic analysis about her experience of participating in social movements, interviews with main actors in demonstrations, before, during and after the events, first- and second-hand quantitative surveys and an extensive literature review. Furthermore, the author brings a refreshing and welcome approach to the study of social movements by balancing the negative and positive characteristics of social media. She thus brings a cautionary perspective to the perception that a good social media campaign is all that is needed for a social movement to succeed.

Rudderless Ship

The rapid creation of large social movements through social media's unique affordances brings along a sense of vulnerability that Tufekçi calls the "tactical freeze". This notion, discussed in great detail in Chapter 3, stipulates that as movements organize briskly, they are more volatile. Indeed, "network internalities" which usually bring about durability and stability by overcoming challenges through collective action, building trust and other critical internal bonding building characteristic are scarce in such organizations. An organic horizontal division of tasks (or adhocracy) in which each volunteer picks up a task based on need, skills, network, etc., is common practice for modern social movements; it creates leaderless organizational structures that lack, however, the ability "to adjust tactics, negotiate demands, and push for tangible policy changes" (p. xvi). The leaderless horizontal organization may be seen as a strong strategic point as it protects from "decapitation" (p. 71), by which she means killing, co-opting or corrupting the leader(s) of the movement. It is also an important cultural/political standpoint for activists (as described in depth in Chapter 4). On the other hand, it does not allow for a leader to represent collective goals and negotiate with the state authority. Tufekçi recalls that in Gezi Park, "when the Turkish government invited a delegation to negotiate, it was unclear who would attend" this ultimately gave the government the power to choose the collective's representative, dictate its decision and let the movement self-recede.

Social media's gatekeeping

With social media's rise as a communication tool, the notion that the world was finally free of editorial gatekeeping took hold but Tufekçi shows that in effect, social media's many veiled gatekeeping tactics still impact framing, newsworthiness, and dispersing of information. Social media's gatekeeping occurs through the use of algorithms developed by and for private capitalist American companies. Power over what is shared has not simply vanished; it has been transferred to a different power—the power of shareholder and user demand. Social media companies make the rules, they can change them as they please and what is shared has a potential to impact political outcomes (cf. e.g. the current investigation of the influence of Russian "fake news" on the outcome of the 2016 US election). Within a matter of hours, Facebook (or Twitter) can remove content which they deem harmful for business or contrary to its business culture and policies. Facebook does not hire a team of socio-political experts to remove content but rather relies on a community policing method. A model of "report-and-takedown" where anyone who files a report to Facebook can see their enemy's content taken down, with little to no recourse for the "offender" may make sense for a business, but it certainly does not support free speech and unbiased information flows. This creates a paradox for social activists who want to increase visibility by sharing their views outside their own network, but who may also inadvertently share content with individuals who would want to see the site taken down. How do activist then find a balance

between sharing content extensively with the risk of losing all their networking capabilities?

Further, content is shared through network algorithms that promote ‘positive’ and ‘uplifting’ stories that we can then ‘like’. This has a significant impact on which stories are shared more and ultimately get the most attention; the author masterfully demonstrated this with the Ice Bucket Challenge which was “competing” for attention as the Ferguson events were unravelling. Would more individuals be prone to ‘like’ a fun, light video, tagged with friends or “like” a story of a teenager’s death? Obviously, the latter garnered much more attention initially and was rapidly shared compared to the time-sensitive Ferguson event. This is challenging for activists as they try to cater their message to the medium’s algorithm. It will be interesting to see how Facebook’s new emotion buttons will impact social movement’s proliferation in the future. Another form of pressure comes along with easily sharing information via the networked public sphere: the drowning of voices and creating of confusion through *misinformation* and information overload. Whom should users trust? What should they share? It is becoming increasingly difficult for the public to differentiate fact from fiction and this keeps individuals from engaging in political debates. In other words, social media does not only enable activists to form and grow powerful counter-publics, but it also enables the very same organization they are targeting to do just the same, furthering an already very polarized media environment. The adage “to divide and conquer” still holds true in today’s media environment.

