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**Living utopias:  An anarcha-feminist account of globally networked movements confronting oppressions and organising radical social change (London 2013-2018)**

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# Living utopias:

## An anarcha-feminist account of globally networked movements confronting oppressions and organising radical social change

## (London 2013-2018)

**Kate Burrell**

**A thesis submitted for the Doctor of Philosophy in Global Political Economy**

**University of Bath**

**Department of Social and Policy Sciences**

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**Acknowledgements**

This thesis is written as a contribution to changing the way people understand social mobilisation-making, both in terms of conceptions of many possible and alternative futures, and to shift understandings around how that transformation can, is happening and will happen. As such it is part of an experimental movement for social transformation.

I would like to thank all the affinity groups, collectives and networks that have hosted me over the years of fieldwork, for their unending commitment to bringing about radical social transformation. All the people who are dreaming and writing in new and different ways about old and new oppressions, about the lived experiences of experimental new forms of organising society, and about possible futures which would not be organised around the logic of global capitalism.

To all the people who are currently living on the frontline of climate change or in the nations still being bombed for oil, pillaged for gold, killed, dispossessed by corporations losing their lives, livelihoods and surroundings to global capitalism. To communities destroyed and displaced in Iraq, Syria, Afghanistan and now Venezuela. To the people struggling to protect their homelands and sacred sites, from destruction for coal mines approved by Bolsonaro in Brazil, to the sisters of the Indigenous sisters disappeared in Mexico fighting for answers and recognition. To the children and communities killed over Coltan for smart phones in the Congo. To the families and communities in Mali, who used to live peacefully, now at war with each other as the geopolitical struggle between Empires plays out in their villages. As the deserts expand and the sea levels rise, this is to the communities that are suffering.

To the people who have died crossing deserts, jungles, oceans and seas in search of refuge and to the ones who survived the journey only to be received by detention and deportation To the families and communities who have lost loved ones in violent deaths in police custody, in the UK and US fighting for justice and recognition and to the precious black lives lost in violence on the streets.

To the LGBTQIA individuals and communities redefining love, pleasure and relationships. To those suffering and fighting prejudice, oppression and repression because of their sexuality. To the Trans folk struggling for rights and recognition, access to healthcare and an end to violence.

To the affinities, collectives and networks in the UK and across the planet offering help, compassion, kindness, solidarity, solutions, justice, forward-thinking, a revaluing of nature, and of species, and of current and future generations. This research is dedicated to you.

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**Living utopias: An anarcha-feminist account of globally networked movements confronting oppressions and organising radical social change (London 2013-2018).**

Abstract

The recent wave of contemporary movements is galvanising social-transformation-making traction in new and complex ways. Their contribution is redefining relationships between Peoples, creating new social relations between current and future generations and with nature. The 'how' of this transformation is an area of immense intrigue within movements, academic and mainstream debates.

In this thesis, I explore how social movements organise their collective actions, and how prefigurative and strategic dilemmas of their everyday organising are, on the one hand exposing, undermining and in some cases venturing beyond existing structures of domination; global capitalism, patriarchy/gender oppressions, racism, (neo)colonialism, (dis)ableism…. On the other hand, their experimental forms are creating alternative social forms; participatory democracies, direct/collective action, autonomy, decolonising, gender awareness, local and global networks of solidarity and voluntary association. When horizontal movements encounter difficulties, they may stifle and fold, and/or collectively, imaginatively, and in praxis transcend above and beyond issues and contentions to create new ways of being, moving beyond previously conceived parameters of possibility.

I offer six London-based case studies of globally networked social movements. Occupy London and offshoots, Reclaim the Power, anti-fracking and Climate movements, Rhythms of Resistance carnival anti-capitalism, Wretched of the Earth with decolonising critique, Defend the Right to Protest, and Stop Trump. I explore how prefigurative and strategic politics are played out within the dilemmas of everyday organising, linking the minutiae of micro-politics to the dismantling of structures of oppression.

My argument is that, within movements, it is the collective-self-conscious combining of strategic refusal of systems of oppression alongside creative prefiguration of new worlds which creates multiplicities of lived experiments in organising, being, doing, relating, living and loving and dynamism for social transformation. As such, these movements are utopias in motion. My contribution is an anarcha-feminist methodology which attempts to both describe social-transformation-making and to contribute to it, through collective learning interventions around anarchist means–ends alignment and collective self-reflection around movement's social-change making traction. I also contribute to the Left-anarchist-feminist-decolonising debate around social transformation.

CONTENTS

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

| | |
|---|---|
| ACGM | Anti-Corporate Globalisation Movement |
| GJM | Global Justice Movement |
| POC | People of Colour |
| APOC | Anarchist People of Colour |
| RoR | Rhythms of Resistance carnival protest network |
| RTP | Reclaim the Power – anti fracking and climate change network |
| RTS | Reclaim the Streets |
| DtRtP | Defend the Right to Protest |
| WotE | Wretched of the Earth network |
| EF! | Earth First deep green anarchist network |

# CHAPTER 1: Introduction

CHAPTER 1: Introduction

1.1    Contemporary crises, movements and social change

Contemporary movements are springing up everywhere, in response to recent financial, democratic, humanitary and planetary crises, organising around local and global issues like inequalities, fracking, climate change, and in response to (neo)colonialism, racism or repression. These movements horizontal in form, are shifting the ways people experience, engage with and understand social transformation.

Anarchist, prefigurative, horizontal, grassroots, bottom-up in their ways of organising and mobilising social transformation. Political parties, Trade Unions and the traditional Left, are losing their credibility through a chosen or enforced shift from Leftist agenda to neoliberal values, leaving a huge space in the social transformation-making arena for new movements to evolve and gain traction. Living and embodied critiques of global capitalism, dictatorships or outmoded forms of representative democracy, gender oppression, (neo)colonialism and/or racism, these movements have been taking centre stage since December 2010, from Tunisia to Egypt, from Argentina to Wall Street, Spain, Greece, and London, as the Arab Spring, Occupies, Indignados, horizontalists and students in dissent.

These horizontal movements are also influencing the Left, with political parties like Corbyn's labour party in the UK, Podemos in Spain and Syriza in Greece emerging out of contemporary movements for transformation, with anti-austerity, in some cases anti-European union and in others anti-corruption critiques and policies. These parties have been gaining votes and seats in Parliament in recent elections.

Capitalism today exists within a very particular form, with historical, as well as new and different forms of organisation, alienation and harm-doing to both people and planet. Furthermore, contemporary crises are occurring across multiple planes of organisation, global capitalism, neo-liberalism, democracy, representation, humanity and biosphere. These crises of existing systems open up new possibilities for critique, exposure, undermining and perhaps eventual replacement with other ways of organising society and planet which are not profit-driven and which rather may be grounded in compassion for humanity and redefining nature-culture relationships. Recent waves of movement activity have been building on current crises as opportunities for transformation-making.

From Marxist, anarchist, decolonial feminist and movement-embedded perspectives, contemporary capitalism is wrought with dysfunction. Harvey, uses the term 'accumulation by dispossession' to expose a very particular form of global oppression (2003), and critiques the growth economy (2010).  The nature of capitalism is arguably shifting from a social relation between capital and labour, working class and bourgeoisie, to a much more expansive mode of operation where all aspects of human and planetary life are being subsumed in its operation. Similarly, Biofinancialisation, argue, Lilley and Papadopoulos, since the 1980s, has brought a culture of valuation that spread well beyond financial markets to pervade 'everyday life, subjectivity, ecology and materiality' (2014, p972). Fleming (2013) drawing on Deleuze's (1992) 'biopolitical terrain of contemporary work' argues that capitalism today is marked by a blurring of divisions like work time / free time, to such an extent that they become obsolete. From an anarchist anthropological perspective, Graeber (2011) argues that today's capitalism is characterised by debt and money, reducing all human exchange to a business deal. What's more global capitalism is not detrimentally affecting all people in equal measure. Some are profiteering, some are getting by, and some have their very existence put on the line. Butler and Athanasiou (2013), movement-embedded global feminist scholars, in a similar way to Graeber, but with more intersectionally thrashed-out argument, argue that dispossession is 'materialised and de-materialised  through histories of slavery, colonialism, apartheid, capitalist alienation, immigration and asylum politics, post-colonial multi-culturalism, gender and sexual normativity, sectarian governmentality and humanitarian reason' (2013, p10). As well as the

arguably inexcusable amount of daily violence to people and nature, capitalism today depends on growth economy that is unsustainable. Harvey (2010) argues that maintaining compound economic growth at a rate that is considered 'healthy' economy will be virtually impossible in the future, because capitalism has already expanded to its human and planetary limits.

Contemporary crises are opening new opportunities for movements to expose, undermine and replace current systems which are arguably failing in multiple dimensions, whether we measure this through inequalities, levels of global daily violence, huge numbers of displaced people, lack of intrinsic values guiding the organisation of global society or the devastating rate of ecological and environmental destruction. For some we are experiencing crises of capitalism (Harvey 2010, 2014, Holloway 2010, 2014), for others crisis of neo-liberalism (Birch and Myckernho 2010, Monbiot 2016), a mismanagement of financial crisis exposing deep structural inequalities, (Yaroufakis 2016, Schiffrin and Kircher-Allen 2012) a crisis of liberal representative democracy (Weibel 2016, Free University 2016), lack of compatibility between capitalism and democracy (Weibel 2016, Corporate Watch 2016), dissolution of trust which holds the social contract together (Castells 2012). For others we are witnessing a crisis of humanity in the form of the refugee crisis (Žižek 2016), or crisis of planetary sustainability (Harvey 2010, Monbiot 2016).

Understandings of how power operates within the contemporary context is crucial to movements which are attempting to galvanise social transformation, both in terms of understandings of how power operates on a macro-scale within society and across the planet, as well as how power operates within movements, the 'micro-politics' (Braidotti 2002). In this thesis, I explore Foucauldian, as well as autonomous Marxist, anarchist, feminist, post-colonial, decolonising feminist, decolonising anarchist and Black critiques around the organisation of society, and their utopian envisioning, as well as practical organisation in process towards building those alternative futures.

Foucault revolutionises understandings of power relations, by shedding light on how governmentality and neoliberalism operate (Gordon 1994). Anarchist, feminist, intersectional and global movement-embedded critiques of Foucault are important from an anarcha-feminist perspective and in examining movement-based understandings of power, resistance and solidarity. Autonomous Marxist, Open Marxist and post-anarchist understandings of 'power-over' and 'power-to', 'exploitation' and 'domination', representation and how this relates to the possibility to bring about change are also interesting contemporary debates…. For anarchist May, Foucault's work on power, means that firstly, there can be oppression where there is no oppressor and secondly that there can exist power relations which are not oppressive, making political enquiry necessarily moral, which is often overlooked by Marxisms, according to anarchist May (2009).

'Intersectionality', a term coined by 1980s black feminists, understanding sex, class and race and 'positionality' to various dimensions of power as a producer of relative advantage and disadvantage. Whilst some referred to this as 'processes and practices' others shamelessly reclaimed 'structure' (Weeks 1988). Exploring intersectionality from a liberal feminist and anarcha-feminist perspective, I explore the argument that anarcha-feminist perspective is useful as it attempts to combine personal stories with collaborative dismantling of the structures of oppression, which include the state as an oppressor. Examining power and the structures of oppression both within and outside of movements is a crucial aspect of exposing, undermining and seeking to replace those structures, the movement-driven transformation-making.

Foucault's work, furthermore, has opened possibilities of questioning truth and power for resistance organising. Debate exists around whether his work, as part of Western humanism has created a paralysis of collective ethics and action, critiques waged by second generation feminist, global movement-embedded feminist, black and post-anarchist perspectives. Different possible solutions are offered by Day (2005) and May (2009),

drawing on Rancière's work, Braidotti's (2002) 'micro-politics' and Ewa Ziarek's 'ethics of dissensus' (Butler and Athanasiou 2013).

Since the anarchist turn of the 1960s, there has been a shift in the way social transformation-making is being galvanised from older vertical forms of strategic politics, reborn as the prefigurative, creating 'new worlds in the shell of the old' (Ehrlich 1979) with new flat planes of organisation, creating new social relationships where participation is taken to a new level (Weibel 2016). 'Prefigurative politics', that is living possible futures today, was first defined by sociologist Wini Breines (1989) as something distinct from strategic politics, usually associated with the mainstream Left. Rather than attempting to seize power, these popular revolutions, in some cases using the 'minimum of violence necessary' to defend their land, like the Zapatistas (Graeber 2013b), and in others, creating a 'revolution as non-violent as feminism', as with Occupy (Graeber 2013a). These movements are creating multiplicities of lived experiments in participatory democracy, collective and direct action, autonomy, solidarity and decolonisation, anti-oppression, order, chaos and radical imagining and creative responses to repression. Negotiating new non-hierarchical relationships between people, Peoples, present and future generations and with nature, and between species, they attempt to dislocate hegemonic discourses with multiple subjectivities of resistance (Weibel 2016, Butler and Athanisiou 2013, Motta and Seppala 2016, Zunino 2016).

The Civil Rights and women's movement have fed into these new movements, their forms, priorities and practices. Since Seattle 1999 and Prague 2000, the Global Justice Movement (GJM) or Anti-Corporate-Globalisation Movement (ACGM) has been active in redefining relationships of change-making, which Maeckelbergh (2011) describes as 'strategic prefiguration' where 'process' builds new democratic global networks, with open multiple goals, multiple actors concerned with horizontality, diversity and connectivity (2011, p1-3). Within Occupy movements, Brissette (2013) explores the 'intertwining' of strategic and prefigurative spaces as strategic refusal of non-violence and to cooperate with authorities with prefigurative spaces – the open, loving, inclusive communities welcoming the dispossessed and 'instantiating' new social relationships based on free association and the voluntary division of labour (2013, p225-227). In terms of future directions, Crass a long-term, US anti-racist feminist-activist agues for a 'flexible and constantly evolving' relationship between the strategic and prefigurative politics, where actions and campaigns are analysed for effectiveness whilst direct democratic processes are explored that can be accessible to people in all their diversity and imperfections (2013, p35).

The political imaginary of UK protest culture, differs from the US and European context, with contemporary movements tracing their direct action resistance history to:

> Diggers and Luddites, suffragettes, new age travellers, miners' strike, poll tax riots, Criminal Justice Bill, road protest, anti-war, anti-summit, Climate Camp, anti-austerity to today's Occupies and beyond.

> (Burrell 2013b, p12)

Direct action is both principle and practice to anarchists, self- and collectively-created, defying representation, autonomous against capitalism and other structures of domination and oppression. It is the 'symbol of syndicalism in action' (Pouget 1907):

> With inherent clarity (anarchism) announces direction and orientation of the working class's endeavours in its relentless attack on capitalism…(to) expect nothing from outside people, powers or forces, but rather creates its own conditions of struggle and looks to itself for methodology.

> (Pouget 1907, p1)

This collective-self-reflection of anarchism looking to itself for its own methodology (Pouget 1907), is crucial to my analyses of how movements are galvanising social transformation as well as my exploration of movements-own embedded collective learning processes, through this research. Today, movements, are anarchist in praxis collective-self-consciously 'rejecti(ing)…hierarchical, rigid movement forms that focused on winning political victories' (the strategic) and a turning toward movement-building as a priority in order to build horizontal, non-hierarchical and anti-oppressive communities of struggle', the prefigurative, creating new worlds in the here and now (Khasnabish and Haiven 2012, p413).

This section has introduced contemporary movements as embodied critiques of contemporary capitalism and multiple planes of global crises. It has introduced Foucauldian understandings of power relations as well as critiques of, and additions to, his work made by second, and third generation feminists, post-colonial and more recent-movement-embedded feminist and (post)anarchist critiques. It has introduced anarcha-feminism, influenced by 1980s black feminists, with its praxis to use the personal to collaboratively dismantle structures or oppression. I have outlined how social transformation-making is shifting from vertical to horizontal planes, introducing strategic and prefigurative politics and finally looked at the UK anarchist and direct action resistance trajectory.

## 1.2 My research questions in context

Prefigurative and strategic politics, as discussed in the last section, are combining in new and different ways within contemporary movements. The ways that strategic politics associated within the Old Left, through leadership, structure, and predefined goals, or in horizontal movements, about analysis, strategy, tactics, and effectiveness, combine with prefigurative politics, that is, the creation of future possible worlds in the present, create tensions. The interplay between the strategic and prefigurative, I argue create dilemmas and contentions within everyday organising of social movements, as discussed in detail in my dissertation (Burrell 2013c). In some cases, movements are impacting the traditional Left with their horizontal formats and grassroots agendas.

In this thesis, I deepen and extend these analyses by exploring how strategic and prefigurative political dilemmas are lived out in the daily organising of today's movements to create potential dynamism for social change. I am exploring two contemporary debates within movements and beyond:

1. Firstly, how do strategic and political dilemmas of everyday organising relate to the ways contemporary movements are exposing, undermining and replacing dominant oppressive systems with other ways of being, doing and relating? The dominant oppressive systems are global capitalism, (neo)colonialism, racism, patriarchy, heteronormativity, (dis)ableism, age. The other ways of being, doing and relating, are direct democratic process, collective and direct action, autonomy, solidarity, decolonisation, anti-oppression, and voluntary associations.

2. Secondly, I am exploring how strategic and prefigurative political contention, lived out in daily organising can impact movement dynamism, and potential to bring about social transformation.

These two areas of exploration are huge, complex and interrelating as well be discussed in this thesis.

What I am interested in is how the dilemmas of daily organising around strategic and prefigurative dilemmas relate to the wider questions of what a new world might look like. Contemporary movements are arguably struggling for horizontal futures, where people act for themselves, self-governing with direct democratic process which functions from the local

to the global. They seek autonomy at every level and refuse negotiation with archaic systems that seek to maintain the status quo or attempt to co-opt their concerns into neo-liberal or capitalist paradigms. They seek to balance order and chaos, stimulate and convoke radical imagination and art as politics and politics as life, engaging with communities, protecting and enriching life on earth, from the smallest local ecosystem to the huge planetary and social justice issues of climate change. Through inclusivity and connectivity with diverse people locally and across the globe, they seek to expose, fight and move beyond oppressive systems of neo-colonialism, racism, patriarchy and heteronormativity and so on. They do so through stimulating and embodying the radical imagination, experimenting on the very frontier between order and chaos so as to provide spaces, communities and worlds that are safe and inclusive, with the minimum of organisation necessary to protect equality, wellbeing and diversity of humanity and nature today and for future generations.

