

Protest Camps

(Working Title)

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Synopsis

What will the book be about and how is it original?

Protest camps are global phenomena, occurring across a wide range of social movements and encompassing a diversity of demands for social change. They are spaces where people come together to imagine alternative worlds and articulate contentious politics, often in confrontation with the state. By taking a closer look at protest camps this book contributes two original insights. Firstly it provides a detailed investigation into the empirical history of protest camps from a global perspective, a story that has never been told before. *Protest Camps* will discuss a variety of examples of camps, taking the reader across different cultural, political and geographical landscapes of protest. Secondly the book will contribute to the understanding of the role of protest camps in contentious politics. This book argues that protest camps are unique spaces in which activists form collective political identities and enact experimental and experiential forms of democratic politics.

Why is this book necessary?

Despite protest camps increasing role as an organisational form of protest, there has thus far been only sporadic research on camps found dotted across a range of disciplines including social movement studies, media and communication studies, sociology and political science. The limited research that does exist often views camps as either merely functional to the specific movements in which they were created, or sees them as ephemeral spaces that leave little legacy. In either case, the protest camp is regarded as just one site amongst many in the context of studying a specific social movement. They are often grouped together with other strategies such as street parties, demonstrations, assemblies and direct actions. As such, scholars have failed to consider the structural similarities and differences between protest camps *across* movements and locations. Consequently, there is lack of comparative research that links historic and contemporary camps together, while conceptually developing the importance of the protest camp as a distinct entity. *Protest Camps* responds to these shortcomings, providing an original and timely look at protest camps as a unique organisational form that transcends the boundaries of any individual movement, country or historical period. By reading the protest camp in this way, we are able to capture and share stories of how movements and protesters learn from each other, of how failures are felt across the globe, and small triumphs can build alternative worlds. By drawing on and connecting existing interdisciplinary insights, as well as presenting original case studies, this book will provide a set of conceptual tools to assist scholars in the future study of protest camps, as well as contribute significant insights to existing research on social movements, radical democracy and contentious politics more broadly.

What will its main argument be?

Our monograph understands protest camps as a unique organisational form that transcends particular social movements' contexts. By looking at the organisational form of the protest camp, we investigate the historical learning processes and (dis-)continuities between social and cultural movements across the world that use protest camping as part of their political mobilisations. We have identified four key areas that we will argue can be generalised to all protest camps. Treating these areas as threads, we use them to tie together diverse sets of protest camps. This allows us to tell stories (across time and space) about how protest camps are created and set up, how they converge and diverge, and how they share similarities and differences. These four identified areas are: (1) domestic infrastructures (food supply, shelter, sanitation, maintenance of communal and

'private' space); (2) action infrastructures (direct action tactics, police negotiations, legal aid, medical support, transportation networks); (3) communication infrastructures (media strategies, distribution networks, production techniques); and (4) governance infrastructures (formal and informal decision-making processes). As these organisational dimensions dynamically interact, they enable and hinder each other, creating specifically configured protest camps.

This approach allows us to compare and contrast divergent camps and to argue for a new reading of protest camps as emergent, often radically democratic political spaces. Because of their specific character, we argue that protest camps have the potential to enable an experience of new and alternative forms of democracy for participants, although not all camps aim to produce this effect or necessarily have it. Showing how protest camps configure their infrastructures to enable the experiences of participation, collaboration, collectivity and mutuality, this book will contribute to the understanding of alternative forms of governance and political participation.

Three unique selling points (USP) for the book

1. First International Analysis of Protest Camps

As no other monograph exists that addresses protest camps as a global social movement phenomenon, we offer the first analysis of protest camps as an internationally relevant political practice. Our text focuses on contemporary as well as past protest camps from all areas of the world, including both those that received a great deal of international media attention, as well as smaller camps that captured activists' imaginations, becoming part of a broader legacy of social movement cultures. Below is a list of some of protest camps across the world that will be addressed in the book. This listing shows the broad, international scope and diversity of social movements' utilising camps as a form--and forum for--social change:

US & Canada: Occupation of Alcatraz (California 1969-1971), Seabrook Occupation (New Hampshire 1977), Conception Picciotto (1981 - present), Puget Sound Women's Peace Camp (Washington 1983-1984), The Seneca Women's Encampment for a Future of Peace and Justice (New York 1982-1992), 'Oka Crisis' (Quebec 1990), Clayoquot Protest Camp (British Columbia 1993), Cascadia Free State (Oregon 1996), Camp Casey (2005), Us-Mexico No Border Camp (Mexicali-Calexi 2007), Camp Resistance (Washington 2007), Wisconsin Capital (Wisconsin 2011).