Ingenious framework

In *Twitter and Tear Gas*, Tufekçi brings an original framework to the study of a protest’s success by focusing on internal power capacities of the movement’s organization rather than on the output of the protest. Conceptualizing protests this way may be useful to better grasps where weakness or strengths lie with the internal structure of movements and how this may impact outcome or longevity. Narrative capacity, disruptive capacity, and electoral and/or institutional capacity are essential “powers” of social movements that need to be signalled to achieve success (p. 192, and covered mainly in Chapter 8). The narrative capacity is the movement’s capacity to get its worldview out into the larger public by using its own voice; the social movement’s ability to “interrupt business as usual” (p. 197) signals its disruptive capacity. “Electoral or institutional capacity refers to a movement’s ability to keep politicians from being elected, re-elected or nominated [...] or the ability to force changes in institutions” (p. 192). Unfortunately, as activists are becoming savvier in organizing and protesting through the use of social media, the target governments are also learning to read the different “signals” of social movements and are thus arming themselves with strategies and tools to counter demonstrations, from “watch at a distance” tactics of the Chinese government during the Umbrella Movement to Russia’s effective “army of trolls”.

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Conclusion

Twitter and Tear Gas brings a number of contributions to the study of social media and protests, most notably by offering a comprehensive review of social media's algorithmic gatekeeping and by shifting the focus of analytical frames based on protest output to a more systemic and broad analysis based in a movement's signals and capacities.

Unfortunately, the author has a tendency for survivorship bias: Tufekçi only compares today's rapidly growing movements to ones that were successful in the past such as the Civil Rights Movement. This limits the author's argument; including past unsuccessful event would have been interesting or successful social media-based protests in the analysis could have contributed to a better understanding of today's network society based social movements and protests' strengths and weaknesses. I also wish the author would have provided us with some either political or academic approaches to work with modern digital gatekeeping or horizontal leadership structures.

Everything considered, however, *Twitter and Tear Gas* is well-crafted. The quality and accessibility of Tufekçi's writing style along with the use of insightful examples, metaphors and analogies make for a compelling and accessible read for professors, activists, and government officials alike. Her particular insights and analysis as well as fresh outlook should incite anyone interested in the topic of social media and protest to read the book. It may still be too early to know if today's protest organizers, such as the ones who led Arab Spring protest, will develop new social media or traditional tools and tactics to survive beyond the initial protest phase. We will thus have to continue walking and asking questions at the same time to better understand and prepare for tomorrow's social movement.

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Book review: Anna Feigenbaum, *Tear Gas: From the Battlefield of World War I to the Streets of Today*

Review author: Alexander Dunlap

***Tear Gas: From the Battlefield of World War I to the Streets of Today* by Anna Feigenbaum, New York, Verso, 2017, 218 pp. + Bibiliography and Index. US$ 19.95 (Paper Back), ISBN 978-1-78478-026-5**

Tears erupt, lungs struggle for air and panic takes hold. While vision is clouded, tear gas induced suffering offers political clarity. The atmospheric wet blanket used to suffocate free expression, association and acts of vandalism, tear gas reigns as the preeminent weapon for enforcing riot control across the globe. There is, however, little known about this weapon, its manufactures and its long-term health effects, which are brought to the fore by Anna Feigenbaum new book: *Tear Gas: From the Battlefield of World War I*.

A senior lecturer at Bournemouth University, *Tear Gas* is the second book by Feigenbaum after her edited volume, *Protest Camps* (2013). Containing nine chapters, the book begins by narrating the widespread and indiscriminate use of teargas across the world to subdue protesters.