In this thesis, I explore how the micro-tensions of the minutae of the everyday, relate to the macro structures of nation-state and global processes within intersecting oppressions and within multiple sites of liberation. I do this historically, in recent and contemporary movements and social/nature-culture relationships, as well as taking a glimpse at future movement-embedded change-making potential.

## 1.3 Gaps in the literature and activist-researcher praxis

Gaps in the literature exist around how dilemmas of prefigurative and strategic politics play out within everyday organising of contemporary movements. There also exist gaps around how everyday dilemmas relate to macro-political structures like global capitalism, patriarchy, (neo)colonialism, racism, dis(ableism), and age. The movement forms which could replace the oppressive systems, have been discussed in the literature, but my research sheds light on how participatory democracies, collective action, autonomy, decolonising critiques, anti-oppression and voluntary associations might form lived alternatives to existing global capitalism and neo-liberal agendas. There exists a diversity of radical utopias in the literature, but how these relate to contemporary movements, is less explored. This thesis fills empirical gaps of London-based and globally networked cases. Furthermore, following Marx, and Nancy Fraser, I attempt to both describe the world and change it, through contributing to Left-anarchist-feminist-decolonising debate around how transformation can and is happening, whilst being of itself a contribution to helping movements to better understand and galvanise their social transformation-making traction.

Gaps in the literature exist around how dilemmas of prefigurative and strategic politics play out within everyday organising of the movements of today. As discussed in the previous section of this chapter, Maeckelbergh (2009) wrote about the Global Justice Movements' 'strategic prefiguration' allowing for multiple goals, diverse actors, horizontally-networked movements using 'process' to organise global solidarity and anti-capitalist action at summits. Brissette (2013) argued that Occupy Oakland was 'intertwining' strategic and prefigurative politics by combining strategic refusal to negotiate with police with the creation of loving, inclusive prefigurative communities (2013, p226). Crass (2013, p36) argues for a constantly evolving relationship between the two, combining effective strategies, campaigns and actions with ever more inclusive direct democratic process, accessible to all of humanity in all its imperfection. What is missing from this literature is how the dilemmas of daily organising within contemporary movements relate to wider strategic and prefigurative politics.

My thesis, thus, attempts to relate wider isses of strategic and prefigurative politics, to everyday organising, exploring the contested process around how movement-initiated transformation might be galvanised. I explore how the strategic dismantling of systems might combine with the prefigurative process of 'being the change', anarchically creating

'new worlds in the shell of the old' (Ehrlich 1979), and exploring diverse radical accounts of possible futures, from autonomous Marxist, Open Marxist, anarchist, anarcha-feminist, trans-feminist, decolonial feminist and Black perspectives, in Chapters 3 and 9.

I engage with movement relevant debates around horizontality, collective action, autonomy, movement diversity, autonomy and co-optation, creating diverse and safe spaces, decolonising discourses and practices, and explore how movements are using creativity and radical imagining and responding to repression, in Chapters 3 and 8.

I also engage with movement debates over the kind of world we wish to embody, live or dream into existence as well as how to best galvanise the change to a more just, humane, equal, sustainable society and which is not run by the logic of capitalism and neo-liberalism. New social relationships are being forged, relationships between present and future generations, and attempts at reconfiguring relationships with nature, moving away from Western liberal discourses and hierarchies to multiple perspectives and indigenous non-hierarchical relationships with nature and between species (Weibel 2016, Amahady 2010, Walia 2012, Zunino 2016).

Empirically, there is a lack of UK-based recent social movement case studies, in academic and popular literature. Occupies in the US have been more profusely written about, Boston (Juris 2012), El Paso (Smith et al 2012), Pittsburgh (Smith and Bob 2012), plus there have been many US-based anthologies of short writings (Khatib ed 2012, Time 2011, Taylor ed. 2011, Voices of the 99% 2011). Similarly, the Spanish Indignados (Maeckelbergh 2012), Arab Spring (Schiffrin and Kircher-Allen 2012, El Said, Meari and Pratt 2015) have inspired a profusion of academic and popular literature. The UK case of Occupy, its offshoots and movements that relate and interact with it have been less discussed. Exceptions are Halvorsen (2012, 2014), an Occupied Times article (in Schiffrin & Kircher-Allen 2012). Graeber's hard-hitting and dynamic anarchist anthropologist approach to 'Direct Action' (2009) and 'The Democracy Project' (2013b) focus on the US case, as Sitrin's 'Horizontalism' (2012b) does on the Argentinian case and 'Everyday Revolutions' (2012a) again on the US story.

Rowe and Carroll (2014) returning to Rosa Luxumberg's famous 1900 question 'Reform or revolution?', describe how tensions between radicals and reformists at Seattle 99 and Occupy Wall Street created a rush in movement dynamism which they argue is needed to combat the extremely neo-liberal context of the US and global North. Although this fascinating case study looks at events in the US, I have used their work, on a number of occasions, in this thesis to interrogate movement dynamism within UK-based, globally networked cases. I have also drawn on their notions of collaboration to interrogate connectivity and diversity of my fieldwork cases.

Cox and Fominaya (2012) argue in 'Understanding European Social Movements' that whilst US and American cases are responding to the defeat of the alter-globalisation movement and in a post-9/11 context, European movements have been responding more to European austerity, inspired by the Arab Spring. To fill this empirical gap, I am using, several UK-based, but globally networked, cases of Occupy London and its offshoots, Reclaim the Power, anti-fracking and Climate movements, Rhythms of Resistance carnival anti-capitalism and their mobilisation for Paris COP21 2015, as well as Wretched of the Earth's decolonial critique of that mobilisation and the environmental movement as a whole. In so doing, I am exploring tensions of strategic and prefigurative politics within these movements, as well as their capacity to collectively learn, shift and transcend their thinking and practices especially around anti-oppression praxes within movements. The cases of Defend the Right to Protest and Stop Trump, also London-based, and globally networked shed light on diversity, connectivity and creative responses to repression, as will be discussed in the fieldwork and analysis chapters. My research has sensitivity to collective learning processes that occur within movements in my fieldwork, so shedding light on how UK movements are themselves, social transformation in motion.

Furthermore, as activist-researcher, I have designed an integrative anarcha-feminist PAR research approach and design (discussed in Chapter 4), which allows me to attempt to contribute to collective learning within the movements, 'convoking' radical imagining (Khasnabish and Haiven 2012), self and collective reflection around processes and issues so that my research is not only describing movements but also contributing to their shifts in understanding and practice. Combining 'militant ethnography' (Juris 2007, 2008) with auto-ethnography I combine lessons from previous movements over the last twenty years with current praxis, which is then triangulated with the movement-embedded and radical literature to create this thesis.

Using this method, I explore, interrogate and celebrate contemporary movement forms of participatory democracy, collective action, autonomy, anti-oppression, decolonisation, order, chaos and radical imagination as well as responses to repression, institutional forms discussed in Chapter 8. In Chapter 7, I explore how movements are attempting to dismantle systems of oppression, global capitalism, patriarchy, (neo)colonialism, racism, (dis)ableism, ageism and the dynamic tension within everyday movements organising that these dilemmas create, relating this back to the wider strategic and prefigurative political debates.

The scope of my project, as described above, is to both describe social transformation in action, and to contribute to social transformation-making, and as such has been an enormous and ambitious task for this thesis. Convoking movement-embedded collective-self-reflection upon movement practices, processes and social change-making traction as well as following the transformative moments and discourses that cause shifts within how movements operate has been a fascinating area of research. The two areas of exploration are huge and complex. Firstly, the question around how movements are replacing the dominant systems of oppression with new ways of relating, and secondly, the question around how lived-out dilemmas coalesce and combine to create new dynamism for change are massive and complex questions. The fieldwork has necessarily been vast and lengthy so trust relationships could be built, the methodology complex, experimental, synthetic and challenging to record in a way that makes sense to diverse audiences, movements, the academy, ESRC/SWDTC funders, and society as a whole. The thesis is extremely experimental and integrative in order to explore new areas of thought and praxis in new and different ways and to participate in movement-reflection and movements-building through research-activism.

## 1.4 My approach

I situate myself within anarcha-feminism, a small but radical movement-based resistance culture (with some small presence in the academy), defined by RAG Dublin Collective (2012, p3) as demanding 'an end to all forms of domination and oppression', which in turn is influenced by 1980s intersectional black feminism. My work is also influenced by the intersection of contemporary anarchist / post-anarchist, movement-embedded work where post-colonial, race, class, gender, Queer theory, feminist, decolonising feminist, decolonising anarchist and Black studies meet, around understandings of power, domination, oppression and resistances (Day 2005, May 2009, Olson 2009, Gaarder 2009, Eisenstadt 2013, Gordon 2015) especially, anarchist interpretations of Foucault, Rancière and Gramsci (May 2009, Eisenstadt 2013, Day 2005). Also influential are autonomous Marxist, Open Marxist and broader analyses of crises and capitalism (Harvey 2002, 2010, Holloway 2002a, 2010, Hardt and Negri 2000, 2004, Lilley and Papadopoulos 2014, Santos 2005, Fleming 2013), movement-based meets academic analyses of new and newest horizontal movements (Sitrin 2011, 2012a, 2012b, Graeber 2004, 2012b, 2012c, 2013b, Rowe and Carroll 2014, Maeckelbergh 2007, 2016, de Souza 2010, Butler and Athanasiou 2013). Decolonising feminists (Motta and Seppala 2016, Zunino 2016), decolonising anarchists (Ramnath 2011, Walia 2012) and Black studies scholars (Halberstam 2013, Moten and Harney 2013) are also influential to this work.

In this thesis I draw on autonomous Marxist, Open Marxist, anarchist, post-anarchist, anarcha-feminist, trans-feminist, post-colonial, global South, decolonising feminist, decolonising anarchist and Black literatures to describe contemporary crises and possible avenues for brighter futures (more egalitarian, less oppressive, less violent and more ecologically sustainable) that today's movements are confronting and attempting to redress. As mentioned above, my argument is that today's movements for social transformation are combining strategic and prefigurative political dilemmas within daily organising in order to galvanise change (following Maeckelbergh 2009, 2014, 2016, Brissette 2013, Crass 2013). My thesis explores the ways in which prefigurative, and strategic dilemmas are lived out within UK-based but globally networked movements, Occupy and its offshoots, Reclaim the Power, anti-fracking and the climate movement, Rhythms of Resistance anti-capitalist samba bands (2012 – 2019). My contact with Wretched of the Earth with decolonial critique, Defend the Right to protest and Stop Trump, add dimensions to movement-based learning around decolonisation, diversity, connectivity and creative responses to internal and external oppression and repression.

## 1.5 My argument

My argument is that, within movements, it is the collectively self-conscious combining of strategic refusal of systems of oppression alongside creative prefiguration of new worlds which creates multiplicities of lived experiments in organising, being, doing, relating, living and loving and dynamism for social transformation. As such, these movements are utopias in motion.

In line with some anarcha-feminisms, I suggest that it is the exposing and dismantling of systems of oppression which is and will create a fecundity of other possible ways of living, being, doing and relating to 'construct more liberatory, more desirable and more sustainable relations with which to begin fashioning our futures' (Rogue and Volcano 2012, p44). Furthermore, I claim that the movement-embedded collective-self-conscious combining of strategic politics of identifying and tearing down the systems of oppression, with the prefigurative politics of creating multiplicities of lived experiments in democracy, collective action, autonomy, decolonising and anti-oppression, which creates dynamism for social transformation. I show from the minutiae of the local, through nation-state to global level how these dilemmas are being lived out in the micro- and macro- politics of daily organising of contemporary and recent movements, creating living utopias.

My research is contributing to the Left-anarchist-feminist-decolonising debate around how social transformation can, is and will happen. Methodologically, I have created my own anarcha-feminist research which has attempted to reflect movements themselves – being open, horizontal, participative, diverse, connected, anti-oppressive and capable of bringing about social change. My contribution to collective learning within movements encourages and explores self and collective reflexivity in affinities, collectives, Assemblies and networks around dealing with stumbling blocks, internal power relations, and repression and so on, as is discussed in more depth in the next section and in Chapter 9.

## 1.6 Chapter Outline

In this section I outline the chapter content:

In this chapter, my Introduction I have introduced contemporary movements as lived and embodied critiques of and responses to crises on multiple planes of society and the planet. I have shown how contemporary movements are responding to capitalism today and contemporary crises, of capitalism, neo-liberalism, representative democracy, humanity and ecological futures. I have introduced Foucauldian, intersectional and anarcha-feminist

understandings of power and resistance and their contemporary critiques and additions from a diversity of radical and movement-embedded scholars. I have introduced the strategic and political dilemmas and the UK direct action and anarchist resistance trajectory. Secondly, I have outlined my research questions within the contemporary context. Thirdly, I have identified gaps in the literature and described my activist research praxis. Fourth, I have described my research approach as being at the intersection of multiple resistance discourses autonomous Marxist, Open Marxist, anarchist, post-anarchist, post-colonial, anarcha-feminist, trans-feminist, decolonising feminist, decolonising anarchist and Black studies. Fifth, I have clearly outlined my argument that within movements, it is the collective-self-conscious combining of strategic refusal of systems of oppression alongside creative prefiguration of new worlds which creates multiplicities of lived experiments in organising, being, doing, relating, living and loving and dynamism for social transformation. As such, these movements are utopias in motion. Finally, I outline the chapters of this thesis.

Chapter 2, 'Capitalism, power and crises' explores capitalism today, contemporary crises, understandings of power from Foucault and multiple intersectional critiques, finally it introduces anarcha-feminism as a social transformation-driving discourse. The first section (2.2) of this literature Chapter 2, explores contemporary issues of crises within multiple elements of organising the structure of society. Drawing on recent accounts, I argue that capitalism today exists within a very particular form, with historical, as well as new and different forms of organisation, alienation and harm-doing to both people and planet. Secondly, in this section, I explore how, according to current literature, crises are occurring across multiple planes of organisation, global capitalism, neo-liberalism, democracy, representation, humanity and biosphere. Crises of existing systems open up new possibilities for critique, exposure, undermining and perhaps eventual replacement with other ways of organising society and planet which are not profit-driven, and which rather may be grounded in compassion for humanity. Recent waves of movements' activity have been building on current crises as opportunities for transformation-making. The second section of this literature Chapter 2 (2.3 and 2.4) explores issues of power – Foucauldian, as well as anarchist, feminist and global South critiques – within the organisation of society. Exploring intersectionality from a mainstream and anarcha-feminist perspective, I explore the argument that anarcha-feminist perspective is useful as it attempts to combine personal stories with collaboratively dismantling of the structures of oppression, which include the state as an oppressor. Examining power and the structures of oppression both within and outside of social movements is a crucial aspect to exposing, undermining and seeking to replace those structures, the movement-driven transformation-making.

Chapter 3, 'Social movements' political strategies and dilemmas: Exploring the field' introduces strategic and prefigurative politics, explores how social change making has been shifting since the 1960s, explores some utopian thinking and practices from multiple perspectives and introduces the dilemmas within the everyday organising that I have selected in this research. The first section of this literature chapter (Chapter 3.2) draws on contemporary accounts of transformation-making, Firstly I explore how social-transformation-making, since the 1960s anarchist turn has shifted from a top-down, vertical and strategic to bottom-up, horizontal and prefigurative. I explore accounts of how social transformation might occur from autonomous Marxist, Open Marxist, anarchist, post-anarchist, decolonial feminist, decolonial anarchist, anarcha-feminist and black perspectives and explore the creation of new futures through utopian envisioning and anarchist prefigurative tool of building possible futures today, by bringing down oppressive systems and creating alternative forms of being, doing, relating and loving (Holloway 2010, Hardt and Negri 2000, 2004, Cockburn 2012, Graeber 2004, 2013b, Shukaitis 2010, Motta and Seppala 2016, Dinerstein 2012, 2016, 2017, Rogue and Volcano 2012). I also introduce 'movement dynamism' (Rowe and Carroll 2014) as a galvanising force for social transformation. Finally, in this section, I explore Foucauldian understandings of resistance, and their feminist, post-colonial, black, anarchist and post-anarchist critiques to shed light

on how post-anarchist and post-structuralism inform our understandings of how 'we' can act collectively. My argument is that social transformation building is both exposing and undermining dominant oppressive systems, whilst creating other possible ways of organising society today.

The second section of the literature Chapter 3 introduces the dilemmas and contentions of everyday organising that I discuss in my fieldwork. I draw on accounts of prefigurative and strategic dilemmas from different movements and introduce the dilemmas of daily organising that I have selected here as being fiercely debated both, within movements and beyond as well as from my previous work. The dilemmas I introduce are horizontality, direct action, autonomy, decolonising movements, oppression/anti-oppression, balancing order, chaos and radical imagining and dealing with repression.

In Chapter 4, Research, Design and Methodology', I describe my anarcha-feminist approach to research that uses Participatory Action Research design and collective critical reflection to improve collective learning within movements regarding how to effectively achieve social transformation. Anarcha-feminism attempts to bring an end to all domination and oppression, so has particular sensitivity to issues of intersectionality - a term coined by black feminists, understanding sex, class and race and 'positionality' to various dimensions of power as a 'producer of relative advantage and disadvantage' (Cockburn 2012, p8). For some, intersectionality represents structure, for others processes and practices, but I consider intersectionality as complex matrices of privileges and oppressions within which we are all differentially situated, which is crucial to my research. Firstly, I present and discuss the notion of doing engaged, useful and anti-oppressive research by both describing the world and attempting to change it, engaging with current debates within activism so that my research is movement-relevant, transformative and transgressive, in itself a contribution to social change as defined in the introduction - reflective of movements themselves – open, participative, horizontal, collective and with a do-it-yourself ethos.