UK & Ireland: Greenham Common Women's Peace Camp (England 1981-2001), Molesworth People's Peace Camp (England 1981-1990s), Faslane (Scotland 1982-present, Faslane 365 2007), Twyford Down (England 1992), Newbury Bypass (1994-1996), Claremont Road (1993-1994), Brian Haw (England 2001-present), Rosspport Solidarity Camp (2005-2010), Horizone Ecovillage (Scotland G8 2005), Climate Camps (UK 2006-2010).

Europe & Russia: Wyhl occupation (Germany 1975), Free Republic of Wendland (1980), La Ragnatela Women's Peace Camp (Italy 1983), Ravnstrup Peace Camp (The Netherlands 1984-1986), Camp of Resistance against Nuclear Waste Sites in Ahaus and Gorleben (Germany 1996, 2010), Orange Revolution (Ukraine 2004), Otradniy ecological protest camp (Russia 2005), NoTav (Italy 2005-present), Saving Iceland Camps (Iceland 2005-2006), Sans Domicile Fixe (2006) Angarsk nuclear power plant protest camp (Russia 2007), No Borders Camps (Strassburg 2002, Lesvos 2009, Calais 2009, Brussels 2010, Bulgaria 2011), Hasankeyf protest camp (Turkey 2010), Reclaim the Fields (2010 Hungary, 2011 Romania), Puerta del Sol Square (Madrid, Spain 2011).

Middle East & Africa: Mas'ha camp (Palestine 2003), Youth Camp Worldsocialforum (Bamako 2006), Migrants/NoBorder Camp (Dakar 2011) Summer Against Apartheid protest camp (Palestine 2008), Um Kamel (Palestine 2008), Schalits protest camp (Israel 2009-present), Camp Ashraf, Iraq/Iran border (2011), Democracy protest camp, Tunis, Tunisia (2010/2011), Refugee protest camp (Western Sahara/Morocco 2010), Tahrir Square, Cairo, Egypt (2011), al-Hudaydah, Yemen (2011), Aman, Jordan (2011), Benghazi, Libya (2011).

Mexico & South America: Palmerola Women's Peace Camp (Honduras 1980s), Campensinos (Mexico 1993), Encuentro Camps (Mexico 1996-1999), UNAM (Mexico 2000), People's camp (Cancun WTO 2003), Oaxaca (Mexico 2006), Free Land Encampment (Brazil 2007), Villa Soldati (Argentina 2010).

Asia & Australia: Tent Embassy Canberra, Australia (1970s), Tiananmen Square (China 1989), Earthdream Caravan, Australia (2000) Woomera No Borders Camp (Australia 2003), Daechuri Autonomous Peace Village (South Korea 2005-2006), People's Camp vs. demolition, dislocation and poverty (Philippines 2008), Red Shirts protest camps in Thailand (2010), climate camps (Australia 2009-2010).

2. Advance Social Movement Theory

Academic research has acknowledged the role of protest camps as important sites and catalysts for identity creation, expression, political contention and incubators for social change. However, while these issues are punctually addressed or examined in the context of an individual camp, there is lack of comparative and comprehensive research that links historic and contemporary protest camps as a unique area for interdisciplinary study. By bringing together what until now has been a disconnected body of research, our book develops a interdisciplinary conceptual framework bridging a variety of disciplines (political science, environmental studies, gender studies, sociology, cultural studies, urban studies, media studies, history, geography) to offer a multi-perspective account of protest camps that goes beyond narrow disciplinary focus. This certainly does not mean losing or ignoring the context of which protest camps take place, but rather, in the spirit of George Marcus' (1995) ethnography, following the protest camp as a distinct organisational form.

In addition to this interdisciplinary approach, *Protest Camps* takes a multi-method research approach based on empirical data gathered across a range of protest camps, through a combination of documentary analysis, visual analysis and interviews. First, we look extensively at documentary materials on the range of protest camps covered, including: media articles, camp newsletters, press releases, camp codes of conduct, publicity pamphlets, blogs, videos, photos and reflective texts written by protest campers. Second, we draw from numerous interviews we have conducted with protest camp participants and organisers. These interviews offer extensive insight into the organisational dynamics, political environments and everyday life of protest camps.

In summary, we aim for the theoretical and methodological approach towards the protest camp developed in our book to legitimise the study of the protest camp as an organisation form. Moreover, it will provide readers with a set of conceptual tools for further work on protest camps, social movement strategies, radical democracy and contentious politics.