Chapter 1 offers an early history of tear gas. Locating the French as the inventers of tear gas, WWI era trench warfare becomes the site for chemical and gas weaponry development. This spawns a new weapons industry geared toward "peace times uses of wartime technologies" (p. 22), which becomes the central focus of Chapter 2. Feigenbaum delves into the political struggle to engineer tear gas as a politically acceptable weapon to quell widespread civil unrest of the 1920s and 30s. This includes discussing public relations strategies, the manipulation of scientific research and legal battles to create a new weapons industry spearhead by a card carrying member of the Ku Klux Klan in the United States.

Turning to the Global South, Chapter 3 narrates the deployment and development of tear gas in the colonies. Privileging the British experience, Feigenbaum examines how colonial countries navigated international law to justify deploying a wartime technology on colonial populations. Colonial coercion, pPublic relations, legal and popular justifications were failing to maintain colonial legitimacy, surfacing as a tactical response to non-violent protest tear gas sought to economize—politically and economically—colonial control over subject populations. In December 1933, Palestine became the first British colony saturated with tear gas. Then by the 1950s the global acceptance of deploying wartime "gas in times of peace for civil purposes" was established (p. 49). Examining the rise of "modern riot control,", Chapter 4 turns to the civil rights and anti-war movement in the US. Describing historical tear gassing

event employed against the civil rights, anti-war and free speech movements in the US, Feigenbaum then analyzes the legal dilemmas and tactical developments of tear gas geared towards protest control.

Heading to Northern Ireland, Chapter 5 tells the violent tale of tear gas deployment to terrorize an Irish settlement in Derry. This event initiated medical investigation into 2-chlorobenzalmalononitrile (shortened as CS) tear gas, generating the "Himsworth Report" that "freed Britain to further develop more deadly riot-control agents, counterterrorism technologies, and counterinsurgency tactics" (120). Feigenbaum reveals chemical testing on veterans and how science was manipulated to justify repression against domestic populations in the service of new weapon markets. The Himsworth Report resurfaces again in Chapter 6 to support the use of (CS) tear gas in Liverpool in the 1980s and elsewhere before discussing the controversial integration of pepper spray into the arsenal of Canadian and US police forces in the 1980s and 1990s.

Coming into the present, Chapter 7 tours Milipol, Europe's largest internal security exposition, to glimpse into "today's riot-control industrial complex" (p. 146). Feigenbaum offers a profile of four leading riot-control weapons manufactures, followed by a brief expose of Safariland Group (USA). Exploring the political economy of profit in arms diversification with "non-lethal munitions," *Tear Gas* reveals the questionable private-public partnerships and non-profits responsible for accumulating record profits and proliferating chemical weapons to the armed force across the world. Chapter 8 shifts the discussion towards how people confront and resist tear gas. Noting the various transnational techniques used and shared to resist the effects of tear gas, a project carried forward by the RiotID (riotid.com), Feigenbaum acknowledges street medics as instrumental sources of tear gas medical knowledge, before reviewing the legal, collective and institutional pathways to change and circumscribe the use of chemical weapons against populations.

Tear Gas is an entertaining and insightful read. Offering a history of tear gas, documenting the political strategies and scientific manipulation used to deploy wartime technologies against domestic populations, Feigenbaum offers a marvelous historical exploration while simultaneously raising tear gas an intentionally neglected public health issue. An issue that appears to be worsening as police departments continues to hospitalize, disfigure and kill with their arsenal of "non-lethal munitions."

Tear gas is a political technology of control. As the political feasibility of shooting and massacring labor unrest and non-violent protesters in the colonies declined, tear gas emerged as a "mixture of humanitarian gesture and cost effective planning" for population management and maintaining political legitimacy (p. 59). Representing a "third way," tear gas maintains statist/colonial oppression and exploitation in the face of generalized insurrection and upheaval. This logic and political calculus not only continues within tear gas development, but exemplifies a general strategy of political control.