Secondly, in Chapter 4, I introduce the concepts of prefigurative epistemology – as a co-construction of knowledge from within movements, encouraging spaces for critical reflection, and opening up possibilities for creating other worlds. Similarly, the practice of prefigurative methodologies – to tackle engrained oppressions within movements and 'convoke' radical imaginings of other ways of being, doing and thinking. Thirdly I introduce my anarcha-feminist approach to research which I have been experimenting with since October 2012, including a pilot on horizontality and consensus within Occupy London and Global Square, a dissertation comparing three movements mobilising for G8 London, 2013, as well as ongoing fieldwork throughout the duration of the PhD on anarchist, carnival, Occupy and anti-fracking and other London based but internationally networked resistance cultures. I consider my shifting posititionality as my role has changed within movements from being an activist in my 20s, to more recently a mother and activist-researcher. I acknowledge help that I have had from family over childcare and the transition to becoming a parent as well as an activist-academic. I discuss how my involvement with Wretched of the Earth began as an 'ally' and moved towards being a researcher and the implications for that network and my fieldwork and analysis. My methodology approach is integrative and uses a PAR design to collectively select important dilemmas of organisation. I then combine feminist reflexivity of auto ethnography with the sensitivity to movement issues of militant ethnography – an anarchist anthropological technique – with collective critical reflection within movements to create a methodology that combines knowledge of previous and current movements in order to inform future struggle. I synthesise these methods by triangulating debates within the literature on movement issues around organising and how to enact and organise social transformation. I consider how my standpoint has changed during the length of the PhD. This is an integrative methodology.

The second half of my methodology chapter considers ethical issues and limitations to this methodology. Ethical issues of concern, are similar to ethical issues within many forms of

ethnography – about representation, objectification, privilege and standpoint. Other ethical issues involved having a particular sensitivity when working within movements and to do with activists who suffer state and police repression on a daily basis to quite an extreme extent – in some cases. Access and consent within movements involve long-term trust building and ongoing conversations about the nature of the research and my involvement. Risk to myself and to other activists and to the movement itself are also considered. Finally, I discuss the limitations to my methodology, how I and my work fits into a world of multiple oppressions, how my subjectivity affects the scale of comment and discussion that I can hope to achieve, whether my work is sufficiently collaborative, how to balance celebration of movements with critical analysis and lastly the extent of experimental, integrative and scale of ambition of my methodology and thesis more generally. The last section of this chapter draws together the chapter with some concluding comments.

In fieldwork Chapter 5, 'Highlights and seminal moments in networks, camps and movements organising', firstly I introduce the resistance networks, pre-, mid and post-fieldwork, and my involvement with each. The second half of the chapter is made up of 'fieldwork notes' and narrative of UK-based and, where relevant, their international counterparts that represent dilemmas of everyday organising. The movements, as mentioned above, are Occupy London and its offshoots, Reclaim the Power, anti-fracking and Climate movements, Rhythms of Resistance and carnival anti-capitalism, Wretched of the Earth with its decolonial critique, Defend the Right to Protest and Stop Trump. I include photos, flyers, posters in this chapter to give a visual representation of the movements involved. The fieldwork moments/actions/interventions selected include moments of quiet reflection, moments of action, seminal moments of movement significance and moments of crisis. Significantly, I have tried to give a flavour of the diversity and fecundity of contemporary movement organising. The style of my 'fieldwork notes' which varies even according to the style of the action or intervention attempts to give a poetic flavour of the day or movement being described. The interventions selected I hope illuminate issues within my research, contemporary and topical dilemmas of everyday organising around horizontality and verticality, negotiation and co-optation, dealing with internal oppression, diversity and connectivity, balancing order and chaos, and dealing with repression.

In fieldwork Chapter 6, 'Militant and auto-ethnographic reflections on the everyday dilemmas of daily organising', I describe and reflect on the dilemmas and contentions of everyday organising within the networks introduced in Chapter 5. The chapter is divided into 'fieldwork notes', 'fieldwork reflections' and 'auto-ethnographic reflections' as well as being accompanied by narrative of the dilemmas. Every movement for change that has existed has inevitably experienced difficulties and dilemmas. I suggest that those attempting to organise horizontally, have sets of dilemmas which have common themes. In my dissertation, I broadly defined a successful horizontal movement as one which is 'resilient, focused, diverse, connected, expanding and capable of bringing about radical social transformation' (Burrell 2013c, p3-4). And so, I have selected dilemmas with this in mind, in the hope of exploring issues which are important and relevant to movements themselves. In line with my synthetic methodology, I have written Chapter 6, shifting between my positionality as 'militant ethnographer' (Juris 2007, 2008), including fieldnotes and auto-ethnographic reflections of protest organising over the last twenty years. I include photos of flyers and important moments within movements.

Dilemmas of organising are always contentious, they are the dissensus within the consensus, the diversity of opinion over what did, could have, should have happened and over what should, could, might happen now and in the future. And so, the dilemmas I have chosen to discuss, are extremely topical and fiercely debated issues within movements themselves. Although obviously, my experience of these dilemmas as they are lived out in movements have my own situated and very particular stance, as a result of all of my life experiences both inside and outside of movements-organising. In some cases, I have selected them because they have caused movement crisis, in others, moments of radical

imagining, collective collaboration which start to overcome these issues. I would argue that the dilemmas are also intersecting and often interrelated, in complex matrices across movements as are the intersectional oppressions across society.

Chapter 7, is my first discussion chapter 'Undermining, exposing and venturing beyond dominant systems of oppression'. In this first chapter of the analysis, I explore how the contemporary movements discussed in my fieldwork are in some cases exposing, in some cases exposing and undermining and in others venturing beyond the dominant systems of oppression. All the movements that I explore in my fieldwork, I argue, are in many varied and different, obvious and subtle ways, exposing, undermining and replacing the dominant systems with other ways of being, doing and relating. The examples that I have selected to discuss in Chapter 7, and the analysis more generally, are around when certain movements are really illustrating some kind of best practice, or because they are typical of horizontal movements or because they are experiencing issues which are encountered by many movements so are interesting topics and themes of discussion. This thesis, also a contribution to collective learning within movements, I hope will inform other movements that are struggling around how to organise and collectively overcome, transcend and transform beyond their stumbling blocks and issues.

In section 7.2, I explore how Occupy London has exposed inequalities and crises within capitalism and democracy. In section 7.3, I explore the ways RTP, the anti-fracking and Climate movements are exposing issues in national and global approaches to energy and sustainability, like fracking and war as solutions to securing energy resources. 7.4 explores the ways that Wretched of the Earth is exposing and undermining hypocrisies within the mainly white, middle class environmental movement and wider society with decolonial critique and organising. In 7.5 I explore the ways that the Agora99 conference and European horizontal movements, are exposing hypocrisies within Northern European representations of the Eurozone crisis and attempting to build alternatives to liberal democracy, especially in the South, with horizontally networked participatory assemblies like Occupies, Indignados and even more so with the Greek assemblies. In 7.6, I explore the ways that Autonomous networks of connectivity like RoR International, Defend the Right to Protest and Stop Trump are creating and recreating themselves as alternative sets of relations, arguably attempting to and starting to replace state, business and global capitalist networks strategically prefiguring alternative futures.

Chapter 8, my second discussion chapter, 'Other ways of being, doing, relating. A discussion', explores the ways contemporary movements are creating, embodying and living out new ways of being, doing and relating. Today's movements represent a multiplicity of experimental sites for creating and working new forms of democracy and direct action. Autonomy is crucial to horizontal movements which are on the one hand, strategic in their refusal of the dominant systems of oppression and on the other hand, prefigurative in their production of an excess which cannot be co-opted. Horizontal movements are also learning spaces for new ways of thinking, and new processes of overcoming difference and stumbling blocks. They create diverse affinity and try to collectively, radically explore issues like decolonial critiques and internal as well as external oppression. Balancing order, chaos and radical imagining, at best they are optimising inclusion and difference but with the minimum of order required to create safer spaces to live and organise. They respond increasingly creatively to repression, using it as a potential to widen and deepen possibility and change-making traction. The relationship between networked living utopias and institutional forms, like those of Podemos, Syriza and Corbyn are of particular interest. The last section of this chapter explores how these parties are engaging with mainstream politics and the ways the movements have been co-opted and dampened by entering this arena.

In Chapter 9, 'Concluding remarks: Contemporary movements as living utopias? Confronting oppressions and prefiguring possible futures', I summarise the ideas and arguments within the thesis, revisit my research questions, explore a range of radical

utopian ideas and how they fit with the movements as discussed, summarise my contribution and outline ideas for further research. Chapter 9 summarises how the thesis has explored *how* strategic and prefigurative dilemmas within the everyday organising of social movements can create social transformation making traction. It concludes this thesis with an exploration of how well movements are existing as and creating some kind of lived utopias as envisioned by radical academics from Marxist, anarchist, anarcha-feminist, trans-feminist, decolonising and Black perspectives. Secondly, it outlines my contribution to academic-activist praxis, as empirical, methodological, as a contribution to collective learning within movements and to enhancing understandings of how movement-initiated transformation is galvanised. Fourth, I outline possible avenues for further research and dissemination as activism in practice. Finally, some concluding thoughts on movement galvanised social transformation.

## 1.7 Concluding thoughts

In this chapter, my thesis Introduction, I have introduced contemporary movements as lived and embodied critiques of and responses to crises on multiple planes of society and the planet. I have shown how contemporary movements are responding to capitalism today and contemporary crises, of capitalism, neo-liberalism, representative democracy, humanity and ecological futures. I have introduced Foucauldian, intersectional and anarcha-feminist understandings of power and resistance and their contemporary critiques and additions from a diversity of radical, and movement-embedded scholars. I have introduced the strategic and prefigurative politics and the UK direct action and anarchist resistance trajectory. Secondly, I have outlined my research questions within the contemporary context. Thirdly, I have identified gaps in the literature and described my activist research praxis. Fourth, I describe my research approach as being at the intersection of multiple resistance discourses autonomous Marxist, anarchist, post-anarchist, post-colonial, anarcha-feminist, trans-feminist, decolonising feminist, decolonising anarchist and Black studies. Fifth, I clearly outline my argument that within movements, it is the collective-self-conscious combining of strategic refusal of systems of oppression alongside creative prefiguration of new worlds which creates multiplicities of lived experiments in organising, being, doing, relating, living and loving and dynamism for social transformation. As such, these movements are utopias in motion. Finally, I have outlined the chapters of this thesis.

# CHAPTER 2
# Crisis, politics and power: A review

CHAPTER 2: Crisis, politics and power: A review

2.1 Introduction

This chapter explores contemporary crises in multiple planes of society, which are opening up possibilities for new movements to become embodied critiques. I explore how power functions from Foucauldian and a diversity of radical perspectives. Intersectionality, which is core to my research, sheds light on how oppressions and privileges interact, and because of its influence on anarcha-feminist philosophies and practices is discussed in this chapter. Anarcha-feminism is interesting because it provides thereotical and practical solutions to the limits of liberal intersectionality, 'diversity' as a social change-making force has a nuanced critique of the state and visions of more liberal futures.

The first section of Chapter 2 explores contemporary issues of crises within multiple elements of the organising structure of society. Drawing on recent accounts, I argue that capitalism today exists within a very particular form, with historical, as well as new and different forms of organisation, alienation and harm-doing to both people and planet. Secondly, in this section, I explore how, according to current literature, crises are occurring across multiple planes of organisation, global capitalism, neo-liberalism, democracy, representation, humanity and biosphere. Crises of existing systems open up new possibilities for critique, exposure, undermining and perhaps eventual replacement with other ways of organising society and planet which are not profit-driven and which rather may be grounded in compassion for humanity. Recent waves of movements' activity have been building on current crises as opportunities for change-making.

The second section of this literature Chapter 2 explores issues of power – Foucauldian, as well as anarchist, feminist and global South critiques – within the organisation of society. Exploring intersectionality from a mainstream and an anarcha-feminist perspective, I explore the argument that anarcha-feminist perspective is useful as it attempts to combine personal stories with collaborative dismantling of the structures of oppression, which include the state as an oppressor. Examining power and the structures of oppression both within and outside of movements is a crucial aspect of exposing, undermining and seeking to replace those structures, the movement-driven social transformation building.

2.2 Crises of capitalism, liberal democracy and representation

      2.2.1 Capitalism today

This introductory section of the literature explores contemporary understandings and critiques of capitalism today. Drawing on Marxist, post-structuralism and 'new' anarchist analyses, and radical and global feminist understandings of the nature of contemporary capitalism, 'capitalism today', is crucial to understanding what, why and how current movements are critiquing and attempting to undermine, expose and venture beyond the systems of global capitalism and neo-liberalism, as organising logics of society and planet. The section explores Harvey's (2003) 'accumulation by dispossession' as well as his critique of the growth economy (2010), which argue both that human and planetery limits to capital are being reached and overwhelming Peoples and nature. Lilley and Papadopolous (2014, p972) have an all-consuming critique, that they call 'biofinancialisation', where every aspect of human life becomes subsumed. Similarly, Deleuze's (1992) 'biopolitical terrain of contemporary work' sees divisions between free time and work time as being dissolved (Fleming 2013). Anarchist Graeber (2011) critiques debt and money as reducing all human exchange to a business deal inevitably creating huge global and local inequalities. Similarly Butler and Athanasiou, movement-embedded global feminists see intersectionality within these inequalities 'materialised and de-materialised through histories of slavery, colonialism, apartheid, capitalist alienation, immigration and asylum politics, post-colonial

multi-culturalism, gender and sexual normativity, sectarian governmentality and humanitarian reason' (2013, p10). Contemporary movements are thus responding to these old and new forms of global capitalism as living and embodied critiques of the inequalities, unsustainability, disposability of some lives more than others, its lack of concern for diverse peoples and nature as will be explored in this thesis.

The nature of capitalism is arguably shifting from a social relation between capital and labour, working class and bourgeoisie, to a much more expansive mode of operation where all aspects of human and planetary life are being subsumed in its operation. In 2003, Harvey describes 'accumulation by dispossession' as privatisation of commons and environment. David Harvey summarized Karl Marx's description primitive accumulation as 'entailed taking land, say, enclosing it, and expelling a resident population to create a landless proletariat, and then releasing the land into the privatized mainstream of capital accumulation' (2005, p149). And so, for Adam Smith and Karl Marx, 'primitive accumulation' describes the ways in which class distinction creates those who possess and those who do not. So Harvey created his own term (2003) 'accumulation by dispossession' to describe the ways in which contemporary capitalism requires a colonial or imperialist-like othering, which is created firstly by the end of US global hegemony using IMF, credit and financialisation, to internally and externally pressure for neoliberal shifts, harmfully impacting wellbeing and social institutions, and secondly that which is enabled domestically, by privatisation, Thatcherite and Reaganite politics being seen as the 'only way'. These processes, he argues create crises, opportunities to profiteer, like the fall of the USSR, and war in Iraq. Harvey argues that the constant need for more accumulation is achieved by 'enclosing' global and environmental commons (through patenting, GMOs), commodification of nature (water, air, land), of culture (through the music industry), privatisation of the public sector (from water to education) and rolling back of a regulatory framework that has been created from years of struggle for rights. He describes war, credit and financialisation as 'predatory' and 'fraudulent' practices which create extreme violence and gambling pockets in the world markets. Capitalism today, arguably, depends on growth economy that is unsustainable.

Harvey (2010) argues that maintaining compound growth at a rate that is considered a 'healthy' economy will be virtually impossible in the future, because capitalism has already expanded to its human and planetary limits. Continuing along the neo-liberal growth model would cause so much destruction and harm to so many people that it would not be viable, he argues, therefore an alternative will have to be found, as he argued at the WSF talk in 2010. Contemporary movements are embodied critiques of neoliberalism, the 'growth model' and are highlighting issues of sustainability as will be discussed in this research.

Similarly, 'biofinancialisation', argue, Lilley and Papadopoulos, since the 1980s, has brought a culture of valuation that spread well beyond financial markets to pervade 'everyday life, subjectivity, ecology and materiality' (2014, p972). Value production has shifted to incorporate the 'extended life world of working people, their networks of sociality and the commons' (2014, p972). However, Marxist and post-Marxist political economy are insufficient to explain, analyse and act, they argue, because even the social studies of finance itself performs and reproduces biofinancialisation, as this thesis illustrates. Lilley and Papadopoulos describe a 'culture of valuation' in everyday life where financial value subsumes all other forms of value, to such an extent, that financial value is used to express the primacy of investment value over all other values (aesthetic, use, moral, ecological, material, and cultural). The context they describe is the 'third stage in the system of production', decline and transformation of industrial production in the global North, deindustrialisation, rise of service and retail industries and proliferation of 'atypical, precarious workers' (2014, p975). And its 'regime of accumulation' relies on 'double architecture of production': the immediate labour process, and broader aspect of people's lives everyday activities, subjective capacities and so on reaching beyond the workplace

into the commons, common forms of relationality, which are neither public nor private (2014, p975).

Lilley and Papadopoulos (2014) argue that in capitalism today, labour is both intensified and extensified creating more precariousness and insecurity and suffering of workers, whilst the middle and professional classes, continue to flourish. They argue that within biofinancialisation, living labour experiences intensification (increased working day and increased workload) and extensification (value production becomes embodied, 'it becomes an indissoluble characteristic of the whole situated existence of each single worker') (2014, p976), whilst managerial/professional/middle classes maintain and strengthen their position, through access to socio-cultural capital (Lilley and Papadopoulos 2014). Under the culture of valuation, in biofinancialisation, 'the principle of investment value hinges on the belief that the future is exploitable' (Lilley and Papadopoulos 2014, p973). So, risk and uncertainty prevail. Many would argue that the culture of valuation is so ethically wrong and so detached from lived experience that it cannot continue. Movements like Occupy and Reclaim the Power are critiquing the inequalities, risks and lack of thought from those in power for current and future generations, as will be discussed.