3. Activist-Academic Perspective

As active academic researchers and social movement participants, our analyses are shaped by our diverse experiences. Throughout our research we engage in a 'reflexive methodology' that draws on our first hand experience participating in and organising a range of protest camps spanning the past decade to examine theoretical and empirical materials. Likewise, we approach movement participants (whether authors of movement texts or interviewees) as knowledge producers that have much to contribute to both our practical and theoretical understandings of protest camps. This "insiders' perspective" enables us to locate details often left unspoken or unrecorded by researchers without significant movement experience. It also allows us to privilege those voices commonly left out of mainstream reportage and to dig up ephemeral texts through our connections to individual activists' archives. In co-operating closely with protest camps participants and networks, this book is also meant to become part of the learning processes we see happen between protest camps. It aims to influence future protest camp architecture to help maximise both their specific policy impacts and their more general function of aggregating radically democratic politics.

Which Zed categories would you suggest it falls within (maximum three)

- Politics
- Environment
- Global Issues

Outline

Summary

From Tahrir Square to Trafalgar Square, from the Red Shirts in Thailand to the Teachers in Oaxaca, protest camps are a highly visible feature of social movements' activism across the world. Protest camps are spaces where people come together to imagine alternative worlds and articulate contentious politics, often in confrontation with the state. Drawing on over 50 different protest camps from around the world over the past 50 years, this book offers a detailed investigation into the empirical history of protest camps from a global perspective, a story that, until now has remained untold. *Protest Camps* discusses a variety of examples of camps, taking the reader across different cultural, political and geographical landscapes to argue for a new reading of protest camps as emergent, often radically democratic political spaces. Through the use of past and contemporary empirical cases *Protest Camps* makes a theoretical contribution to the studies of social movements, radical democracy and contentious politics, drawing on and connecting existing interdisciplinary insights, as well as presenting original case studies.

Table of Contents

Each of the book's chapters will examine a key aspect of protest camps as an organisational form. The first chapter will be dedicated to presenting the conceptual approach taken to studying protest camps as well as providing an overview of the book's structure. The core of the book consists of 6 chapters, each of which explore a specific aspect of the protest camp. The book's final chapter brings together the arguments made across the book to argue for the importance of studying protest camps and outlines key insights and avenues for future research.

Introduction: Protest Camps as an Organisational Form (5,000-7,000 words)

The introductory chapter serves to familiarise readers to the topic of protest camps both as a form of protest and as a topic of scholarly relevance. To this end, the chapter provides a brief overview of prominent protest camps in order to better understand the history of this form of protest. This will be done in parallel with an interdisciplinary review of how fields such as social movement studies, media and communications, political science and sociology have studied protest camps. This review argues that while research has covered protest camps to some extent, they are often treated only as individual sites or as one feature among many in analyses of broader social movements. Having reviewed the relevant literature, and thus established the importance of our study of protest camps, the chapter goes on to develop a 'road map' for the book, presenting our alternative approach which examines protest camps as a distinct organisational form. We discuss the rationale for this approach, introduce our key concepts, and briefly outline the arguments to be made in each of the subsequent chapters.

1. Media frames: The representation of the Protest Camp (8,000-10,000 words)

Media representation plays an important role in how the public encounters and learns about protest movements. The representation of social movements in the media is a topic which has received much academic attention. Here, scholars have mostly focused on individual movements or protest events to explore the 'framing' of a protest movement. The aim of this chapter is to build on the established scholarship of media framing research to explore how a selection of protest camps have been covered in the media. Given that some members of the public may only encounter protest camps through their representation in the media, it is important to understand the attributes assigned to such camps. To this end, the chapter presents a frame analysis of how the label of 'protest camp' has been applied to different protest events across selected international news media. The analysis will highlight the attributes, along with similarities and differences in the media's representation, of protest camps. Having considered how protest camps are represented in the media, the remaining chapters will then go inside the protest camps themselves to consider their infrastructures, communication strategies and politics.

2. Domestic infrastructures (8,000-10,000 words)

Something which differentiates the protest camp from other place-based or space-based social movement gatherings and actions is activists' willingness to forgo the comforts of a 'normal home'; to brave the elements, living in muddy fields, up trees or on cemented city streets. From this perspective, the protest camp disrupts the very notion of what constitutes a home, and with it, our understanding of public and private, of domestic and undomestic space, as well as our attachments to property and permanence.