Talking with an Israeli weapons developer at Milipol, Feigenbaum learns about a "biodegradable line of tear gas canisters" (p.150). Disappearing after it explodes, it represents efforts to create "environmentally friendly" tear gas that also "provides a smart and sophisticated answer" to the so-called "throwback phenomenon"—when people pick-up and "throw back" tear gas canisters at authorities (p. 150). Doubling-down on the principles "humanitarian gesture and cost effective planning," the green economic logic attempts to add another layer of legitimacy by deploying an environmental ethic that works towards perfecting public relations efforts and operational effectiveness against protesters. Tear gas is now marketed as "green," appeasing the environmental consciences of onlookers as the atmosphere is polluted and lungs are damaged. While simultaneously, there is no canister to throw back at police and attempts are made to stifle efforts of groups like RiotID to document and catalogue chemical weapon use against populations.

Tear gas is a social technology for repression, and between the lines of the book the reader can see that it designed to enforce the present trajectory of social control, but also ecological destruction. In 'greening' tear gas we see how the interpenetrating logics of warfare and the green economy intertwine. Ideas of "sustainable development" and "environmentally friendly" technologies dangerously mask and facilitate a continuing trajectory of ecological destruction based, fundamentally, on the domination of people and nature (see Dunlap and Fairhead, 2014).

The use of tear gas and other "non-lethal munitions" for social control emerge and function similarly to achieve the same ends. While violent suppression of protest in the name of colonial and state control become politically untenable, authorities adapt with new "humanitarian" narratives and "green" technologies, yet both support prevailing regimes of coercion and ecological degradation. In practice, green economic logics are used to legitimize tear gas as environmentally sustainable, while tear gas is used to legitimize violent enforcement around conventional and ostensibly sustainable resource extraction projects as humane. The two are different political technologies, yet both work synergistically to rebrand, 'renew' and to defend a floundering political-economic order from those who would resist forms of socio-ecological destruction.

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About the review author

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Book Review: Sabrina Zajak, *Transnational Activism, Global Labor Governance, and China*

Review author: Melanie Kryst

Sabrina Zajak, 2017, *Transnational Activism, Global Labor Governance, and China*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan (xi + 286 pp.; US$129, ebook US$99)

Labor rights in China have been raising public awareness since the integration of the People's Republic into the global political economy. In her book, *Transnational Activism, Global Labor Governance, and China,* Sabrina Zajak tracks the interwoven ways of transnational mobilization of trade unions and social movement organizations across China since 1989. Zajak explores multi-level strategies of labor activists and observes how old and new institutions of labor regulation are interacting. The analytical strength of the book lies in her integration of current approaches of labor transnationalism and transnational institution building.

In her book Zajak explores multiple pathways of labor mobilization. The concept of paths directs the reader’s focus from opportunity structures to dynamic interactions of the activists within their context: activists “travel a certain path” (p. 9) and along the way they could change paths. With this assumption in mind, the author guides the readers through four paths of transnational labor activism in China within which labor activists can put their strategies to use, she outlines interactions within and across pathways and shows both the intended and unplanned effects of labor activism at the global and local level.

The *international-organizational pathway* is determined by channels of the International Labor Organization such as appeals against China and on-site projects at the local level. The *bilateral pathway* is described through activists’ still limited participation in EU-China relations via EU-institutions, institutionalized channels of trade policy, and specific EU-China forums. The *market pathway* focuses on attempts to influence private governance forms by targeting transnational and local companies, for example through campaigning or the participation in private multi-stakeholder initiatives, however, effective implementation was hindered by the ongoing weakness of workers. Within a *civil society pathway*, transnational networks support organizations at the local level, where labor activists operated under the restrictions and control of the state, the state’s union and national employers – which favor non-political CSR service providers – while free trade unions fell behind.

The book benefits from a broad interview base in China, Europe and the United States (USA). By means of process tracing, it gives the reader a very good overview of individual channels, labor organizations, campaigns and private

governance initiatives in detail, although selected cases remain illustrative. Inevitably, the book does not provide an all-encompassing perspective on outcomes of labor activist strategies, but by drawing conclusions from qualitative studies of sub-cases it traces back effects in the different pathways. A kind of patchwork carpet of informal and minimalist governance approaches in the field of labor governance unavoidably makes a complete assessment of the results difficult.