Fleming (2013) drawing on Deleuze's (1992) 'biopolitical terrain of contemporary work' argues that capitalism today is marked by a blurring of divisions like work time / free time, to such an extent that they become obsolete. For Fleming, the battle is no longer between 'labour and capital' – but between 'capital and life' because capitalism today subsumes all areas of our lives, so that bankers and precarious immigrant workers suffer similarly, as the frontline of struggle 'runs through the middle of each of us' (Tiqqun 2012, p12). The battle zone has shifted from being between classes – to within each and every one of us so shifting our understanding of sites of power and of resistance from social relations to the self and 'opening up the idea of a 100% (rather than a 99 versus 1%)' (Burrell 2013c, p17). Occupy has brought inequalities back onto the discussion as described in this section and throughout the thesis.

From an anarchist anthropological perspective, Graeber (2011a), in his book 'Debt: The first 5000 years', argues that today's capitalism is characterised by debt and money, reducing all human exchange to a business deal. He traces the use of money, connecting its history to crime, rape and pillage, colonialism and slavery, 'violence, crime and recompense, war and slavery, honour, debt and redemption' (2011a, p19). Critiquing debt, he questions what we do, as humans, actually owe each other, punctures the myth of barter, and other competing myths of debts to primordial gods, or to the state, and describes the state and market as having been born together and always intertwined. 'One thing that all these misconceptions have in common is that they tend to reduce all human relations to exchange, as if our ties to society, even to the cosmos itself can be imagined in the same terms as a business deal', he argues (Graeber 2011a, p18). And contemporary movements with their embodied values, means and ends alignment are disrupting the neoliberal dogma, as this research discusses.

What's more global capitalism is not detrimentally affecting all people in equal measure. Some are profiteering, some are getting by, and some have their very existence put on the line. Anarchist anthropologist, David Graeber coined the term 'mafia capitalism' – to describe a global economic system which is 'of the 1% and for the 1%' (2012c). The 1% - 99% conception of class which cleverly captured people's imaginations and was applicable to many local, national and global realities around distribution of wealth and power, shifted the terms of debate, putting class politics back on the political map and inequalities as the focus of discussion about contemporary capitalism. Jeffrey Sachs, a mainstream-Left economist, following the 2008 crises, named it as 'the systemic problematic'. He also called Occupy 'Occupy Global Capitalism', describing it as 'a popular revulsion against a global economic system that has caused vast inequalities in income, claimed new victims of

poverty and mass unemployment and that lacks a moral and political framework oriented to the needs of the millions of people being left behind by global economic change'. (Schiffrin et al 2012, p5).

Butler and Athanasiou, movement-embedded global feminist scholars, in a similar way to Graeber, but with a more intersectionally thrashed-out, argue that dispossession is 'materialised and de-materialised through histories of slavery, colonialism, apartheid, capitalist alienation, immigration and asylum politics, post-colonial multi-culturalism, gender and sexual normativity, sectarian governmentality and humanitarian reason' (2013, p10), so that in a world where 'having' is 'being' and 'being' is 'having', land and property ownership has been decided by 'western, white, male, colonising, property-owning, sovereign human subject' (2013, p13) so that certain bodies (those of slaves) are paradigmatically excluded. Today's 'global market economy of neo-liberal capitalism and "debtocracy"' thus affords a 'differential allocation of humanness' (2013, p11) those worthy of life and those not, which is mapped onto particular bodies in particular places and 'through situated practices raciality, gender, sexuality, intimacy, able-bodiedness, economy and citizenship' (2013, p13). Neo-liberal regimes thus allocate disposability and precarity, where certain groups are differentially exposed to violence, indebtedness and death – what Membe calls 'necro-politics'. This will be discussed in more depth in section 2.2.3 Power, domination, oppressions and intersectionality.

Lilley and Papadopoulos (2014) and Harvey (2010), both ask 'what is to be done?'. Harvey argues for a united Communist Left whilst Lilley and Papadopoulos point to autonomy, which they argue refers to the 'idea that social conflicts and social movements drive social transformation instead of just being a mere response to (economic and social) power' (Lilley and Papadopoulos 2014, p980).

Movements are also influencing the Left, with political parties like Corbyn's labour party in the UK, Podemos in Spain and Syriza in Greece are emerging out of contemporary movements for transformation, with anti-austerity, in some cases anti-European Union and in others anti-corruption critiques and policies. These parties have been gaining votes and seats in Parliament in recent elections. This thesis focuses on movement-initiated social transformation building and the movements discussed in the thesis have certainly influenced the more traditional Left.

In this contemporary context traditional Left Unions, parties and movements are generally failing to gain traction, against a capitalism which is so all-encompassing of every aspect of human life and planetary life. As a result, new bottom-up grassroots movements which are re-defining relationships between peoples, and people and nature are evolving. Many of these movements are horizontal, prefigurative and shifting understandings and practices of political and social participation and emancipation. This thesis thus explores some of the ways contemporary movements are responding to these old and new forms of global capitalism as living and embodied critiques of the inequalities, unsustainability, disposability of some lives more than others, its lack of concern for diverse peoples and nature and the lived solutions being created.

2.2.2 Contemporary crises

Contemporary crises are opening new possibilities for movements to expose, undermine and seek to replace systems of global capitalism, neoliberalism, liberal democracy, (neo)colonialism and coloniality.

> From climate crisis to financial crisis to the crisis of democracy… Today's protest groups, for example the Indignados or the Occupy movement constitute new 'cultures of repair' as it were which search for ways out of these crises and the partial inability of politics to act.

(Weibel 2016, p24)

Global crises are arguably creating fertile conditions for social movements to take route and flourish in diverse socio-cultural environments across the world. They are creating new opportunities for movements to expose, undermine and move beyond the dominant structures with horizontal collectives, communities and networks and through anti-oppressive practices. Thereby creating opportunities for today's movements to experiment with other alternative organising logics to those in crisis through new ways of doing, being and relating. This section explores different understandings of contemporary crises to which movements discussed in this thesis are at least in part responding.

Exploring contemporary crises is crucial to understanding what stimulates movements, to attempt to move beyond current systems which are arguably failing on many counts, whether we measure this through inequalities, levels of daily violence, huge numbers of displaced people, lack of intrinsic values guiding the organisation of global society or the devastating rate of ecological and environmental destruction. For some we are experiencing crises of capitalism (Harvey 2010, 2014, Holloway 2010, 2014), for others crisis of neo-liberalism (Birch and Myckernho 2010, Monbiot 2016), a mismanagement of financial crisis exposing deep structural inequalities (Yaroufakis 2016, Schiffrin and Kircher-Allen 2012), a crisis of liberal representative democracy (Weibel 2016, Free University 2016), lack of compatibility between capitalism and democracy (Mouffe 2014, Weibel 2016, Corporate Watch 2016), dissolution of trust which holds the social contract together (Castells 2012). For others we are witnessing a crisis of humanity in the form of the refugee crisis (Žižek 2016), or crisis of planetary sustainability (Harvey 2010, Monbiot 2016). Contemporary movements are at least in part responding to these crises, through their refusal to engage with archaic oppressive systems, their refusal of demands to outdated nation-state forms, but rather live and embody alternative sets of values and relationships, horizontal and prefigurative, which may eventually make the old systems obsolete, as discussed in this research.

This section explores the notion that our current crises are crises of capitalism. Harvey (2010, 2014) argues that capitalism is in a constant state of crisis and that the conditions for the 2008 crisis were set by attempts to recover from the 1970 crisis. He views crises as moments of possibility and paradox because the fundamental weaknesses of capitalism and hypocrisies of the neo-liberal ideology and dogma become exposed, with opportunity 'for radical movements to challenge the reproduction of an already destabilised class power' (Harvey 2010, p245), as shown in this research. For Holloway, 'cracks in capitalism', the many diverse puncturings of capitalist social relations, of which the movements discussed arguably are one form, create a means by which capitalism, already in an advanced state of decay, becomes most breakable (2010, 2014). He views capitalism as a historically specific form of organisation, which during financial crises is at its weakest and most vulnerable. Cockburn critiques Holloway, as stopping 'doing' capitalism is insufficient to deal with complex intersectional power (2012). Rather she argues for a re-structuring of social relationships and actual 'transfer of resources, privilege and entitlement' (2012, p218). Some of the movements discussed in my fieldwork, are certainly intersectionally aware and arguably intersectionally structured, as will be discussed more in the next section. Harvey (2010), similarly, describes crises as moments of possibilities and paradoxes where all manner of localised possibilities arise, with new opportunities for nascent capitalists to seize older hegemonies, or 'for radical movements to challenge the reproduction of an already destabilised class power' (Harvey 2010, p245). However, Harvey has an over simplistic understanding of resistance movements, desiring a united communist Left, misunderstanding and underestimating the potential and actual contribution of the autonomous and anarchist movements (Baptist 2010, Cox 2010, Shephard 2010, Thompson 2010) discussed in more depth in section 2.3.2, and throughout this thesis.

Mismanaging of the financial crisis, where political and financial elites were exposed as being too close to each other, self-interested, continuing to profiteer whilst handing out severe austerity programme in the UK, US and across Europe, created crises of trust and loss of faith in neo-liberalism on many levels. Holloway and Picciotto (1977) discuss the ways in which crisis, capital and the state interact using the case of austerity and cuts. They argue that the state plays a vital role in the maintenance and reproduction of capital as a relation of class domination and should be viewed as historically specific and thus changeable. This is actually similar to the anarcha-feminist perspective of class, state and capitalism, that is discussed later in this chapter.

Yaroufakis (2016) describes the Eurozone crisis, with a pyramid scheme of debt, emerging post World War II, propped by the banking boom, creating inevitable catastrophe for Southern European countries. Debt and harsh austerity for those suffering the most created recessions and fertile ground for the far Right to flourish. Social movements did however also spring up and strengthen their constituency, as discussed in Chapter 8.2 in relation to Greek, Spanish and Italian Assemblies, as the Agora99 European horizontal movements conference illuminates. Similarly, according to Schiffrin and Kircher-Allen (2012) in the UK, debt-financed consumption, hid underlying weaknesses of low demand and poor infrastructure. Subsequent severe cuts to public services created unnecessary suffering for workers (poor and middle classes), who were subsidising corporations, mainly banks creating ever-increasing inequality. These were the UK-based preconditions for the seeding of Occupy to St Pauls, as Occupy London Stock Exchange.

Castells (2012) describes a mass movement response to a crisis of trust, in the Arab world against violent dictatorships, in Europe and the US against mishandled management of the financial crisis, where governments sided with financial elites responsible for the crisis. He describes crises of the trust required to glue together society, the market, the institutions thus dissolving the social contract. Tunisia, was the first country in this Arab wave of movements, as discussed in my pilot (Burrell 2013b) and in Chapter 3.3.1, exploring dilemmas of participatory democracies. The horizontal Occupy International intervention at the WSF and on the streets of Tunisia sheds light on the Tunisian case.

Birch and Mykhnenko (2010) ask whether recent crisis marks the collapse of the global economic order, illustrating a huge geo-political shift in banking's centre, the 'return of geopolitics' (2010, p16), decline of Atlantic power and the Wall Street regime, as well as revealing the intrinsic link between neo-liberalism as a 'state/class project' and global financial capital (Wong 2009). Global shifts of economic power away from the former dominant nodes of Wall Street and London, could also be precursors to that wave of movements.

Other commentators, movement-embedded and activist-communities view *liberal* or *representative democracy* as being in crisis for various reasons, as this thesis will illustrate. Hardt and Negri (2000, 2004) focus on how the governance of economic and cultural flows has been removed from the people, so transformation is about reclamation of creation of social institutions in the loosest sense. Movement-embedded Weibel, (2016) asks whether we are currently experiencing a crisis of democracy, describing a crisis in liberal representative democracy, in which citizens are expressing 'growing discontent with representative, liberal, pluralist democracy – and above all with totalitarian regimes - and calling for rights of participation that go far beyond the rights that democratic institutions currently offer them' (Weibel 2016, p30).

The Free University (2016), which evolved from Occupy London and the Bank of Ideas, suggests that representative democracy will never work for the benefit of the people as it emerged alongside institutional hierarchy to control the harvest surplus denying means of life to maintain the structural elite. Corporate Watch (2016), a movement-based research group argue that capitalism through the neo-liberal consent industry, has created a hollowed out, carefully managed version of 'democracy' which limits and represses the imagination

of the possible, and co-opts and represses to protect unequal power structures from the potential force of participatory democracy (Gordon 2015, p3). Similarly, Monbiot (2016), echoes Thomas Picketty's argument that no government programme can survive without an 'apparatus of justification'. Neo-liberalism, which was supposed to emancipate us and offer 'autonomy and freedom' instead delivers 'atomisation and loneliness' (Monbiot 2016, p16), psychiatric conditions and huge ecological and environmental damage. Santos (2005) has long considered liberal democracy as experiencing crises, of representation and participation as well as crises of legitimacy. As it is only concerned with the state-citizen relationship and ignores huge spheres of human experience and of domination, oppression and resistance potential, explored more fully in sections 2.2. and Chapter 3.

Žižek (2016) explores the current refugee crisis as a crisis of humanity where, following Sloterdijk, 'capitalist globalisation' separates its privileged Inside from its Outside which introduces a radical class division across the entire globe (p5-7). For Žižek, Paris terrorist attacks and the constant flows of migrants are momentary reminders of the violence that goes on outside. This analysis sheds light on and reinforces Butler and Athanasiou's account of some lives, being paradigmatically excluded, according to histories of slavery, colonialism, patriarchy and Western liberal ideologies. Žižek (2016, p5-7) furthermore, views the situation around ISIS clashes of civilisation (Christian West versus radicalised Islam), but also clashes within civilisations, with US and Western Europe against Russia, as violence which creates seas of moving people, dispossessed, fleeing violence and looking for safe home spaces, what is otherwise known as the refugee crisis. Some of the movements discussed in my fieldwork are mobilising around the refugee crisis as a crisis of humanity and how these global clashes of Empires affect racist policies and policing in the UK and beyond. Furthermore, women, children and LGBT people on the move away from oppressive states create another layer of complexity to this issue, stimulating solidarity from 'distant' people, who may become friends.

Monbiot (2016), on neoliberalism's social and environmental devastation, argues that we sit back and watch the spectacle, rather than organising against it, as our ways of life also cause huge ecological and environmental damage, climate change, pollution, nuclear devastation, GMOs, lack of food security, biodiversity loss, indigenous people displaced, everyone is bombed and we are suffering a lack of intrinsic values allowing this to happen. Monbiot's critique although journalistic is holistic and an important analysis of the current crises, especially by linking politics, equality and nature, locally and globally. Similarly, Weibel argues that 'In the Anthropocene epoch, we see conflicts between friends and enemies of the globe, new contracts aspired to between humans and nature (for example sustainability), between generations and nations, between citizens and the state' (Weibel 2016, p24). These new relationships are discussed at length within this thesis, between individuals, collectives, affinities, networks, states and Peoples, between current and future generations and new non-hierarchical relationships with nations and between species.

This section has explored current crises, as they are understood from a variety of perspectives, Marxist, anarchist, movement embedded, global and more mainstream critiques. Recent crises, whether understood as crises of capitalism, neo-liberalism, representative democracy or human and planetary sustainability, have certainly been creating fertile ground for a huge proliferation of diffuse but globally networked movement-based experimental alternatives, like the Arab Spring, Indignados and Occupy and their offshoots, anti-fracking and a revived global climate movement, as well as many forms of refugee solidarity. This provides the basis to explore the ways that movements are exposing, undermining and seeking to venture beyond the oppressive systems with their horizontal affinity groups, collectives, communities and networks using anti-oppressive practices, alternative logics of organising society and new forms of relationship with nature and the planet.

2.3 Power, multiple oppressions, intersectionality and critiques

2.3.1. Introduction

In section, 2.3, I argue that understanding how power operates in society and globally is crucial to understanding the kind of transformation today's movements are trying to achieve. For anarchist or horizontal movements with their means-ends alignment, the forms of power relations that exist at the micro-scale require particular interrogation, in order for movement practices with integrity to be scaled up to some kind of wider scale of social transformation. In section 2.3.2, I explore issues of power from a Foucauldian perspective with critiques and additions from first-, and second-generation feminist and post-colonial critiques of Foucault, from anarchist, feminist and global feminist perspectives. I explore understandings of power-over and power-to, exploitation and domination from autonomous Marxist, Open Marxist and anarchist perspectives. In section 2.2.3, I introduce the concept of intersectionality, and how it can further inform us around multiple structures and processes of domination and oppression, the history of the term, how institutions can transmit power intersectionally and the significance of the concept for anarcha-feminism. In section 2.3.4, I introduce anarcha-feminism, which has been my research principle and praxis, its origins, contemporary relevance, its critique of liberal intersectionality, some examples. I bring in trans-feminist accounts which also inform our understanding of the state as oppressive and show how anarcha-feminism attempts to bring together individual stories of oppression in order to collectively dismantle the structures. Finally, I explore how some writing on Blackness corresponds to anarcha-feminist approaches.

2.3.2 Power – Foucauldian and beyond

Anarchist, feminist, intersectional and global movement-embedded critiques of Foucault are important from my anarcha-feminist perspective and in examining movement-based understandings of power, resistance and solidarity. In this section, I explore Foucauldian power relations, first- and second-generation feminist, and post-colonial critiques of Foucault, from anarchist, feminist and global feminist perspectives, and how they relate to my research. Secondly, I outline and contrast contemporary anarchist and autonomous Marxist understandings of 'power-over' and 'power-to', exploitation and domination, representation and how this relates to the possibility to bring about change galvanised by the movements in my fieldwork. Understanding power relations within horizontal networks is important regarding movements which are simultaneously attempting to dismantle outdated systems like global capitalism and representative democracies with more humane and ecologically sustainable futures, in their everyday practices, as I explore in this thesis. As anarchist movements which are trying to create new worlds in the present the power relations within movements are crucial to prefiguring futures which are more participative and use direct rather than representative forms of democracy, as will be discussed, in this research. New forms of democracy have issues and can, serve to reproduce power relations of mainstream society as is discussed, in my pilot (Burrell 2013b) and in the next chapter. My argument is that horizontal movements must be particularly aware of the power relations within and beyond them if they are to create and recreate something new, sets of anti-oppressive relationships between individuals, collectives, affinities, networks, and Peoples.