This chapter explores how protesters engage in acts of home-building by examining the emotional, affective and interpersonal communicative dynamics that exist between people and objects in the everyday material-symbolic lives of protest. From cooking to cleaning, and shelter to sanitation, protesters and supporters work together to build temporary homes at these sites of protest. The scale of this domestic infrastructures ranges from semi-permanent wooden dwellings and cultural centres to the minimal necessities needed to sustain direct actions. Here we examine how activist generate--

and fail to generate--domestic infrastructures for and through their everyday operations in relation to their differing objectives. We argue that people's perspectives toward each other, as well as towards objects and ideas, are largely shaped through collective acts of home-building that demand a great deal of both physical and emotional labour. Some of the protest camps analysed in this section will include: The Greenham Common Women's Peace Camp, environmental movements tree encampments, The encampment in Oaxaca, camps along the wall in Israel, as well as global NoBorder camps and Climate Camps.

3. Action infrastructures (8,000-10,000 words)

Protest Camps are often made to enable political action, and in particular direct action. To target political institutions, power plants or roads, camps form bases for attacks, enabling training and collective strategic planning of direct action. This chapter discusses how camps function as sites of preparation for action, both in a theoretical and in a more practical sense. Many protest camps are developed to enable action in remote locations, for example rural sites of road construction, mining or international summit meetings, where housing and feeding of non local activists needs to be provided to enable large protest mobilisations. This instrumental origin of some camps as enablers of protest continues in the set up of training sessions inside the camp. Here activists learn from each other how to do direct action, whether facing police lines or blocking access to contested sites. The logistics of actions are also prepared at camp, for example by distributing maps of key targets, or enabling the formation and co-ordination of affinity groups. Furthermore, the collective housing set up at camp also provides spaces for action debriefs, informally and formally, in which activists reflect on their experiences. As actions can be very intense both emotionally and physically--and often carry legal consequences--medical, psychological and legal support is sometimes provided within action infrastructures, taking on forms such as 'well-being spaces' and medical caravans. Beyond these forms of preparation, training and debrief, action infrastructures of protest camps often include a number of formalised and informal discursive spaces, whether planned workshops or everyday conversations around a camp fire. Here camp participants develop and exchange arguments that reflect on and justify their actions, sustaining the energy and focus needed for future confrontations with political adversaries.

4. Camp Communications Infrastructures (8,000-10,000 words)

Much has been written about alternative media and the role it plays in relation to social movements. However, little of this writing discusses how activists' engage communication technologies and produce media at the physical sites of protest. In this chapter we discuss protest camp-based communication practices and media, including media stations and the making of promotional materials, press releases, newsletters and documentary video. We view each camps' media as part of a broader historical trajectory of activists' new media practices, expanding our focus to pre-internet and pre-digital cultures to argue that today's communication practices and infrastructures are heavily shaped by past movement cultures as they came into contact with new devices and platforms.

While thirty years ago peace camp newsletters were often hand-written, mimeographed and distributed by post, today mobile phones come pocket-size with cameras and short-run video capabilities. Laptop computers and wireless internet access has enabled

temporary autonomous media stations to be set up at protest sites, such as those run by Indymedia at Noborders camps, Climate Camps, and Global Summits. These offer live updates of text, photo and video, keeping both protest campers and the broader public informed. Likewise, some protesters seize and appropriate corporate and state-run media tools, such as Oaxaca women's take-over of channel 9 during the teacher's rebellion. At their best, these media stations create spaces for democratic, participatory news-making and skill-sharing, from which people offer a diversity of perspectives and outlooks.

5. Governance Infrastructures (8,000-10,000 words)

This chapter looks at the ways decisions are made in protest camps. Often protest camps act politically as democratically run spaces. At times camps create clear infrastructures in the form of neighborhoods and spokes councils based on principals of horizontal decision making, while others are run less formally or spontaneously. Some of the larger camps develop further differentiation, creating roles in specific specialists groups like media teams, conflict resolutions committees and mediators. Generally, there is a wide variety of governance infrastructures observable in a variety of camps. These infrastructures are developed according to needs, largely based on national, geographic, economic and cultural contexts. They are frequently based on participants prior experiences with self governance, and indeed camping.

At the same time that there are many differences, it is possible to observe learning processes trans-nationally and over time as they occur both between camps and across different social movements. This makes it possible to locate best practices on how to run a successful camp. In this chapter, we argue that the formalisation of internal governance infrastructures is a key signifier of the 'maturing' of the organisational form of protest camps. Likewise, the importance of internal governance and its related infrastructures seems to increase when protest camps act less instrumentally as a tool to support action, and more towards larger goals of alternative world-building. In these latter camps, internal governance is explicitly organised as a form of radical democratic action, becoming a distinctly advertised quality and justification of the protest camp.