Zajak takes a worthwhile look at non-state actors and their efforts in the transnational governance architecture of work. According to her, "transnational labor-rights activism" (p. 2) encompasses interactions between trade unions, social movement organizations and NGOs, which address multiple targets with insider and outsider strategies. With this broad understanding of labor activism, the analysis suggests a bridge between industrial relations and social movement research, which up to now has largely developed independently from each other. Especially within revitalization research, coalitions of trade unions and NGOs or community organizations are identified as a new power resource, but so far there are few cases of empirically based research. With an analytical framework of transnational pathways, Zajak describes a range of possibilities and identifies specific features of the distinctive actors such as trade unions or NGOs. However, the respective strategic choices of the actors and their causes in ideologies, skills, routines or experiences are only mentioned and they could be determined theoretically more precisely and empirically founded.

Zajak connects these pathways with an investigation into China's power basis. China is a very interesting example because through economic reforms in the 1980s it has been integrated into world trade, while still maintaining its political system. China's counteracting to labor activism, the "boomerang defense mechanisms" (p. 257), is differentiated by Zajak into the internal and external strength of the state, to which the pathways respond with different degrees of sensitivity. Results at the national level remain limited, but organizations have shown efforts in "boundary stretching work" (p. 261). Zajak recognizes how industrial relations in China tend to favor employers, but at the same time changes in labor legislation through selective responsiveness of the regime and incremental reforms have expanded the scope for local labor support organizations. However, not all opportunities are taken advantage of due to the lack of independent trade unions. Transnational activism has been difficult to achieve in presence of the dubious autonomy of Chinese organizations.

Zajak's book can guide researchers to systematically explore these old and new strategies of developing labor standards. *Transnational Activism, Global Labor Governance, and China* is no doubt an enriching study that does not only cater to researchers concerned with China but contributes to the interplay of research on globalization, labor governance and social movement studies.

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Book review: Gonzalo Villanueva, *A Transnational History of the Australian Animal Movement*

Review author: Marie Leth-Espensen

Gonzalo Villanueva, 2018, *A Transnational History of the Australian Animal Movement, 1970-2015*. Basingstoke: Palgrave macmillan (284pp., hardcover, 84.99€)

In *A Transnational History of the Australian Animal Movement*, Gonzalo Villanueva covers the important events that led to the addition of an entirely new issue to the political agenda, transforming the conditions of nonhuman animals into a matter of public concern. Grounded in transnational history, social movement studies, and the emerging field of critical animal studies, *A Transnational History of the Australian Animal Movement* is an exceptionally well-researched book that offers a detailed account of the innovative methods and protest techniques put into work by Australian activists.

Given the 45 year timespan the research seeks to cover, the first chapters on the formative years of the movement might initially seem to spend a disproportionate amount of time dwelling on single individuals and episodes. This is explained by the fact that for the people who became engaged with the subject in the 1970s, there were no established groups or institutions to guide them nor any existing environment to become encouraged by.

Villanueva argues that in a climate of widespread negligence regarding the suffering caused by the intensification of the agricultural industry in the post war decades, the formation of the animal movement stands out as a remarkable event in the history of social movements. With surprising speed, the issue of animal rights spread around the globe, groups and networks were established, and innovative methods were employed to target the animal industry.

A Transnational History of the Australian Animal Movement is structured into nine chapters, beginning with a brief chapter situating this research in relation to previous studies as well as introducing the key analytical concepts in social movements studies, which the author seeks to, in his word, forge (p. 12).

In the second chapter of the book, Villanueava describes the background for the influential book titled *Animal Liberation*, authored by Australian moral philosopher Peter Singer in 1975. After visiting Oxford University in 1970 Singer was introduced to the issues concerning the conditions of animals in modern factory farming, which he made a lifelong commitment to studying.