Foucault revolutionises our understanding of power relations, by shedding light on how governmentality and neoliberalism operate (Gordon 1994). Foucault draws together power existing on micro and macro scales and critiques Western humanism and the production of truth and argues for government to be economised. He views law and order as dangerous and argues for the right not to be governed. He shows how techniques of power may be

made to serve many different political / social interests - socialist, communist or fascist - the panoptical can be equally well deployed (Gordon 1994). The implication of this is that the political leaning of those in power is not as significant as the mode of operation of the power relations.

Anarchist, feminist, intersectional and global movement-embedded critiques of Foucault are important from my anarcha-feminist perspective and in examining movement-based understandings of power, resistance and solidarity, as discussed in this thesis. For anarchist May, Foucault's work on power, means that firstly, there can be oppression where there is no oppressor and secondly that there can exist power relations which are not oppressive, making political enquiry necessarily moral, which is often overlooked by Marxisms, according to anarchist May (2009). Within anarchist movements, in my research 'oppression' is the preferred term and form of the analysis of power relations as discussed below.

Thus Foucault, according to May (2009) gave a historical account of how power relations arise and how power functions which has created more nuanced understanding of power relations in modern, technological society with larger populations. Drawing on Foucault's description of power functioning in the 'capillaries' of social relations, another anarchist, Gordon argues that the term domination is much more useful than that of hierarchy when describing certain types of power, because hierarchy describes a formal relationship, whereas domination is 'an insidious dynamic, reproduced through performative disciplinary acts in which the protagonists may not be conscious of their roles' (Gordon 2008, p52). The way power operates within horizontal movements through domination and oppression within anarchist and horizontal groups and beyond is explored in greater depth in discussions of the 'horizontality' dilemma, in Chapter 3.

For second wave feminists Diamond and Quinby (1998) both feminism and Foucauldianism, have commonality in seeing the body as a site of power, Foucault glosses over gender configurations of power. Foucault's understanding of power/knowledge and the institutions of truth production – universities, armies, media and the 'complex networks of disciplinary systems and prescriptive technologies' (pxi) echoes well with feminisms' understanding of the technologies of sex, medical and scientific treatment of women's hysteria, invalidism, and capacity for reproduction, first wave feminism attacked disciplines of the body and regulations of populations.  However, because his work disrupts notions of a universal self, he glosses over gender configurations of power. Feminists argue that power is masculinist subjugating women especially through their bodies so that the two regimes of power – power-knowledge and patriarchy should be viewed as intertwining in contemporary society. Second wave feminists have affected the form and functioning of horizontality within movements discussed in this research, as well as their priorities and wider analysis. One significant critique, around issues of horizontality was that of Jo Freeman (1972), discussed in more depth in the 'horizontality' section of the next chapter.

Furthermore, the postcolonial feminist critique of Foucault, is that women and People of Colour (a term used in networks like Occupy and No Borders for promoting safe(r) spaces, see 8.5) become narrowed, partial and other because what is considered 'natural' in Western humanism self-favours the domain of white privileged men. 'The very achievements of Western humanism have been built on the backs of women and people of colour' (Diamond and Quinby 1998, pxv). Similarly, postcolonial feminist theorist, Spivak accuses Foucault (and Deleuze) of speaking in ways that reveal their privileged location as Professors in the French Academy arguing that they 'lack solidarity with those whose existence and ability to speak/act have been obscured by European colonialism (Spivak 1988) (Day 2005, p11). This post-colonial critique has been amplified by Butler and Athanasiou (2013), discussed in the previous section, and can be viewed as a call to action and reflection around these issues of 'Empire'. Methodologically Motta (2011) is working

against this promoting anti-oppressive research, through 'prefigurative epistemology' discussed in Chapters 3, 4 and 9.

Anarchist, Day argues that Spivak's critique can be generalised so that those with structural privilege 'must strive to identify and work against this privilege if they hope to establish relations of solidarity with those who do not share it' (Day 2005, p11). This he argues provides strategies for anarchist affinities to incorporate this into their organising as discussed in the section on Foucault and resistance, in the next chapter. The movements in my fieldwork, I will argue are attempting to embody these critiques with their discourses and anti-oppression practices. Furthermore, decolonising discourse, organising and action are redefining the Western humanist discourses with 'relationship frameworks' and 'nature-culture', as will be explored more fully in the next chapter. (Amahady 2010, Walia 2012, Zunino 2016).

How old are power structures mobilised by contemporary neoliberalism? Butler and Athanasiou (2013) argue that it is through using discourses of democracy and emergency precarity to define who 'has' and who 'has not' in a world where 'having' is 'being' and some humans are thus deigned worthy of life and others are not. They draw on Foucault's biopolitics of power and argue for a non-reductive reading of his analysis which includes both positive and negative, that is repressive and productive forms of governing ourselves and others as crucial in the 'differential allocation of humanness' (Butler and Athanasiou 2013, p31) which justifies the prolonging of life for some and the worthlessness of life for others. They add a very contemporary account as this is as currently being acted out across the globe, in times of crisis to justify white, male, colonising interests over the dispossessed. They argue that human life itself is turned into a political and moral economy – or 'biopolitical governmentality' (2013, p12). Some of the movements discussed in my fieldwork, like Wretched of the Earth, Defend the Right to Protest, and Stop Trump I argue are resistances against this complex system of domination.

For Athanasiou, this is suggestive of the current 'shift taking place in the domain of power from the rule of law and the production of the ordinary to measures of crisis management and therapeutic decrees of emergency (which in turn inculcate another order of ordinariness)' (2013 p12). In such contexts of 'knowledge, power and subjectivity', she continues, it is worth rethinking 'democracy, citizenship and collective agency' by the development of new political strategies that engage the 'dispossession of indebtedness as a crucial moment in the histories of Western liberal democracies' (2013 p12). Land and property ownership which has been decided by subject formation in the histories of 'western, white, male, colonizing, property-owning, sovereign human subject', so that certain bodies – 'paradigmatically the bodies of slaves – are excluded from this classic definition of the biopolitical, which forges a constitutive connection between life, ownership and liberty' so that in the 'political imaginary of (post)colonial capitalist western modernity and its claims of universal humanity, being and having are constituted as ontologically imbricated with each other: being is defined as having, having is constructed as an essential prerequisite of proper human being' (2013, p13). The Stansted15 action intersectionally organised collective action, against deportation, discussed in my fieldwork Chapter 6 and throughout, bringing together black, LGBTQ and environmentalist resistance communities is an example of resistance against this dominant neo-liberal discourse stating that some lives are worth saving and others are not. The collaboration also destabilised power relations within the UK by questioning the racist policies and the Home Office, in particular as the seats of decision-making around who is deemed worthy of saving and who is not.

Santos (2005) views power relations within advanced capitalist societies occurring on and around many social relations existing within different spheres of existence 'patriarchy, exploitation, unequal differentiation of identity, fetishism of commodities, domination and unequal exchange, existing within corresponding structure-agency time-spaces of the household-place, the work-place, community-place, market-place, citizen-place and world-

place' (2005, p1xii). However, liberal democracy, Santos argues, is only concerned with the state-citizen relationship and therefore will always be extremely limited, as huge spheres of human experience and of domination, oppression and resistance potential do not feature. Understanding the way different structures and realms of power operate is crucial to the movements, in this research, which are attempting to dismantle them, by creating new forms of relationship between peoples and between people and nature, and between present and future generations.

Forms of anarchist thought, and practice have been influential to today's horizontal and prefigurative movements. So, exploring recent anarchist and movement-embedded activist-anarchists can shed light on how movements are working to shift the sum of power arguably unfair and unequal power relations between people and peoples today. Through re-examining history with an ethno-genesis lens, and obviously influenced by intersectional feminism, movement-embedded anarchist, Graeber argues that most issues within contemporary society resolve around race, class and gender (2004, p52), or in anthropological terms – our kinship systems. He sees clans as working on a global scale intersecting with class and gender relations. On class mobility, that we can find in American history a 'handful of rags to riches stories… (but) it is almost impossible to find an example of an American who was born rich and ended up a penniless ward of the state' (2004, p52). So, whilst very occasional dramatic upward mobility occurs in the US, such dramatic downward mobility is virtually impossible – because of robust supporting networked kinships of the elite. Intersectional power relations have been influential to my research approach, anarcha-feminism, as discussed in more depth in the next section of this chapter. Furthermore, self and collective reflection around privilege and oppression is crucial to the anti-oppressive practices within movements and radical imagining around connecting diverse people in struggle as will be discussed in my analysis Chapters 7 and 8.

Power-to and power-over

Power-over and power-to have become important concepts to movements which are attempting to 'change the world without taking power' (Holloway 2002a). Many movement-embedded researchers/practitioners have utilised these terms to describe how different types of power operate within society and more specifically within collaborative groups and indeed to shift them where necessary, using collective reflection and radical imagining, to more open, accountable and egalitarian sets of relations (Starhawk 1989, Gordon 2008, Juris et al 2012, Juris and Khasnabish 2013, Khasnabish and Haiven 2013). My research is in part a contribution to this project, so in this section I am exploring autonomous Marxist, anarchist and movement-embedded understandings of these terms.

Within contemporary society, John Holloway, an autonomous Open Marxist (see Bonefeld et al 1992a, 1992b, 1995), sees a core binary of class power relations as a constant and contradictory process of classification/declassification of labour into working class identity and other 'identities' (Dinerstein 2012a, p528). Open Marxism is a school of thought different from autonomists, like Hardt and Negri, discussed previously in the crises section. There is a general feeling among anarchists, and specific critique from anarchist Gordon (2008) which argues that John Holloway's understanding of power within society, is not sufficient to explain power relations within anarchist movements-organising. Gordon critiques Holloway's work, which sees a core binary of class power relations as the primary issue because it is reflective of the core issue of capitalism. Holloway distinguishes between 'power-to', frequently collective creative act of 'doing', and 'power-over' which is related to the ability to control others through alienation of 'doing' through the means of production. As such Holloway views property as the 'done', that is the way we are all connected through our collective acts of 'doing', but that the 'done', property stays within the hands of those who have 'power over' – a theft regulated by the state (Gordon 2008). Those who have power-over are thus fundamentally connected to those who have power-to in a relationship of domination, although ironically neither can exist without the other.

Whilst Holloway values Foucault's contribution to understanding power relations as complex and he critiques the locus of oppression as being within the word, language. Dinerstein (2000) also argues that Foucault does not explain the content of power the reason being that he does not want to engage with Marxism. For Holloway, the core oppression and problematic power relation is in the separation between the 'doing' and the 'doers' from the 'done', the workers from the capitalists or property-owners. The content of power is this hidden subordination of life to the money-value-form, argues Dinerstein (2012a).

Anarchist Gordon (2008) however critiques Holloway's understanding of power for two reasons. Firstly, it takes place on the level of society as a whole and within capitalist social relations, thus cannot explain situations of power within for example anarchist groups that his research explores. Secondly, Holloway discusses two sole elements as a 'binary antagonism' and does nothing to explain the wielding of power-to in human relations, as opposed to material labour. Gordon thus introduces another form of power (drawing on and expanding the work of Starhawk), which he calls 'power-with as non-coercive influence', a cooperative form of power, where individuals influence each other's behaviours, with no conflict of interests. This power can still be wielded in a way that is unequal or abusive, Gordon argues (Gordon 2008, p55).

The horizontal movements discussed in Chapter 3, and in my thesis, experience a huge variety of power relations. They are attempting to minimise 'power-over' within their own organising, and in the futures, they are embodying and creating. 'Power-to' can be usefully used within movements to gain social change transformation making traction. 'Power-with', the co-operative form of power can, as discussed in depth by Gordan (2008) and in Chapter 3, be used in a way that is unequal or abusive. As well as friendships and cliques being sometimes problematic, personal attributes like charisma, confidence, looks and energy are resources, that can be difficult to redistribute in anarchist/horizontal organising. Youth, age, experience and personal connections are also discussed within my fieldwork as potentially inclusionary or exclusionary factors, in relation to Rhythms of Resistance International anti-oppression work.

The contemporary movements discussed in this thesis are, alongside other anarchist/horizontal movements, attempting to address and re-dress issues within power relations at multiple scales and in many arenas, both within their own affinities, collectives and networks and across the globe. The way power operates from micro-to-macro are interrelated, I argue, especially within these prefigurative movements and their means-end approach of creating possible futures in the shell of the old. As such attention to the minutiae of power relations in movements organising is crucial to creating multiplicities of new relationships, which are hyper-aware and hyper-reflexive around not wielding power-over others and thus, as Holloway describes 'changing the world without taking power' (2002a). The next chapter goes into more depth on the micro-politics of social movements organising.

'Exploitation' and 'domination'

Anarchists and Marxists differ in their understandings of power relations, argues post-anarchist May, as can be viewed by contrasting the two terms, exploitation and domination (May 2009). Exploitation is capitalist extraction of surplus value from the worker, and is firmly rooted within the economic sphere, although it touches on all aspects of life. It requires experts and parties. May argues that those less familiar with anarchism may credit it as having a critique of the state, but he defines anarchism as being concerned with domination broadly 'to oppressive power relations' (May 2009, p12). There can be no experts in domination, it is elastic so that different appearances are 'irreducible' to a specific form of domination. So, for example gender domination may be related to exploitation, but it is not reducible to it. They may well intersect but, May argues, each particular form of domination, its history, how it works and how it 'relates to, reinforces and is reinforced by other forms' must be explored (May 2009, p12). In this thesis, whilst I explore the concept of

'exploitation', it is 'domination' and 'oppression' the anarchist or post-anarchist conceptions of power that I use. Anarcha-feminism adds an intersectional approach to understanding how those different forms of domination and oppression exist as complex matrices within society and within movements themselves, as will be discussed in the next section.

Representation is also an important concept within my research, in the sense that anarchist and horizontal movements are experimenting with participatory democracy forms that do not use, or try to, minimise representation. Contemporary movements are arguably living-embodied critiques of representative democracy as they are of hierarchy, as mentioned in the last section 2.1.2 on crises. May (2009) argues that, anarchist thought mistrusts 'all forms of power exercised by one group over another' (May 2009, p27).

May traces this back to the history of Bakunin and Marx's disagreement in the First International, as being around the idea of representation, as a political concept. Bakunin critiqued both in strategy and in goal the idea of representation as a political concept, in Marx's politics, thus May (2009) defines anarchism as a struggle against representation in public life. May distinguishes between administrative representation as empowering others to carry out a program with a general goal, from political representation as the handing over of decision-making power from represented to representor. The movements discussed in my research attempt to limit 'political' representation especially. The case of the organising process of the resistance to the COP21 2015 in Paris, in which Reclaim the Power London and Rhythms of Resistance International network, were both organising collectives within an international mobilisation sheds light on some of the dilemmas around representation within horizontal organising as discussed in my fieldwork chapters.

This section has explored power from Foucauldian, anarchist, post-anarchist, feminist, post-colonial, autonomous Marxist and post-anarchist perspectives. For movements attempting to dismantle multiple structures, understanding of how power operates in contemporary society, across the globe, through power-over, exploitation / domination, representation is crucial to bringing about change and finding other ways of organising, being, doing and relating which are free from oppression. As discussed in this section, within anarchist and horizontal movements which are prefiguring alternative futures, the way power operates in the minutae is crucial to creating the means-ends process of social transformation, as Holloway discusses, 'changing the world without taking power' (2002a).

2.3.3 Intersectionality

Intersectionality is an important concept within this thesis, as it forms a theory of how multiple power structures coexist, and reinforce each other, which is crucial to movement-embedded understandings of how those structures might be exposed, undermined or dismantled. In addition, intersectionality has been hugely influential to anarcha-feminism, which aims to end all forms of domination and oppression, with sensitivity to micro- and macro-politics, alike, and has influenced my research approach. In this section, I explore the roots and context of intersectional feminism, the role of institutions in reproducing intersectional power structures and the usefulness of intersectionality for understanding power relations in movements and beyond.

Liberal feminism sought equality for women within the workplace, whilst Marxist feminism located women's oppression within the economic sphere (Rogue 2012). Marxist feminism 'married' patriarchy with capitalism as the 'dual systems approach' to locate women as being oppressed by both capitalism and patriarchy (Cockburn 2012). However, whilst the mainstream women's movement focused on universal sisterhood, it marginalised those who argued around addressing other oppressions, as secondary or divisive, policing identity to fit the dominant demographic of 'white, affluent, heterosexual and non-disabled' (Rogue 2012, p27), thus there existed hierarchies of womanhood within movements 'reflecting the dominant culture of racism, capitalism and heteronormativity' (Rogue 2012, p29). And so, in the 1980s, 'intersectionality' was created to make sense of how multiple oppressions of

class, race and gender intersect in such complex ways that it is difficult to begin to unravel them.

'Intersectionality' is a term coined by black feminists, understanding sex, class and race and 'positionality' to various dimensions of power as a 'producer of relative advantage and disadvantage' (Weeks 1988, p4). Whilst some referred to this as 'processes and practices' others 'shamelessly reclaimed' structure (Weeks 1988, p4). 'Capitalism, patriarchy and white supremacy are not isolated forces but rather systems that traverse the entire social horizon and intersect at multiple points' (Weeks 1998, p5). Within this thesis, I consider intersectionality as complex matrices of privilege and oppression within which we are all differentially situated. One of the criticisms waged at intersectionality is that it focuses too much on individual experience thus dividing people by identity, discussed in later sections.

Cockburn, in her (2012) critique of Holloway, considers institutions as being crucial to reproducing intersectional power relations. The 'points of intersection of class, gender and racializing processes and practices are often institutions, in scale from local to international' (2012, p212). Thus, intersectionality reminds us that institutions exist to organise and transmit power intersectionally. Cockburn draws on the following examples to illustrate her point - British Aerospace and Credit Suisse, as 'bastions' of economic power, but also 'vectors' of male and ethno-national power; a Christian Synod, is not just a 'classic embodiment' of a specific culture, but also manifests patriarchal power and administers wealth. The family seen as 'the foundation of patriarchy' also ensures retention of wealth down generations, and ensures cultural reproduction (Cockburn 2012, p214).