6. Alternative world building / Emergent political spaces (8,000-10,000)

Drawing from the evidence collected for this book, we argue that protest camps are political spaces of high intensity, where democracy can be experienced and experimented in a live form. Often camps are only set up instrumentally to support action in remote locations, sometimes they occur spontaneously without a plan. But even in such cases, we can identify the emergence of four infrastructures, domestic, action, communications and governance. Highlighting these, we show the development of material cultures of protest, combined with new ways of living as they are formed in and by the camps experience. Concurrently we often found evidence of the development of strong collective identities within the camp, which triggered the creation of internal democratic processes. These processes are challenging and surely not always pleasant. They tend to create insider and outsider dichotomies between different camp participants, depending on their level of involvement. Indeed, internal divisions and conflicts are the key to understanding protest camps as alternative worlds and places of radical democratic experiences.

These experiences of alternative cultures and governance can not be made in the regular political process. In the regular democratic process the pains and potentials of participation are limited by institutions that formalise the decision making process. Moreover politics is institutionally separated from life. Protest camps enable the development of alternative ways of housing, feeding, entertaining and living together, alongside innovations in political actions and democratic processes. This is why protest camps are more than just ephemeral places or instrumental strategies of particular social movements. They are laboratories of radical, tangible democracy that more often than not help to imagine and build blueprints for alternative worlds.

Conclusion: Protest Camps (5,000 words)

Our final chapter will offer a summary of the central arguments made in *Protest Camps*. We reassert the importance of examining protest camps as distinct organisational forms that share key infrastructures. Drawing out these site's relevance for theories and strategies of social change and radical democracy, we argue that the study of politics has too long overlooked the microcosm of protest camps as spaces where democratic action is experienced and experimented with. Protest camps are places of learning, where participants work to increase human autonomy and freedom. Camps are rich with creativity and innovation, of attempts at cooperation and solidarity. Highlighting key strategies of success (and remedies for failure) in the history of protest camping, we aim to leave readers with insights to reflect on, stories to share and future camps to imagine.

References/Works Cited (8,000 words)

Provisional Word Length

Total Length of 70,000-80,000 words including bibliography and footnotes.

Figures, Tables and Illustrations

Two to three black and white illustrations or photographs will be incorporated into each chapter. Most of these images are the authors', or are copyleft or creative commons. Permissions, where necessary, will be obtained by the authors.

Provisional Submission Date

December 2012

Readers and Marketing

For whom is the book intended and what level is it aimed at?

We anticipate that the book will be of interest to students, researchers, academics and activists who take an interest in contentious politics across a range of disciplinary fields. The book will also appeal to activists seeking an academically informed exploration of the protest camp grounded in the empirical analysis of historically significant camps. Beyond being a useful library book for scholars interested in contentious politics, the book would also be relevant for upper-division and postgraduate courses.

Students

'*Protest Camps*' will be an excellent text for advanced (2nd and 3rd year) undergraduate and postgraduate teaching in degree programmes and modules such as:

Media and Communication Studies

- Political Communication, Alternative Media, Media and Technology, New Media, Network Societies

Gender Studies

- Gender and Communication, Gender and Culture, Gender and War,

Cultural Studies

- Material Culture, Subcultural Studies, Culture & Identity

Sociology

- Understanding Social Change, Gender and Society, Culture and Society

Globalisation Studies

- Media and Globalisation, Gender and Globalisation

Organisational Studies

- Managing Change, Leadership and Governance, Organisation Analysis

Political Sciences

- Political Theory, Social Movements, Institutions and Processes

New postgraduate degree programmes mark an increasing interest in intersections of media, art, culture and social change, for example, the MA in Activism and Social Change (Leeds), MA Art & Politics (Goldsmiths), MA Queer Studies in Art and Culture (Birmingham). *Protest Camps* would make an excellent reading for courses on these programmes.

Colleagues

- Social movement participants
- Community organisers
- Media practitioners
- NGOs
- General public

The material in this book directly engages in current debates around issues of symbolic action, environmentalism, queer, anti-racist practices and non-violence. Organisations and groups concerned with these issues include: CND, Stop the War Coalition, SWP, Greenpeace, Climate Camp, Friends of the Earth and NoBorders. Discussions in this book also provide an excellent resource for journalists and media practitioners that cover social movements, protest, environmentalism and issues around alternative governance.

Why will they buy this book?

As protest camps have never been a primary focus of study before, this book is the first of its kind. It serves as a helpful resource which both pulls together a disparate literature

and puts forward a conceptual framework to better understand and engage in future research around protest camps, radical democracy and social movement strategies.