Villanueva deals with how intellectuals came to play a central role in the animal rights movement, with Singer being the most renowned among a group of prominent intellectuals named the Oxford Group.

In Chapter Three the focus is on a group of dedicated individuals who, after familiarizing themselves with the work of Singer, starts to take action and form networks and alliances between new and old animal rights groups. For the Australian animal movement[2], the existing environmental and conservational groups played a significant role by sharing their experience and knowledge. Also, local and interpersonal relations play an important part in the formation of the new groups.

Interestingly for today's debate, in which animal rights activists explicitly distance themselves from animal welfarist ideologies that normalize nonhuman animal exploitation, Villanueva notes how in the early days of the new animal movement, the Australian activists made no division between animal welfare and animal rights. This stands in contrast to a much more polarized climate among British animal rights organizers (p. 61).

A Transnational History of the Australian Animal Movement goes on to document the dedication of activists and their efforts to influence the political system so as to reform animal agriculture. In spite of the movement's achievements, which include the establishment of two advisory bodies (the AWAC and AEEC), a Senate Committee, codes of practices and the development of free-range eggs, Australian activists soon realized that these promising results meant little actual improvement for the animals. The failure of attempts at political reform continue to be a cause of apathy among supporters of animal rights. Reform remains a point of debate over which are the optimal methods by which the movement can to achieve its goals.

The fifth chapter concerns the uses of disruptive and innovative forms of direct action inspired by the Animal Liberation Front in Great Britain and the United States, which in the Australian case was directed towards stopping the widespread practice of duck shooting in the wetlands. Alongside the disruptive strategies of property damage and animal rescues, activists sought to involve the political system and launched legal confrontations, and were quite successful in capturing public attention.

Another type of disruptive activism was introduced by Pam Clarke. By means of civil disobedience, Clarke performed powerful, symbolic actions to free battery hens, becoming a source of inspiration for later activist groups in the use of undercover investigation to seek legal prosecution (p. 132).

Chapter Six covers the influential Australian-invented protest technique of trespassing in spaces of animal exploitation, and documenting the action while providing the animals with aid. This is known as open rescue. These actions rest on the philosophy of animal rescue, non-violence, publicity, and civil disobedience. Between 1993 and 2000, open rescue led to the rescue of 561 nonhuman animals in Australia, and led to a New South Wales ban on chaining pigs by the neck by tethers (p. 158-59).

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[2] In the book Villanueva uses the term "animal movement."

The amateur video of the spectacle of open rescues became a powerful way of revealing animal cruelty, reaching the television news. Villanueva claims this represents the importance of the *politics of sight* for the animal movement. Alongside the description of how this new strategy was adopted, Chapter Six also tells the story of increasing state repression through the use of fines, conviction and jail.

The following section of the book looks at how Australian animal activists formed transnational networks in order to target rapidly growing livestock export that led Australia to gain a dominant world position in the industry by 1986-87 (p. 187). An example of what Villanueva characterizes as "international sites of contention" (p. 196), livestock export both touches upon domestic and international politics.

Initially, the animal movement in Australia joined forces with workers' unions to protest the growing export trade around the late 1970s. A later cycle of protest against livestock exports appeared in 2003, when Animals Australia, with Lynn White at the forefront, initiated the use of transnational investigative campaigns by forming partnerships with animal groups located abroad. Documenting the horrific conditions of animals during transport and slaughter shifted public opinion in the direction of banning the trade. This leads Villanueva to reflect on the role of new and old media and the innovations and future potentials of transnational investigative campaigning.

A Transnational History of the Australian Animal Movement concludes with a discussion on the role of lifestyle politics, which continues to dominate the animal movement of today. In the early years of the movement, adopting a vegetarian or vegan diet was an implicit message, even if prominent figures had always considered ethical vegetarianism or veganism integral to the cause of animal rights (p. 228). In the 1990s and the 2000s, lifestyle activism became central to the global animal rights movement as a way to seek change by making the personal political. Villanueva remarks that this change has led individual moral integrity to become central to the cause. However, this influence can also be traced back to a central source of inspiration from the very beginning of the movement's history, namely Peter Singer's practical ethics.