Young and Schwartz (2012) consider how intersectional power relations occur also within movements. In my pilot methodology and dissertation (Burrell 2013b, 2013c), I have argued that power relations of mainstream society tend to be to some extent be reproduced within activist communities. Young and Schwartz (2012) also critique Holloway's work for lack of understanding and depth regarding how intersectionality occurs within movements. However, they do not provide a more in-depth account. This thesis does explore the everyday lived experience of intersecting power relations within movements as one of its themes and contentions (discussed in section 2.4).

2.3.4 Anarcha-feminist critique of intersectionality, transfeminism - an end to class society, and capitalism through collective action

In this work, my approach is anarcha-feminist (to be discussed in greater depth in Chapter 4, my methodology). Anarcha-feminism, combines anarchism and feminism, seeking to create a world free from all forms of domination and oppression, building on 1980s intersectionality and is sensitive to micro and macro-politics. An anarcha-feminist approach throughout my participation in movements, the fieldwork and writing, has arguably enhanced my sensitivity and awareness around issues of power, privilege, and multiple oppressions both within movements and beyond. This section explores the routes of anarcha-feminism, some definitions and useful additions and outcomes of trans-feminist anarcha-feminism for movements and beyond.

In 1936, the Mujeres Libres – a women's anarchist organisation founded in Spain aimed to end the 'triple enslavement of women, to ignorance, to capital and to men' (Ackelsburg 2005, p27). More recently, following intersectional feminism, anarcha-feminists 'develop understanding of class, race, ability and LGBTQIA issues' with emphasis on the idea that all women do not experience oppression in the same way: 'we try to be aware of our privilege and to make ourselves aware of and learn from women's struggles globally' (RAG 2012, p13). Whilst traditional anarchism views the workplace as a site of revolutionary dialogue, feminism adds the family and body as additional sites of conflict. The ultimate aim of anarcha-feminism, being to create a world, free from all forms of domination and oppression.

Anarcha-feminists tend to hold, contrary to many Marxist and liberal feminists, that class, gender (and institutional power) are intimately, entwined yet also important factors for analysis and action in their own right.

(Ince 2010, p292)

Ince (2010) argues that anarcha-feminists give profound new angles on gender issues, like powerful critiques of institutions of love and relationships, like the state-regulated legal binding of monogamous relationships, these institutional spaces as sites of commodification (the registry office, the home), as well as continued sexualisation through capital and gendered relations of emotional value and taste. Present-giving, romance, flattery, love-making produce 'a gendered geography of value based on multiple interconnected relationships between sites of exploitation, consumption, reproduction and potential liberation which lie at the heart of both anarchism and feminism' (Ince 2010, p292). Circulation of people through institutional spaces creates 'filters' for assessment and surveillance especially where one partner is a migrant, creating borderlands and issues around marginalisation and profiteering by rich men. Emma Goldman, the most famous anarcha-feminist wrote that the statist politics, capital and gender imbalances are all entwined throughout all states whatever their level of female suffrage (Ince 2010, p292). And yet, while anarcha-feminisms and intersectional anarchisms are flourishing, Amster et al., describe a lack of women on their editorial collective as 'their greatest processual limitation' (2009, p6).

Trans-feminism

Trans-feminism is a relatively new form of anarcha-feminism which is starting to influence anarcha-feminism and social movements' discourses and praxes. With a strong critique of liberal intersectionality and the state policing gender, transfeminists are using the combining of personal stories of intersecting oppression to collectively dismantle the multiple structures of oppression. Within movements trans-awareness in gender oppression is being taught at gatherings, and many meetings now start with trans-inclusive introductions. Trans-feminism has made an enormous contribution to anarcha-feminism, which can otherwise be quite quiet and low profile.

There have been conflicts between radical feminists and trans-feminists within the women's, anarchist and Left movements between those who see 'women only' spaces as trans-inclusive and those who do not, among other issues. This discord is not however something that I will focus on this research, rather, I am bringing the trans-feminist accounts of social transformation making and ideas around utopian thinking and praxis to shed light on the ways movements are, and could potentially galvanise more transformation-making potential. In a sense, the trans-feminist ideas around change-making are transformative and are included as key to my argument, as outlined in the Introduction, revisited in my Concluding thoughts in Chapter 9.

Anarcha-feminist and trans-feminist accounts are thus both useful and gaining weight in the movements and the academy alike, and they are useful in my research for exploring how multiple oppressions are constructed, could be exposed, undermined or dismantled and how many possible ways of being could come into existence:

The role of anarcha-feminist is to expose the seams, overlaps and complexity of multiple oppressions, so as to tear them down and construct more liberatory, more desirable and more sustainable relations with which to begin fashioning our futures. (Rogue and Volcano 2012, p44)

Anarcha/trans-feminist critiques of liberal intersectionality offer valuable insight to my research project. Rogue (2012), a trans-feminist, criticises the women's and many other movements for being 'biologically essentialist' and failing to recognise trans issues as part of gender politics, arguing that transgender (trans) awareness is useful to understanding

how the state, capitalism, patriarchy and the medical field 'police' all of our genders and human experience. Inspired by the multi-racial women's movement's 'intersectionality', and multiple oppressions, anarcha-feminism's desire to end all forms of domination and oppression and anarchism's commitment to end to all hierarchies and means-ends alignment, fit well together. Trans-feminism argues in a similar vein that 'universal female experience' is 'biologically essentialist'. It views gender as socially constructed, arguing that 'capitalism, the state, patriarchy, and the medical field mediate the way everyone feels gender' thus 'policing' human experience (Rogue 2012, p1). Trans-feminism is becoming increasingly influential within anarcha-feminism, and beyond, within the academy and movements – as trans-feminists write and teach about trans-gender issues.

Trans-feminists (Rogue and Volcano 2012) critique liberal intersectionality from an anarcha-feminist perspective, around the role of the state, the relationship between agency and structure and concerning reform/revolution issues. This is crucial to my research which is exploring *how* contemporary movements are galvanising social transformation making traction.

Firstly, trans-feminists view the state as a structure of oppression, which polices gender and all aspects of humanity, relating to debates around movements' autonomy, discussed in the next chapter. Secondly, they view liberal intersectionality as focusing too much on individual experience and too little on how to collectively dismantle the structures of oppression, whereas anarcha-feminism, attempts to reconnect agency with structure, relating personal stories to structures of oppression so people can work collectively to dismantle them. Thus, providing a very practical strategy for social-transformation-making. Thirdly, Rogue and Volcano (2012) critique liberal intersectionality's lack of differentiation between the different structures of oppression, for example viewing class as a 'cultural identity' rather than a structure of oppression, creates misunderstandings over how different structures function, like class versus race. They view respecting diversity, as acting as if the structures can be reformed, when actually they must be destroyed altogether, as such they are criticising mainstream 'rights and responsibilities' discourses of society. Their approach is certainly revolutionary rather than reformist around issues like diversity.

> Although the theory suggests that hierarchies and systems of oppression are interlocking, mutually constituting and sometimes even contradictory, intersectionality has often been used in a way that levels structural hierarchies and oppressions.
>
> (Rogue and Volcano 2012, p43)

Rogue and Volcano, similarly to Cockburn (2012) view systems of oppression and institutionalised hierarchies as reinforcing each other:

> The systems also reproduce one another. White supremacy is sexualised and gendered. Heteronormativity is racialized and classed. Oppressive and exploitative institutions and structures are tightly woven together and hold one another up.
>
> (Rogue and Volcano 2012, p44)

Thus, their view of how to galvanise social transformation means that all the structures of oppression must be dismantled in order to create more liberatory futures.

For anarcha-feminists, the logical conclusion of intersectionality is 'an anti-state and anti-capitalist perspective (as well as revolutionary stance regarding white supremacy and hetero-patriarchy)' whilst creating more liberatory, more desirable and more sustainable relations for possible futures (Rogue and Volcano 2012, p45) which necessitates anarcha-feminists to construct their own form of intersectionality:

> We don't exist in a society of political equals, but in a complex system of domination where some are governed and controlled and ruled in institutional processes that anarchists describe as the state…. We are not just bodies that exist in assigned identities, such as race, class, gender, ability, and the rest of the usual laundry list. We are also political subjects in a society ruled by politicians, judges, police and bureaucrats of all manner…our misery is embedded within institutions like capitalism and the state that produce and are (re)produced by the web of identities used to arrange humanity into neat groupings of oppressors and oppressed.
>
> (Rogue and Volcano 2012, p45)

They provide the example of ways that a history of colonial oppression and poverty-related factors affecting maternal ability to support children – combine meaning that women of colour have been particularly and historically targeted for forced sterilisations. This case, they argue requires an understanding of hetero-patriarchy, capitalism, the state, and white supremacy have worked together to create a situation where women of colour are targeted bodily through social programmes such as welfare, medical experiments and eugenics. Once the multiple intersecting oppressions are understood, they argue, it becomes more possible to do social and political activism to support and liberate communities (2012, p46).

Trans-feminists, therefore, add revolutionary discourse to dismantling multiple systems of oppression as well as strategies of how to approach this through the combining of personal stories and histories around how multiple oppressions affect different lives and use this collaboration to collectively dismantle the structures. As such their ideas and anti-oppressive practices are being embedded within some movements, and in this thesis, I argue they provide an amazing strategy for collaborative social movements-building and achieving radical transformation.

On Blackness

Moten and Harney (2013), writing on Blackness, have similar accounts to recent anarcha-feminists, in so far as they see intersections as interlocking and that all the structures must be torn down for the benefit of everyone. The mission of the 'denizen' of the 'undercommons' is to realise that tearing the structures down, is not just good for the Other but for yourself and for everyone.

> no one will really be able to embrace the mission of tearing "this shit down" until they realise the structures that they oppose are not only bad for some of us, they are bad for all of us. Gender hierarchies are bad for men as well as women and they are really bad for the rest of us. Racial hierarchies are not rational and ordered, they are chaotic and non-sensical and must be opposed by precisely all those who benefit from them.
>
> (Halberstam 2013, p10)

I revisit Moten and Harney's (2013) account in later sections, in the next chapter, sections 3.2.4 and 3.3.4.3 and in Chapter 9. Anarcha-feminisms inform our understanding around how power structures and practices intersect, as well our how the state, capitalism and patriarchy police gender, sexuality, romance and love. Anarcha-feminism, attempts to reconnect agency with structure, relating personal stories to structures of oppression so people can work collectively to dismantle those systems. It is sensitive to issues around bodies, love, borders and has an action-focused approach to dismantling systems of oppression and creating the alternative forms of being, doing, relating and loving, discussed in Chapter 8.

## 2.4 Concluding thoughts

This section has explored power relations from Foucauldian, autonomous Marxist, anarchist, post-anarchist, first and second-generation feminist, global feminist, intersectional, anarcha-feminist, trans-feminist and black perspectives and how they relate to contemporary-movements organising. I have also introduced anarcha-feminists and trans-feminism as working to use individual stories of intersectional oppression to better understand structures of domination, so as to take collective action to dismantle them, thus reconnecting agency with structure. Also discussed in this section has been around how crucial and complex micro-political organising is within horizontal movements which are in Holloway's words attempting to 'change the world without taking power' (2002).

Understanding how the contemporary world functions is crucial to those who are trying to galvanize social justice and sustainability change-making. Chapter 2 has explored current crises, of capitalism, neoliberalism, representative democracy, humanity, ecology and sustainability which are opening up new opportunities for movements to critique, undermine and move beyond the dominant systems of oppression. Secondly, it has explored power and how this operates from a Foucauldian perspective, with critiques and additions from autonomous Marxists, anarchists, post-anarchists, feminists, global feminists, and Black theory, shedding light on movement-embedded understandings of what needs to change. Using intersectional, anarcha-feminist, trans-feminist and Black accounts further informs the discussion on this issue, as well as looking beyond power structures to how collective action might combine personal stories with structures of oppression, so as to collectively dismantle global capitalism, class, race, patriarchy, heteronormativity, and the state with other forms of being, doing and relating discussed throughout this thesis.

# CHAPTER 3:

# Social movements' political strategies and dilemmas:
# Exploring the field

CHAPTER 3: Social movements' political strategies and dilemmas: Exploring the field

3.1 Introduction

This thesis explores the dilemmas and contentions of daily organising in contemporary movements, and how they relate to prefigurative and strategic politics and movement-embedded change-making. In this chapter I explore understandings of strategic and prefigurative politics and the dilemmas in the existing literature. By strategic politics, I mean politics usually associated with the Old Left, in terms of leadership, vertical structure, predefined goals, or in horizontal movements, this features more as using analysis, strategy, tactics and notions of effectiveness.[1] By prefigurative politics, I mean new ways of organising which have been increasingly significant within movements since the 1960s Anarchist Turn, about creating future possible worlds in the present. (Burrell, 2013b). Movements are also influencing the Left, with political parties like Corbyn's labour party in the UK, Podemos in Spain and Syriza in Greece emerging out of contemporary utopian movements for transformation, with anti-austerity, in some cases anti-European Union and in others anti-corruption critiques and policies. These parties have been gaining votes and seats in Parliament in recent elctions.

The tensions between the strategic and prefigurative within everyday organising of contemporary social movements, I argue in this thesis, creates dilemmas in micro- and macro-organising as I discussed in detail in my dissertation (Burrell 2013c). In this thesis, I deepen and extend these analyses by exploring how strategic and prefigurative political dilemmas are lived out in the daily organising of today's movements to create movement dynamism for social transformation, the answer my second research question.

The first section of this chapter explores the field of contemporary accounts of change-making. Firstly, I explore how social-change-making, since the 1960s anarchist turn has shifted from a top-down, vertical and strategic to bottom-up, horizontal and prefigurative. I explore accounts of how social transformation might occur from autonomous Marxist, anarchist, post-anarchist, decolonial feminist and anarcha-feminist perspectives and explore the creation of new futures through utopian envisioning and anarchist prefigurative tool of building possible futures today, by bringing down oppressive systems and creating alternative forms of being, doing, relating and I also introduce 'movement dynamism' (Rowe and Carroll 2014) as a galvanising force for social transformation. Finally, in this section, I explore Foucauldian understandings of resistance, and their feminist, post-colonial, black, anarchist and post-anarchist critiques to shed light on how post-anarchist and post-structuralism inform our understandings of how we can act collectively.

The second section introduces the dilemmas and contentions of everyday organising that I discuss in my fieldwork. I draw on accounts of prefigurative and strategic dilemmas from different movements and introduce the dilemmas of daily organising that I have selected here as being fiercely debated both within movements and beyond as well as from my previous work. The dilemmas I introduce are horizontality, direct action, autonomy, decolonising movements, oppression/anti-oppression, balancing order, chaos and radical imagining and dealing with repression.

3.2 'Politics' and contemporary change-making

3.2.1 Introduction

In this section, I argue that the way social transformation is occurring is itself in a state of change, and the role of movements is becoming more significant. Next, I explore

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[1] A 'top-down' movement is one which is vertically structured, like a political party or Trade Union where there exists a defined leadership, and membership. This differs from more anarchist or horizontal movements where there are no defined leaders, leadership may rotate or decisions may be made by assemblies, working groups and collectives.

understandings of social transformation and how it might occur from autonomous Marxist, anarchist, movement-embedded horizontalist perspectives and introduce Rowe and Carroll's (2014) exploration of 'movement dynamism'. I explore utopian envisioning, the anarchist prefigurative process of living possible futures today, anarcha-feminist explorations of changing relations to prioritise compassion and voluntary association and decolonial feminist explorations of different ways of being, doing and loving. Finally, I explore resistance from a Foucauldian perspective, asking whether his work, as part of Western humanism has created a paralysis of collective ethics and action from second generation feminist, global movement-embedded feminist, black and post-anarchist perspectives as well as different possible solutions offered by these different spheres of knowledge for overcoming paralysis, drawn from Rancière, Rosi Braidotti's (2002) 'micro-politics' and Ewa Ziarek's (2001) 'ethics of dissensus'.

### 3.2.2 Social change making itself in transformation

Whilst social movements are springing up, resonating and diversifying in new places with new ways, and having more change-making impact, than was previously anticipated, like Occupy's bringing to the table the issue of inequalities, in a revolution as non-violent as feminism (Graeber 2013b), movement-based, mainstream and academic attention are focusing on movements potential and possibility. Today's movements are bottom-up rather than top-down, horizontal rather than vertical and experimenting with and creating new ways of organising, being, doing and relating (Sitrin 2012b). Movements are also influencing the Left, with political parties like Corbyn's labour party in the UK, Podemos in Spain and Syriza in Greece emerging out of contemporary movements for transformation, with anti-austerity, in some cases anti-European union and in others anti-corruption critiques and policies. These parties have been gaining votes and seats in Parliament in recent elections.

In addition, in this section I ask how contemporary movements are situated within the reform-revolution dilemma, how are they imagining and realising new possible futures and to what extent are they exposing, undermining and replacing dominant systems of oppression. I explore Autonomous Marxist, anarchist, movement-embedded, feminist, anarcha-feminist and Black accounts.

John Holloway suggests (2002a, 2010) todays movements are 'changing the world without taking power' and represent a proliferation of 'cracks in capitalism', whose interstices of other 'doings' will eventually coalesce and replace capitalism altogether. Whereas, for Hardt and Negri (2000, 2004), today's movements represent the multitudes that will subsume Empire, and in discussion, (Hardt & Holloway 2010), Hardt argues for building of new social institutions, which are necessary to realise and sustain transformation. How change will occur is fiercely debated within movements and beyond. A 'restructuring of social relationships', argues Cockburn (2012 p30) is necessary to overcome the complex intersecting bastions of power and domination of class, race and gender (2012). Young and Schwartz (2012) adopt a middle ground between Holloway (2010) and Hardt (2010), arguing that rather than being theoretical about politics, we are practical, so with urgent oncoming catastrophe, like climate change, we use 'all the tools in the box' – from grassroots local, through nation-states to supra-national structures to resolve the crisis before it is too late. De Souza (2010) argues that nowadays many, but not all, libertarians would acknowledge that 'institutional struggle' is at times and in circumstances necessary – not to enter political parties but to influence policy and legislation. The state is understood as a heteronomous structure, so that on a case-by-case basis, movements decide whether or not to use institutional struggle as supplementary to direct action, but 'should not replace it and never eclipse it' (2010, p328).