Will the book be a main text, supplementary reading, or a research monograph (please choose one)?

Research Monograph

What existing books compete with this one and how will this book differ from the competition?

Books Addressing Protest Camps

Chris Hailey's book *Camps A Guide to 21st-Century Space* (MIT Press) offers a broad insight into the architectural phenomenon of the camp. Hailey defines three categories of camps, namely camps of necessity, camps of control and camps of autonomy. Protest camps, from Greenham Common to Camp Casey, feature in his wide ranging taxonomy under the section of autonomy. The book provides a wealth of material on individual camps. It conceptually dares to ask for overlaps between the different categories of camps, with a focus on their architecture. While this overall approach is highly useful, it does not focus on protest camps as a particular category of camps and there is no analysis of the role of protests camps in democratic processes. *Protest Camps* draws from Hailey's focus on architecture and material culture in the analysis of infrastructures, but moves on to argue specifically and conceptually for an understanding of protest camps as sites of creative, cultural production and laboratories of radical democracy.

Derek Wall's *Earth first! and the anti-roads movement: radical environmentalism* (Routledge, 1999), offers a detailed and well research exploration of the rise of the activist organisation Earth First and of the anti-roads movement. As the protest camp was a major tactic used by anti-roads movements, selected protest camps feature in the book. To this end, Wall draws on first hand accounts, interviews and archival research to piece fragments of some significant camps in the movement such as Twyford Down and the Newbury Bypass. As a review of the anti-roads movement, Wall's text is unquestionably valuable however it largely fails to explore the dynamics of anti-roads camps in detail. This gap is understandable given that Wall's focus is not just on protest camps but multiple dynamics of the social movement. Moreover, whereas Wall's manuscript is limited to the anti-roads movement in the United Kingdom, our manuscript will focus on an international selection of protest camps.

Jeff Juris' *Networking Futures: The movements against corporate globalization* (Duke, 2008) is a persuasive ethnographic account of the global justice movement. While the protest camp was a favoured tactic of global justice mobilizations, Juris' tome only references protest camps tangentially or in passing. Part of the reason for this gap is that Juris' main focus was the 2001 G8 in Genoa, Italy which took place in an urban centre compared to subsequent mobilisations (2002-2007) all of which had protest camps. This gap in Juris' study provides an opportunity for our manuscript to offer insight into the protest camps of the global justice movement via the careful selection of compelling case studies.

George McKay's edited collection *DiY Culture: Party & Protest in Nineties Britain* (Verso, 1998) offers an excellent selection of texts on the anti-roads movement and 1990s autonomous politics in the UK. Likewise, his monograph, *Senseless Acts of Beauty*

(Verso, 1996), traces the influence that festival culture had on the formation of early 1980s peace camps and how these peace camps informed the anti-roads movement to follow. While McKay's text have much to offer in terms of understanding camp-based cultural production and collective learning processes, protest camps are not the main focus of his work and his scope is limited to campaigns in the UK between the mid 1980s and the 1990s.

Likewise, Sasha Roseneil's two monographs on Greenham Common *Disarming Patriarchy* (Open University Press, 1995) and *Common Women, Uncommon Practices* (Cassell/Continuum, 2000) are excellent resources for developing both a conceptual and methodologically framework for the study of protest camps. Roseneil combines extensive interviews with participant-observation research, offering detailed accounts of camp life and interpersonal interactions. Our monograph *Protest Camps* draws from these texts as we create a project that is larger in international and historical scope.

A number of non-academic books have been published that look at individual camps. These are largely written by movement participants as memoirs or edited collections of participants' reflections on life in the protest camp. Our work treats these titles as movement literature and incorporates them into our documentary analysis of protest camp life. A small selection of these texts published in English include: *We are Ordinary Women* (Seal Press, nd); *Battle for the Trees* (The Book Factory, 1996); *Shut Them Down* (Autonomedia 2005), *Teaching Rebellion* (PM Press, 2008); *Faslane 365* (Luath Press).

Books on Creative Resistance, New Media Developments & Protest

A number of books have been published over the past decade looking at social movements and the roles that the internet and new media technologies play in protest networks (Atton, *An Alternative Internet*, Edinburgh University Press, 2004; de Jong, Wilma et al. *Global Activism, Global Media*, Pluto Press, 2005; Downing, et al. *Radical Media*, Sage, 2001; Langlois, Andrea and Frédéric Dubois, eds. *Autonomous Media*, Cumulus Press, 2005; McCaughey and M. D. Ayers, *Cyberactivism*, Routledge, 2003; van de Donk et al., eds. *Cyberprotest*, Routledge, 2004; Waltz, *Alternative and Activist Media*, Edinburgh University Press, 2005; Chesters and Welsh *Complexity and Social Movements*, Routledge, 2006). T. V. Reed's excellent recent monograph *The Art of Protest* (University of Minnesota, 2005) is perhaps the best examination to date of the roles culture and art plays in social movements today. It is focused on movements in the US from the Black Panthers to the 1999 'Battle for Seattle.'