Finally, Villanueva addresses the question of how to interpret the legacy of the animal movement, avoiding both minimalist and maximalist approaches that bear the risk of either overemphasizing or undermining the movement's results (p. 246). Rather than attempting an evaluation of the movement's success or failure, Villanueva pursues an analysis of "the intended or unintended consequences of activism" that have influenced, changed and pluralized Australian politics (p. 246).

In *A Transnational History of the Australian Animal Movement,* Villanueva takes the reader through manifold methods and protest techniques that have been applied to advocate for social change for nonhuman animals on the Australian continent. The book adds important empirical knowledge to concepts

such as contentious politics, the politics of sight and transnational investigative campaigning - all worthy candidates for future enquiry.

Given the ambitious objectives of the book, it comes as no surprise that some aspects of the movement are left unexamined. More specifically, in light of its commitment to social movement studies, *A Transnational History of the Australian Animal Movement* would have benefitted from further attention to the communicative and symbolic features of the campaigns as well as the activist groups' specific mobilization strategies.

The strength of this book is Villanueva's ability to select and highlight significant episodes and lay them out for others to interpret and explore further. For the animal movement itself and scholars with interest in social change, this book provides useful background knowledge for in depth discussions of the animal rights movement's unique ability to inspire social change.

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Book Review: Lee A. Smithey and Lester R. Kurtz, *Paradox of Repression and Nonviolent Movements*.

Review Author: Ayman Alsadawi

Lee A. Smithey and Lester R. Kurtz, eds. *Paradox of Repression and Nonviolent Movements*. New York: Syracuse University Press. 2018. 368 pp. $65.00 (hardcover), $34.95 (paperback).

Paradox of Repression and Nonviolent Movements is composed of empirical research based on the dynamics of repressive actions by authorities and the effect of these tactics on the mobilizations of insurgents, including the potential to delegitimize regimes. The "paradox of repression" is when repressive measures create "unanticipated" consequences that authorities do not desire. Smithey and Kurtz note: "Repressive coercion can weaken a regime's authority, turning public opinion against it. Paradoxically, the more a power elite applies force, the more citizens and third parties are likely to become disaffected, sometimes inducing the regime to disintegrate from internal dissent" (1).

Of the twelve chapters in *Paradox of Repression*, eight were written by other researchers in the field of peace and conflict studies. Each explore an aspect of the paradox of repression, from how repressive measures may backfire to the measurements taken by both the elite and the civilians to strategically overcome their opponent. The editors raise questions such as "how does the use of violence (regardless of by whom) actually undermine the legitimacy of the perpetrator among insider elites and within the broader population? Do non-state terror organizations suffer a loss of legitimacy when they use violent methods? If so, are they as great as those incurred by states and other authority structures?" (314). The book's objective is to conceptualize repressive actions and their potential to backfire, and to build research around the paradox of repression to better implement stratagem for a desired outcome from the perspective of the civil resistance.

Chapter Three by Doron Shultziner analyzes how transformative events are powerful in provoking sudden unexpected pressures on the elite, such as killing or humiliating a citizen. "Dramatic events that involve moral shock, widespread public outrage, and emotions that are conducive for collective action raise the chances of repression backfiring against a regime," writes Shultziner (68). Similarly, in Chapter Four, Rachel MacNair explains: "If people perceive leaders as illegitimate but nevertheless cooperate for reasons such as fear or apathy, then the rulers still have power, but it will be unstable and weak—vulnerable to resistance whenever that fear or apathy is overcome" (74). These theories elicit further inquiries. How can regimes utilize transformative events to their benefit? How can civil resistance overcome fear?