Hardt and Holloway have a famous conversation, (2010) where they discuss the nature of social transformation. Hardt argues that social transformation will come about through repetition of socal institutions of some form and Holloway argues that it will be more fluid and without institutions at all. Some movements like the Spanish Indignadoes and Greek

Assemblies have formed political parties and gained representation in Parliament at least for some years. Corbyn's Labour was influenced by and supported by the youth and many movements like Reclaim the Power and former Occupiers. It initially had a huge success, only to lose considerable seats in the last election, followed by Corbyn's resignation. Disillusionment following the failure of Corbyn's labour, in the UK, for many activists meant a recommitment to movements-based organising. Anti-austerity parties in Spain and Greece had successes joining with Leftist unions and gaining significant representation in Parliament at least for some years.

Sitrin's work on 'horizontality' and prefiguration within Argentinian and Occupy movements asks 'Who decides what constitutes success? Success can only be determined by those people in struggle; those who are fighting or organising for something' (2012b, p9). It's 'not just about "winning" a struggle, but about the process, which no matter how or where it takes place, forever transforms people's ways of seeing themselves and their relationships to others' (Sitrin 2012b, p9). Similarly, Maeckelbergh argues that since the 'movement of the squares' in Southern Europe and Occupy elsewhere, there has been a shift in the way social movements perceive social transformation worldwide. Since the 1960s, she argues there has been a slow transformation towards the idea that political structures should be discarded, not seized and alternative forms of governance developed through bottom-up organising, 'prefiguration' (Maeckelbergh 2014). Similarly, for Dinerstein (2016), when attempting to read the potential of movements to bring about transformation, and the prefigurative, she describes how alternatives to capitalism have been suppressed. Following Santos (2006, p23), Dinerstein (2015, p370) suggests that we 'need a …sociology of emergences that is a reading of signs that can inform our understanding of transformation. What exists now objectively cannot measure the value of what is becoming, thus prefigurative critique, which 'requires intuition, emotional intelligence and courage on our side…allowing for the hiddenness of unfolding' (Gibson-Graham 2006, pxxxi) …not scientific approach but seeks to reveal and uncover the processes of struggle that underpin the facts' (Dinerstein 2015, p370).

Also drawing on Gibson-Graham (2006), Eisenstadt (unpublished thesis) an anarchist geographer argues, in his thesis, that 'Nowtopias' (Carlsson 2008) are enacting incompletely a post-capitalist politics in the present (Gibson-Graham 2006). In his recent auto-ethnographic analysis of Bristol social centres, he argues that 'we should not ask "is it prefigurative?" but "what exactly does it prefigure?"' (Eisenstadt 2013, p22). For him, anarchism itself can create a mode of governmentality, albeit more emancipatory than the neoliberal one.

Graeber (2004) uses anarchist anthropology to disrupt assumptions about West being different from the rest, to re-place revolutionary activity within diverse global trajectories and questions what it might take 'to break down the walls of power based on kinship which create global control'. Rather than to think about, what is revolution, Graeber argues we need to ask what 'revolutionary action' is. Which he defines as 'any collective action which rejects, and therefore confronts, some form of power or domination and in doing so, reconstitutes social relations – even within the collectivity… And history shows us that continual accumulation of such acts can change (almost) everything' (2004, p45). By 2013, through anarchist ethnography within the GJM and Occupy Wall Street, Graeber's ideas have developed….

> What is a revolution? We used to think we knew. Revolutions were seizures of power by popular forces aiming to transform the very nature of the political, social, and economic system in the country in which the revolution took place, usually according to some visionary dream of a just society. Nowadays, we live in an age when, if rebel armies do come sweeping into a city, or mass uprisings overthrow a dictator, it's unlikely to have any such implications; when profound social transformation does occur - as with, say, the rise of feminism - it's likely to take an entirely different form.

(Graeber 2013a, p2)

Rowe and Caroll (2014) in a fascinating paper, which compares the GJM Battle of Seattle with New York's Occupy Wall Street (OWS), argue that in both cases there was 'effective dynamism' between the radical and reform wings of the Left. By situating Rosa Luxemburg's 1900 question, 'reform or revolution?' within a contemporary movement context, they explore the tensions between radicalism and reformism in the US and beyond adding complexity to this apparent dualism. With Seattle, the movement undermined itself, they argue, by drawing a separation between peaceful and 'violent' protestors, whereas during Wall Street the broad Left and radical activists' work mutually reinforced each other. In both cases, however they argue that in contemporary political praxis, challenges the radical/reform divide demanding a 'more complex account of how different tendencies dynamically combine to yield political victories' (Rowe and Carroll 2014, p6), of which Seattle and Wall Street were 'two of the Left's most impactful movements of the last fifteen years' (2014, p5). In Seattle, where black bloc tactics were condemned by major players, movement dynamism was significant but somewhat stagnated, whereas in OWS, where the radical activists and reformist institutions, created an immensely powerful 'radical flank effect'.

> Being open and flexible does not mean seeking alliance and consensus with all parties. Politics is an oppositional struggle. But given the forces arrayed against modest redistributive efforts, the paradoxical outcomes of past revolutions and the uncertainty surrounding transformational politics in advanced capitalist society, it behoves those looking to make structurally manifest the basic dignity of all beings to seek support where it can be found.
>
> (Rowe and Caroll 2014, p22-23)

Comradely criticism is essential, and alliances can be broken but abstract antipathy between 'tepid reform' and 'unrealistic radicalism' should be avoided.

In this thesis, one of my areas of interest and exploration involves drawing on Rowe and Carroll's (2014) use of movement dynamism between reformist Left and radical Left, but placing this question within a different context – within movements themselves arguing that it is tension between strategic and prefigurative political dilemmas that are lived out in everyday organising within social movements which creates dynamism for today's movements magnifying their potential to bring about social transformation.

3.2.3 Exposing, undermining and venturing beyond? And possible futures

Another crucial question for this thesis is around what might exist were the dominant systems of oppression to be removed, and how can we theoretically and practically imagine, realise and move towards those alternative futures? This section sheds light especially on issues around how movements are attempting to replace systems of oppression, part of my first question, in this thesis. Marxist and intersectional utopias provide useful insight, as does Graeber's desired 'moral shift' away from neo-liberal values to world in which we are free (2013b). For Shukaitis (2010), it is about creating space for revolutionary thought and action within our spaces now. Within movements 'cultures of resistance' can be convoked by educating ourselves and others about what this might look like and for some anarcha-feminisms, a 'multitude of voluntary associations' could replace the state (Gaarder 2009, p54) and for other anarcha- and decolonial feminists it is the very dismantling of structures of oppression that will create new ways of being, doing, relating, loving (RAG 2012, Rogue 2012, Motta and Seppala 2016). In Chapter 8, I explore the forms, discourses and praxes that contemporary movements in my research are experimenting with and in Chapter 9, the ways they in themselves are embodying utopias.

In the case of Wright's Marxist 'Real Utopia's' (2010), he is attempting to 'rebuild…a sense of possibility for emancipatory social change by investigating the kind of radical institutions and social relations that could advance the democratic egalitarian goals historically associated with…socialism' (2010, p1). A 'revamping of Marxism', (Buroway 2010), Wright attempts to provide empirical and theoretical grounding for radical democratic egalitarian visions of an alternative social world' to capitalism, often presented as the 'natural order of things' (2010, p1). Examples are Porto Allegro's participatory city budgeting as 'direct, participatory democracy', Wikipedia as an example of 'anti-capitalist knowledge production and dissemination, based on the principle of "to each according to need, from each according to ability"', based on 'horizontal reciprocities rather than hierarchical control' (2010, p3). For Wright, '"real utopias", embrace the tension between dreams and practice… utopian designs of institution that can inform our practical tasks of navigating a world of imperfect conditions for social change' opening up our imaginations of human possibility (2010, p6).

Dinerstein's notion of concrete utopia contests Wright's version of utopia as 'real'. For her,

> Wright associates 'real' with feasible: alternatives can be evaluated in terms of their desirability, their viability and their achievability. If you worry about desirability and ignore viability or achievability, then you are just a plain utopian. Exploration of real utopias requires understanding of these other two dimensions.

> (Dinerstein 2017, p1)

Dinerstein's notion of concrete utopia, inspired by Bloch's work, is radically different. Bloch is not concerned with the 'feasibility', or the moral principles that should guide utopias. Rather, he problematizes the 'real' associated with utopia. Whilst Wright's real utopia corresponds to the realm of the given 'objective' conditions that surround utopia, something that is possible or that cannot be discarded, something viable, Dinerstein's concrete utopia refers to concrete action toward the 'anticipation of the *not-yet*.' (Dinerstein 2017, p1)

She argues that 'The context for a discussion of utopia today is provided by a general crisis of social reproduction', that is a crisis of the reproduction of life in a planet:

> How are these new subjects of struggle reinventing utopia? What kind of utopia is emerging at the grassroots? … radical subjectivities are not *just* developing 'coping' and 'survival' strategies seeking subsistence for their families and communities. Nor are they subscribing to an abstract political utopia, or the collective dream imprisoned in a written plan expected to be executed in the future by the party. Rather, urban struggles are posing fundamental practical questions [such as] what are the possibilities of articulating other forms of human social reproduction beyond the world of money-value-capital.… The search for answers to this question is the starting point for the reinvention of utopia. An eminently concrete starting point, from where to search for *alternative* forms of social reproduction, against and beyond money-capital.

> (Dinerstein 2017 p1)

David Graeber's (2013b) 'The Democracy Project' is an ethnographic account of his experiences as an activist at Occupy Wall Street, a guide to revolutionary change that, outlines *possible* futures that could materialise. Graeber anticipates a 'moral shift' away from neo-liberal values to world in which we are free (p271-302). Avoiding being prescriptive, through creating a utopian vision of his own, rather, he outlines several possible avenues that would help to bring this about by ending all debt, minimising bureaucracy, replacing the productivist work bargain with a caring planet-focused economy, and revaluing the Communist principle 'from each according their ability, to each according to their need'. Graeber describes 'a shared desire to understand the human condition and

move it in the direction of greater freedom' (p271). Dinerstein would describe this as a 'concrete utopia' (2017, p1).

Another significant attempt to describe what 'Another world is possible! might look like is Spannos's *intersectional* utopia. He takes a holistic approach addressing 'politics, economics, gender, sexuality, parenting, culture, race, education, technology, ecology, cities and architecture, art, history, theory and practice as well as institutions and movements' (2008, p3). He argues for the necessity of 'convincing vision and strategy that reaches into the roots of today's problems (capitalism, patriarchy, racism, imperialism, un-sustainability) and seeks to replace them with emancipatory alternatives' (p3).

Regarding the refugee crisis, Žižek's critical analysis of the 'utopian as it may sound' is a call to action to build another world which does not require people to flee from their own countries in desperate and harrowing circumstances (2016, p9). Žižek describes two main alternatives to the refugee crisis 'which creates an ideological blackmail which makes us irreparably guilty' (Žižek 2016, p7). The first, advocated by the Liberal Left is that we open borders widely, the second, by anti-immigrant populists that we pull up the draw bridge and let Arabs and Africans solve their own problems. The first he argues would never be allowed by those in power because it would trigger an instant popular revolt in Europe. Quoting Oscar Wilde 'it is much more easy to have sympathy with suffering than with thought ….remedies do not cure the disease (of poverty)…the proper aim is to reconstruct society on such a basis the poverty will be impossible' (Žižek 2016, p8).

> With regard to the refugees, our proper aim should be to reconstruct global society on such a basis that desperate refugees will no longer be forced to wander around. Utopian as it may appear, this large scale solution is the only realistic one, and the display of altruistic virtues ultimately prevents the carrying out of this aim.
>
> (Žižek 2016, p9)

Motta (2016) critiques Žižek, however, for being part of a 'philosophy' that is universalising male-dominated, theoretical ideas, a 'white, male, radical scholar', lacking imagination to consider that colonised peoples' ideas might also be seen as 'philosophy'. Critical theory, Motta argues has been, an accomplice in the subjugation of subaltern voices, and with Žižek, in particular, marginalising storytelling as affirmative, embodied and emotional knowledges (Motta 2016, p21). Motta and Seppala's decolonial feminist utopia's are discussed later in this section.

For Shukaitis (2010), the key challenge to bringing about social transformation is to making a utopian social vision seem like an achievable task to the majority of the population, arguing this is a role for musicians, writers and artists alike. For him it must be done by concrete demonstrations, rather than grand claims, that other forms of human organisation have existed and present a real alternative:

> So 'utopian thinking' is about extending the logic of liberatory social relations, creating space for revolutionary thought and action in our communities now, bringing what Durruti calls 'the new world in our hearts' into existence in tangible reality even if this is piecemeal.
>
> (Shukaitis 2010, p311)

Within movements, rather than discussing forms of organisational structure which might replace the dominant systems, people often discuss in terms of cultures we can create. For example, at the Earth First Gathering (2013) a text from Deep Green website was used to encourage reflexivity about the kind of world we are creating in our alternative ways of being, thinking and doing, self-reflexive prefiguration. A 'culture of resistance' is one which 'encourages and promotes resistance and the will to fight', helps people break 'psychological identification with oppressive systems and create new identity based on self-

respect and solidarity' (2014, p1). It offers the 'emotional support of a functioning community', creates 'intellectual vibrancy through analysis, discussion of development of political consciousnesses (2014, p1). It builds 'new institutions as the old ones come down' supports 'frontline resisters and political prisoners' and creates resistance focused 'poems art and song' (Deep Green Website 2014, p1).

For anarcha-feminists, it is the dismantling of systems of oppression which is and will create a fecundity of other possible ways of living, being, doing and relating, as illustrated below:

> The destruction of systems of capitalism, state, and patriarchy would lead to an explosion in different ways of being – sexualities, gender identities, family structures.

> (RAG 2012, p14)

> The role of anarcha-feminism is to expose the seams, overlaps and complexity of multiple oppressions so as to tear them down and construct more liberatory, more desirable and more sustainable relations with which to begin fashioning our futures.

>  (Rogue and Volcano 2012, p44)

Emily Gaarder (2009, p54), exploring issues around dealing with gender-violence in anarchist communities and beyond, asks 'How *do* people begin to behave in ways that develop their own sense of compassion, competency and capacity?' She describes these questions as crucial to any kind of revolution, (quoting contemporary anarcha-feminist Martha Ackelsberg 'since a sense of one's own capacities and powers is precisely what oppressors attempt to deny the oppressed' (Ackelsberg 1991, p36). When people join together and take collective action, in the workplace, community, affecting the conditions of their lives, taking direct action (Ackelsberg 1997, Gaarder 2009), they can use ideas like restorative justice which fit anarchist views to replace the state through a 'multitude of voluntary associations' (Gaarder 2009, p54).

> The state is not something which can be destroyed by a revolution, but is a condition, a certain relationship between human beings, a mode of behaviour; we destroy it by contracting other relationships.

> (Gustave Klimt, influenced by anarchism, quoted in Ward 1973, p19)

Decolonial feminists, Motta and Seppala (2016) use a variety of epistemological perspectives to decolonise representation and queering of boundaries that allow disciplinarity of White, masculinist forms, they show how feminised resistances and emancipatory politics might 'subvert and dislocate domination of any kind…nurture autonomous subjectivities, alternative communities, as well as oppositional ways of thinking, being, doing and loving' (Motta and Seppala 2016, p7-8).

Echoing Graeber (2013a), Moten and Harney, with black decolonial perspective, argue that change cannot come in the form of what we think as revolutionary – a 'masculinist surge or armed confrontation' rather it will come in a form we cannot yet imagine (Halberstam 2013, p11). Rather we must learn how to 'be with and for and on the way to a place we are already making', through which we will feel 'fear, trepidation, concern disorientation, homelessness, and dispossession' (p11). For Moten and Harney, we must

> reshape desire, reorient hope, reimagine possibility and do so separate from the fantasises nestled into rights and respectability…the hold is in the slave ship but it is also the hold we have on reality and fantasy, the hold they have on us is the hold we chose to forego on the other preferring instead to touch, to be with to love.

> (Halberstam 2013, p11)

This section has explored theories and practices of contemporary change-making from autonomous Marxist, anarchist, decolonial and anarcha-feminist and black perspectives. It has explored utopian visions and shifts in relating from these similar perspectives, which will be revisited in Chapter 9 in relation to the movements in the fieldwork. The debate around this research which explores the contemporary, and movement-embedded search for alternative organising logics to the dominant and oppressive systems, as discussed in Chapter 8. It has explored some ways of moving through and beyond this present moment to create, through hope, the unimaginable and the impossible.

3.2.4 Resistance – Foucauldian and beyond

> Some set of global connections is being articulated, a different sense of the global from the 'globalised market'. And some set of values is being enacted in the form of collective resistance: a defence of our collective precarity and persistence in the making of equality and the many voiced and un-voiced ways of refusing to become disposable.

> (Butler and Athansiou 2013, p197)

In this section I explore how Foucault's work has influenced contemporary understandings of resistance from anarchist, feminist, post-colonial, black and post-anarchist perspectives. Understanding resistance from these perspectives is crucial to my anarcha-feminist exploration of movements and the way that movement-embedded resistance occurs, exposing, undermining and seeking to replace the dominant systems of oppression, to be discussed in Chapter 7, with new ways of being, doing and relating, to be discussed in Chapter 8. In this section, I explore the ways Foucault's work has opened up possibilities of questioning truth and power for resistance organising, as well as whether his work, as part of Western humanism has created a paralysis of collective ethics and action from second generation feminist, global movement-embedded feminist, black and post-anarchist perspectives as well as different possible solutions offered by these different spheres of knowledge for overcoming paralysis, drawn from Rancière, Rosi Braidotti's (2002) 'micro-politics' and Ewa Ziarek's 'ethics of dissensus'. This is relevant for contemporary movements, which are trying to make sense of the terrain and ethics of working with others in resistance.