Drawing from these texts for their explorations of new and alternative media, yet offering a different perspective, *Protest Camps* focuses on the overt aestheticisation of protests in which participants develop and use media technologies and performance as a means of communication. This has recently come to be classified under the heading of 'cultural resistance' (Duncombe *Cultural Resistance*, Routledge 2002, Verson in *Do It Yourself*, Pluto 2006). Additionally, we re-conceptualise communication technologies to include discussions of the relationships between the people and everyday objects that makeup the organisational infrastructure of protest camps and their broader networks.

How you can help promote and market the book?

We have existing contacts and connections internationally with a number of academic institutions, research centres, NGOs, independent booksellers and activist organisations. Promotion for our monograph in the form of seminars, launches and workshops can be coordinated with a number of these groups. In addition, as contributors to university life and active community organisers, together we have ample experience coordinating and

promoting dynamic workshops and events. Below is an overview of our existing contacts suited to the promotion of our monograph:

Academic -UK

- Birkbeck Centre for Media, Culture and Creative Practice, London
- Visual & Material Culture Research Centre, Kingston University, London
- Centre for Philosophy and Political Economy, University of Leicester, Leicester
- Centre for Conservation Ecology and Environmental Change, Bournemouth University, Bournemouth
- Disarmament Research Centre, University of Bradford
- Institute for Social Research, Birkbeck, London
- Institute for Historical Research, UCL, London
- Gender Institute, LSE, London
- Centre for Civil Society, LSE
- Goldsmiths Leverhulme Media Research Centre, London

NGO & Activist Community - UK

- Freedom Bookshop, London
- Housemans Bookshop, London
- Cowley Club, Brighton
- Anarchist Bookfair, London
- Platform, London
- Greenpeace, UK-wide
- Laboratory for Insurrectionary Imagination, UK-wide
- Climate Camp, UK-wide
- RisingTide, UK-wide
- NoBorders Network, UK-wide

Academic - International

- Media@McGill Beaverbrook Canadian Federation, Montreal, Canada
- Research Institute for History and Culture, Utrecht University, The Netherlands
- The Centre for Place, Culture and Politics, CUNY Grad Center, US

NGO & Activist Community – International

- Bluestockings, New York, US
- Anarchist Bookfair, New York, US
- Anarchist Bookfair, Montreal, Canada
- Toronto Women's Bookstore, Toronto, Canada

In addition to these promotional opportunities, we will also use our contacts at academic and movement journals to secure book reviews. Journals where we have published in or have collaborating colleagues at include:

- *New Left Review*
- *Ephemera*
- *Turbulence*
- *Upping the Anti*
- *Fuse magazine*
- *Red Pepper*
- *Interface: A Journal for and About Social Movements*

Additional Information

Has any or all of the work been published before, such as in a journal, report, conference proceedings or online? If so, please give details.

No chapters of this monograph have been previously published. Nor will any part of the monograph require reproduction permissions. However, authors' previous work that informs parts of our monograph have appeared in peer-reviewed journals, edited collections and movement publications. This shows the wide interest in these topics and familiarity of diverse audiences with the authors:

Feigenbaum, A. (2013, forthcoming). "Written in the Mud: Autonomous Media at the Greenham Common Women's Peace Camp," *Feminist Media Studies*, forthcoming March 2013.

Feigenbaum, A. (2010). "Concrete Needs No Metaphor: Globalised Fences as Sites of Political Struggle," *ephmera*, 10(2), available at <http://www.ephemeraweb.org/journal/10-2/10-2feigenbaum.pdf>

Feigenbaum, A. (2010). "Now I'm a Happy Dyke!': Creating Collective Identity and Queer Community in Greenham Women's Songs," *Journal of Popular Music*, 22(4), pp. 367-388.

Frenzel, F. et al. (2011 forthcoming). "Alternative Media in North and South", *Environment and Planning A*.

Frenzel, F. (2011). "Entlegene Orte in der Mitte der Gesellschaft - Zur Geschichte der britischen Klimacamps" (The development of the British Climate Camp Movement) in Brunnengraeber, A. (ed.) "Zivilisierung des Klimaregimes" Berlin: VS Verlag.