The scholars brought together by a *Paradox of Repression and Nonviolent Movements* attempt to clarify these questions throughout the publication,

including Chapters Six and Ten on overcoming fear; and Smithey and Kurtz's chapters on "Culture and Repression Management" and "'Smart' Repression." In Chapter Six, Jennie Williams gives perspective on how a civil campaign may prevail through a regime's repressive measures. "We looked upon time spent in police custody as a trip to our fields to plant seeds for a good harvest. So, we turned arrests into a celebration of successful resistance" (144). "If you do not recognize that you are afraid, you will not take the next step to overcome fear," writes Williams (156).

The elite perspective of the paradox of repression leads to the implementation of measures to prevent mass mobilization, including "smart" or technological security measurements. "Smart" repression refers to tactics used by authorities that are deliberately crafted to demobilize movements while alleviating or preventing a backfire effect (185). Smithey and Kurtz explain as follows: "'smart' repression includes tactical responses by authorities to maximize their ability to demobilize social movements while avoiding the public dissent that comes with the use of violence. Such elite strategies increasingly involve intelligence gathering, that resembles Foucault's concept of 'disciplinary techniques'…" (187). "Careful nonviolent strategy can influence the course of a conflict by raising the costs of repression, although nonviolent activists and elites both think about and prepare for repression, choreographing their actions in relation to their opponents' actions" (316).

How can activists and elites "choreograph" each other's actions in relation to their opponents, while at the same time the elite are continuously implementing security mechanisms to maintain their power? One must always be ahead of the other if one side is going to produce the outcome they aim for. Considering that the state sets the norms for the public, then the authority or regime must also be leading the steps. "We conceptualize nonviolent struggle as a dance between an establishment and its dissidents, a regime and its insurgents, as they contest the frames used to make meaning of repressive events," as Smithey and Kurtz note (18).

The paradox proposes that both repressive regimes and activists can benefit from understanding and anticipating the outcome of repressive tactics. It also indicates that a regime can implement tactics to mitigate backfire, preventing dissidents from uprising. Again, we come back to the question of how elites can utilize "transformative events". Can these events be used as a method of reverse psychology against the public? Essentially, mobilizing a targeted group of people against the regime through a "dramatic" event, would in turn make it easier for the regime to weed out the activists and dissidents and have an excuse to invoke an "appropriate" strategy to maintain their power and control over the people.

Overall, the paradox of repression is a complex concept, which may raise a variety of research questions regarding the capacities of social movements and the regimes ability to manipulate mass mobilization. The authors provide a comprehensive analysis of how activists and a repressive regime may respond to certain actions and offers examples from social movements that occurred in

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various regions including Brazil, Egypt, and Zimbabwe. The book clearly presents the methods that may be employed by a repressive regime and the anticipated and perhaps unanticipated result of those mechanisms. However, if repressive tactics have potential to "backfire" in a predictable manner, then the "backfire" could not be truly "unanticipated". How does a repressive regime exploit what is referred to as "unanticipated" outcomes if they are predictable? Overall, *Paradox of Repression and Nonviolent Movements* distinguishes tactics and their potential in a relatively straightforward and coherent manner yet may leave activists and scholars with thoughtful inquiries.

The *Paradox of Repression and Nonviolent Movements* covers a range of tactics that repressive regimes may use to demobilize the public, such as fear, culture, transformative events, and the use of "'smart' repression." It also elicits further questions for students, activists, scholars, and researchers, such as: does comprehension of repressive action and "unanticipated" consequences tend to benefit regimes or grassroots struggles? And how can civil resistance mobilize strategically ahead of the authority's preparations and preventative security measures? The ensemble of contributing authors establishes a foundation on several aspects of repressive actions on civil resistance, elites, and social movements. *Paradox of Repression and Nonviolent Movements* analyzes various methods of repression in a comprehensive manner, it is understandable and provides a relatively extensive foundation for interpreting repressive mechanisms and their impacts on social movements.

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