Frenzel F. (2010). "Researching Political Tourists: A Case Study Approach", *Methodology: Innovative approaches to research*, pp. 24-27.

McCurdy, P. (2011 *in press*) "The Fragility of Dissent!: Mediated Resistance at the Gleneagles G8 Summit and the Impact of the 7/7 London Bombings", *Journal of Culture, Language and Representation*.

McCurdy, P. (2011) "Theorizing Activists' 'Lay theories of media': A case study of the Dissent! Network at the 2005 G8 Summit", *International Journal of Communication*. 5, pp. 619-638.

McCurdy, P. (2010). "Breaking the spiral of silence - Unpacking the 'media debate' within Global Justice Movements: A Case Study of Dissent! and the 2005 Gleneagles G8 Summit". *Interface: A journal for and about social movements*. 2(2), pp. 42-67.

McCurdy, P. (2008). "Inside the media event: Examining the media practices of Dissent! at the Hori-Zone eco-village at the 2005 G8 Gleneagles Summit" *Communications - European Journal of Communication Research*. 33(3), pp. 293-311.

Have colleagues seen this work before?

In addition to positive feedback on the above publications, the conceptual frameworks which form the backbone of our book has been presented at 3 conferences across the social sciences. In each instance the paper was received well and generated interest across disciplines (sociology, political science, cultural studies) demonstrating the cross disciplinary relevance and appeal of our topic.

Have you submitted the book to any other publishers?

The book proposal has not currently been submitted to any other publishers. As we want the book to be accessible to both academic and nonacademic audiences, keep it a price point which is affordable, and work with an academic publisher that has strong international connections, Zed Books is our first choice of publisher.

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No.

Please suggest two possible referees (we are also likely to gather our own)

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Anna Feigenbaum is Assistant Professor of Communications at Richmond, the American International University in London. In 2008-2009 she worked at the London School of Economics (LSE) as an LSE Fellow in the Media and Communications Department. The year before, she completed her PhD at McGill University in Montreal, where her project was funded internationally by a Mellon Pre-dissertation Fellowship from the Institute for Historical Research and the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada. Her research takes a transdisciplinary approach to communications combining sociological and cultural studies methods around the notion of collective actions as communicative phenomenon. Her work also engages technology studies to investigate new media development and expand upon traditional notions of what count as communication technologies—to include things from shoe boxes to snipped bits of wire. Published research includes studies of global resistance to fences (*ephemera 2010*), women's protest music production (*Journal of Popular Music 2010*), and protest camp-based print cultures (forthcoming *Feminist Media Studies 2013*). Dr. Feigenbaum is a founding member of the Creative Resistance Research Network currently partnered to Kingston University in London and NYU/Eyebeam in New York. Always looking to combine research and creative action, she participates in campaigns around gender, sexuality, climate change and migrant rights. She is also an arts events organiser and published creative writer.

Fabian Frenzel is senior lecturer at the Bristol Business School, University of the West of England, Bristol. His research and interest cover democratic politics with a special focus on the role of leisure, mobility and culture trans-national political action and the potentials and limits of a 'globalisation from below'. He has worked on empirical cases of democratic politics in Europe and Africa, looking at issues such as alternative media, international development and climate change. His PhD thesis, titled 'Politics in Motion: The mobilities of political tourists' is from the Centre for Tourism and Cultural Change, Leeds Metropolitan University. It analyses critically the way activist identities and social movements are formed in practices of mobility, for example international solidarity travel or protest camps. His work has been published in journals such as *Environment and Planning A*, *Tourism Geographies* and in a variety of collected editions.

Patrick McCurdy is an assistant professor in the Department of Media and Communication at the Erasmus University Rotterdam. His research and areas of interest cover media protest and spectacle; the media practices of social movement actors; media events; and media and international development, particularly in Africa and with a specific interest in the issue of climate change. Patrick McCurdy obtained his PhD from the Department of Media and Communications at the London School of Economics and Political Science (LSE) in May 2009. His dissertation, entitled "'I Predict a Riot' – Mediation and Political Contention: Dissent!'s media practices at the 2005 Gleneagles G8 Summit", focused on the ways in which radical social movement actors think about and interact with media at the site of protest. His thesis both documents the media strategies of radical social movement actors, as well as critically examines the utility of such "spectacular" actions in an age of media saturation. His work has been published in academic journals including the *International Journal of Communications*, *Critical Discourse Studies*, and *Communications - European Journal of Communication Research*.