Regarding resistance, Foucault crucially spoke about the right to not be governed, as well as awakening ourselves to a new world of power relations potentially creating a reawakening of refusals and new struggles (Gordon 1994). His work opened up people's possibility of questioning truth and the effect of power on truth. However, for some the questioning of truth itself has created a paralysis of collective ethics and collective action against power. He certainly did not define resistance, 'Do not ask me to analyse this sublime taste: it is one that can only be experienced' (Foucault in Gordon 1994, pxxi).

Although, he did not attempt to define resistance, second generation feminists were inspired by the non-hierarchical reciprocal relations that run counter to dominant hierarchical relations of Western society. His scepticism about relativism and awareness of the limits of human agency is useful in informing modes of resistance today, even though he downplayed importance of gender in then contemporary activism like anti-nuclear and breast milk campaigns. Thus, women's political activity manifests an ethic of activism 'without the smashing terror so characteristic of masculinist revolutionary action' (Diamond and Quinby 1998 pxvi). Welch's 'poetics of revolution' which asks how feminists can resist oppression and domination amidst 20th century barbarisms like mass famine and the threat of nuclear holocaust, challenges definitive exposition of the structure of freedom and justice – and 'emerges from an effort to live on the edge, accepting both the power and peril of discourse, engaging in a battle for truth with a conscious preference for the oppressed' (1998, pxix).

Movement-embedded global feminists, Butler and Athanasiou, more recently, have attempted to map out a 'differential, multi-sited topology of radical transformation' showing the ways in which critical agency, entwined with multiple forms of 'doing, undoing, being undone and becoming, as well as multiple forms of giving and giving up' in order to shift the present regimes dispossession through 'sensing, imagining, envisaging and forming alternatives to the present' (Butler and Athanasiou 2013, p193). Through Rosa Park's action in the Civil Rights movement, Women in Black, in contemporary Palestine and assembly movements of Tunisia, Egypt, Athens, Rome, London, Berkeley, to name but a few, they are concerned with the conditions under which the 'I' and the 'other' are formed and can be of use to each other in resistance context. These are 'collective assembling of bodies in an exercise of the popular will, and a way of asserting in a bodily form, one of the most basic presumptions of democracy, namely that political and public institutions are bound to represent the people, and to do so in ways which establish equality as a presupposition of social and political existence' (Butler and Athansiou 2013, p196). My research explores multiple forms of assembling and explores in what conditions, the 'I' of resistance can become a 'we', in the contemporary London-based but globally networked context.

Motta and Seppala (2016) have a similar but slightly different project to 'render visible how new political languages, logics and literacies are emerging from those places rendered mute, monstrous and malignant by patriarchal capitalist-coloniality' (Motta and Seppala 2016, p5). By centring voices from the margins, and accounts of emergent and imminent forms of 'creating, living and loving otherwise' (Motta and Seppala 2016, p6), they challenge dominant representations of racialized and feminised subaltern subject as the 'absent other…victims without voice…identity politics unable to challenge macro-levels of power (Motta and Seppala 2016, p6), rather they are concerned with how these women and communities are at the 'forefront of the creation of a multiplicity of female political subjectivities and a marked feminisation of resistance' (Motta and Seppala 2016, p6). Transfeminisms, discussed previously, and decolonial feminisms, discussed here, alike are thus critiquing the capacity of identity politics to shift the multiple structures of oppression, as shown in this research.

Through exploring the Undercommons - black, indigenous, queer and poor people - Moten and Harney (2013) describe blackness… as the willingness to be in the space that is abandoned by colonialism, by rule, by order' (Halberstam 2013, p8). Citing Spivak, Moten and Harney, argue for the 'first right', a game-changing kind of refusal of the choices as offered. The Undercommons cannot be satisfied with recognition and acknowledgement from a system that refuses to recognise that anything was ever broken, or that it was 'us' that deserved to be the broken part. They describe a wildness or disorder that exists in the present, like the riots that do not separate out 'the request, the demand and the call', as with London riots 2011. A certain kind of craziness, as with Fanon taking up an anti-colonial stance it looks crazy to those who choose to see a rational division. Thus, Moten conceives Fanon as wanting 'not the end of colonialism, but the end of the standpoint from which colonialism makes sense' (Halberstam 2013, p8). Fanon's work especially has influenced the decolonising London-based, globally networked, collective called the Wretched of the Earth, which emerged as a critique of marginalisation, from Climate processes, of affected communities, black and brown communities and their supporters, as discussed in the fieldwork (see Appendices 5.2 and 5.3).

Moten views Pan-Africanism as cutting the nation which has been the source of colonial violence (2013 p132). And states that 'an anti-colonial movement would necessarily be one that would tend toward complete disorder, total lysis' (2013, p133). Harney compares the London riots with Occupy, stating that the occupation movement was made up of 'the request, the demand and the call' - the request, to reform banking, the demand which is non negotiable and the call – a call to disorder (p133). He states that Occupy was certainly 'scary to authority when it was clear' (p134), but the riots were 'irruptions - of logisticality', it was merely the call. And the threat to the state can be seen through the jail sentences

handed out 'vicious state repression in the Court system'. 'The call' through social media was criminalised most quickly (Moten 2013, p134). Moten continues that Occupy did not want to make demands because to make a demand is 'essentially to make a request' (Moten 2013, p135), rather Occupy was 'multiplicity and multi-vocality of demand' (p136), and the call was to others to join in the movement. The claim was not 'appealing to the state but to one another' (p136). But for Moten the demand is crucial because of the way Fanon 'indexes' it because he talks about it in relationship to the 'settler's interested regulative understanding of neurosis' (Moten 2013, p136).

But Harney is also interested in the preservation work of the Black Panthers (Harney 2013, p136). 'They had a revolutionary programme which was partly about preservation…so it was like a revolution in the present of already existing black life' (2013, p136). And Moten compares two publications by Fanon, Black Skin and Wretched of the Earth, arguing that in Black Skin there is nothing that Fanon wants to preserve, but in Wretched of the Earth there is a lot Fanon 'wants to preserve'. Fanon is trying to move beyond 'the itinerary of return, this reveral of image or standpoint…and understands that the very taking of an anti-colonial stance looks crazy from a normative prespective' (Moten 2013, p137). From the perspective of those relegated crazy, we claim this 'not just because it allows for something in the future; we claim this because this is who we are and what we do right now' (Moten 2013, p137-138).

> Fanon is gesturing towards something we're associating with blackness and the undercommons, something he tries to reach, something we're trying to learn how to reach to or reach for.
>
> (Moten 2013, p138)

Harney relates this to being 'shipped' where you are unmoored from a standpoint:

> Once you're in the circuits of capital, you're in every standpoint, at that point the demand becomes something of the future and the present, that has been realised and has yet to happen.
>
> (Harney 2013, p139)

And the one who is shipped carries a 'kind of radical non-locatability' (Moten 2013, p139), and 'homelessness is hard. But home is harder'.

> Civilisation, or more precisely civil society with all its transformative hostility was mobilised in the service of extinction, of disappearance. The shit is genocidal. Fuck a home in this world if you think you have one.
>
> (Moten 2013, p140)

May 2009, argues that combining Foucault's work with that of Rancière can usefully inform anarchist and post-anarchist understandings of resistance. Rancière's politics is 'democratic' and radically egalitarian, in a specific way, firstly presupposing equality, that those in struggle are equal to one another and secondly that 'a resistance against mechanisms of an order that distributes roles on the basis of hierarchical presuppositions' (May 2009, p15). 'So democratic politics arises when there are specific resistances to the police order in the name of equality of those who are resisting' (May 2009, p16), (examples being the Civil Rights Movement, May 68, the Zapatista movement…) first and foremost this is not a demand but a presupposition. Demands do exist but they are secondary. Other and more recent examples than those cited by May, would be the Global Justice Movement, the Arab Spring, Indignados, Occupy. Rancière calls the emergence of democratic politics 'subjectification' because it creates collective subjects of resistance, like women, Palestinians, African-Americans. For May, Rancière's work means that we can use Foucault's analyses without having to embrace such a 'self-defeating political position' of

identity politics (May 2009, p16) and is fundamentally anarchist as democracy is lived out within the means and the ends of struggle.

Day (2005) argues that post-structural theory does not necessarily lead to 'neither apolitical nihilism nor pure textual play', in 'Gramsci is dead: Anarchist undercurrents in new social movements' (p15). Rather the work of Foucault and Deleuze and Guattari can be seen as 'driven by a series of ethico-political commitments which defy the dichotomy between moral certainty and moral relativism' (Day 2005, p16). Many Marxists, anarchists and even post-anarchists misread post-structuralism's rejection of coercive morality as a rejection of ethics and politics altogether. Crucial to this is commitment to minimising domination in one's own individual and group practice, one of the issues discussed in this thesis. Rosi Braidotti (2002) calls this working with a 'micro-politics', that is 'a politics of minority, not majority, of affinity rather than hegemony; a politics that remains political despite its fundamental rejection of (neo)liberal and (neo)Marxist theories of social change. Dispersing and realising this politics, however, is a non-trivial problem' (Day 2005, p17). Whilst autonomous Marxists place too much emphasis on a common field of class struggle (like the 'multitude') and 'post anarchism' does a better job at escaping the 'hegemony of hegemony' argues Day (2005, p17) but still is lost in an excessive reliance on a nomadic conception of subjectivity and appears to reject not only coercive morality, but affinity-based ethico-political commitments as well. For Day, we not only need new ways of thinking about ourselves but also about our communities. Rather he argues for the logic of affinity as guided by *groundless solidarity* and *infinite responsibility,* so that people can act together in resistance, however difficult this is to achieve in daily practices, in anarchist style this should be our means and ends, our desired result and our process towards this. I have drawn on Day's 'logic of affinity' in my discussion around how people can act ethically together in resistance (Chapters 7, 8 and 9).

Self-creation and reflexive ethical relationality are crucial to understanding the conditions under which, I, we and other can exist and collectively act in global struggle (Butler and Athanasiou 2013, p17-18). Butler argues that by self-making, we risk becoming viewed as the unintelligible, but that sociality works in two ways, firstly we struggle against social norms, secondly, we make ourselves with others into collectivities that are struggling in similar or convergent ways. So that '"my struggle" and "your struggle" are not the same, there is some bond that can be established for either of us to take the kinds of risks we do in the face of norms that threaten us either with unintelligibility or with an overload of intelligibility' (Butler 2013, p67-68). I have used this notion of unintelligibility and intelligibility around the discussion of Defend the Right to Protest bringing together those with voices, activists, students, lawyers, with those with less voice, families who have had relatives killed in police custody or Islamic communities in the UK, in Chapter 7.

The point for Butler is to move forward with others that does not allow us to settle into the regime. Foucault's self-care and self-crafting are models of self-poesis, however, Butler argues for a reflexivity that cannot return to the norms of sovereign reflexivity which always tries to alienate alterity, rather one that opens up, exceeds and precedes social regulation. Rather than a universalising ethics of neo-liberalism, therefore they argue for Ewa Ziarek's (2001) "ethics of dissensus" which provides an alternative both to 'liberal prediction of individualised, self-contained, disembodied selves and to normalising, conservative communitarianism' (Athanasiou 2013, p72). Butler views ethical relationality therefore as crucial to politics. Drawing on post-colonial understandings of the 'Arab World', Butler concludes by stating 'there are ethical stakes in each political encounter, but that is a question not of a passage from the ethical to the political, but of tracking political modalities of fundamental ethical questions' (Butler 2013, p74). The 'ethics of dissensus' I have also mentioned on a number of occasions throughout this thesis because it opens up the idea of collaborative struggle even where there are differences between those in struggle.

To conclude, Foucault's work on power and truth opens up new ways of thinking and acting in resistance, which are crucial to my anarcha-feminist and movement-embedded understandings of social transformation, and echo the work being done by movements in my research. For some his work, as part of Western humanism stifles the possibility for collective ethics and collective action. Second generation feminists, movement embedded global feminists, Black and post-anarchists can inform, and in some cases have attempted to build on his work, so that collective ethics and collective resistance action can occur locally and globally, moving beyond the stumbling blocks and paralysis of collective ethics and action. It has also introduced some useful tools of discourse and praxis for movements that are struggling with these issues and those in this research, Rosi Braidotti's 'micro-politics' (2002), which assisted in Day's 2009 'logic of affinity', and Ewa Ziarek's 'ethics of dissensus' (2001), which I will revisit in later chapters.

### 3.2.5 Concluding thoughts

Mobilizing for social change is itself shifting in form and the role of movements is becoming more significant, as my research also argues. Mobilizing for social transformation today is more bottom-up, horizontal and prefigurative than ever before, in terms of creating new ways of relating today, in order to manifest brighter, more humane and sustainable futures tomorrow. Although some political parties - movement born are gaining votes and traction in countries like Greece and Spain and for a while Corbyn's labour movement-supported held promise for the future. Utopian dreaming, as well as incorporating non-oppressive ways of thinking, doing and relating today create the seeds for different futures. And the way social transformation will actually occur is hotly contested even between movement-embedded activist/academics from a fairly similar theoretical perspective, as my research illustrates. Discussion and debate around how transformation can occur is crucial to bringing about the desired and imaginable futures, and my research is in part a contribution to this wider project.

### 3.3 Strategic and prefigurative dilemmas

### 3.3.1 Introduction

In this section, I firstly introduce the concepts of prefigurative and strategic politics. Secondly, I explore critiques of prefigurative and horizontal organising and futures from several perspectives, Marxist, broad Left, movement-embedded and anarchist. The third section of 3.3, introduces the strategic and prefigurative dilemmas of everyday organising which I selected through reflection of my movement-involvement since 1994, intense discussion with other activists during my fieldwork which began in March 2012, the spring after the Occupy winter 2011, and I finished following movement processes and outcomes, with for example Stansted15 solidarity, in 2019. The dilemmas are broadly around horizontality, direct action, autonomy, decolonisation, oppression and anti-oppression, chaos, order and radical imagination and dealing with repression.

In this thesis, as outlined in my Introduction, the significance of these dilemmas in my research is twofold. Firstly, I am exploring how these everyday dilemmas relate to ways movements are exposing, undermining and moving beyond the dominant oppressive systems of global capitalism, (neo)colonialism, racism, patriarchy, heteronormativity, (dis)ableism which I discuss in Chapter 7. In Chapter 8, I explore the movement-embedded prefiguration of possible alternative futures today creating other ways of being, living and loving. My second question around how these everyday contentions can themselves create dynamism for social transformation, is discussed in the later section of Chapter 8, sections 8.7 and 8.8. Finally, in Chapter 9, I explore how the movements are forming living utopias from a range of radical and movement-embedded perspectives.

### 3.3.2 Introducing the concepts - prefigurative and strategic politics

Prefigurative and strategic politics are combining in new and different ways within contemporary movements mobilising for change, as discussed in this thesis. The ways that strategic politics associated with Old Left (leadership, structure, predefined goals) – or in horizontal movements – (about analysis, strategy, tactics, effectiveness) combine with prefigurative politics (increasing significance within movements since the 1960s Anarchist Turn about creating future possible worlds in the present) create dilemmas and tensions within everyday organising of social movements, as discussed in detail in my dissertation (Burrell 2013c). In this thesis, I deepen and extend these analyses by exploring how strategic and prefigurative political dilemmas are lived out in the daily organising of today's movements to create movement dynamism for social change, as the second question of this research.There has been 'rejection of hierarchical, rigid movement forms that focused on winning political victories' (the strategic) and a turning toward movement-building as a priority in order to build horizontal, non-hierarchical and anti-oppressive communities of struggle' – the prefigurative – creating new worlds in the here and now (Khasnabish and Haiven 2012, p413). Since the "anarchist turn" in the 1960s, prefigurative politics – that is living possible futures today – was first defined by sociologist Wini Brenes (1989) as something distinct from strategic politics, usually associated with the mainstream Left.

During 1990s UK road protest, direct action was the fundamental principle and practice of diverse, radical camp-based communities whose common aim was to stop the road (Burrell 2013c). During the Global Justice Movement (GJM), Maeckelbergh (2011) describes 'strategic prefiguration' where 'process' builds new democratic global networks, with open multiple goals, multiple actors concerned with horizontality, diversity and connectivity. The carnival anti-capitalist network Rhythms of Resistance, in my fieldwork, is a movement from this era, and so this is one of cases that I am using for interrogating these dilemmas (2011, p1-3). Within Occupy movements, Brissette (2013) explores the 'intertwining' of strategic and prefigurative spaces as strategic refusal of non-violence and to cooperate with authorities with prefigurative spaces – the open, loving, inclusive communities welcoming the dispossessed and 'instantiating' new social relationships based on free association and the voluntary division of labour (2013, p225-227). In terms of future directions, Crass a long-term, US anti-racist feminist activist agues for a 'fluid and constantly evolving' relationship between the two, where actions and campaigns are analysed for effectiveness whilst direct democratic processes are explored that can be accessible to people in all their diversity and imperfections (2013, p36). In this thesis, I explore how these concepts and dilemmas relate to the contemporary London-based, globally-networked cases.

Sarah Amsler (2016) offers an 'epistemology of possibility', experimenting with radical pedagogies, and views 'learning hope' as articulating 'radically democratic, self-organised and transformative theories and practices' which for her exist within educational systems in England (2016). Drawing on Bloch, she views movements as being united in their 'critical epistemologies of possibility', creation of the not-yet on the '*front* of political possibility'. This view of the potential of movements to bring change fits well with my prefigurative epistemology and attempting to read the signs also of movements' potential, and possible change-making force. My prefigurative epistemology differs from Amsler's because I am following Motta's (2005) critique of ontologies and epistemologies rooted in realism (usually associated with PAR), arguing rather for 'prefigurative epistemology', which locates the site of knowledge production firmly within movements themselves, simultaneously breaking down academic-activist divide and hierarchies of knowing and doing. My methodology is integrative, combining PAR, auto-ethnography, militant ethnography and collective learning and, is located in movements themselves. Motta's prefigurative epistemology allows me to interact with movements horizontally, embedded within them and involves 'convoking' the' radical imagination' (Khasnabish and Haiven (2012) to improve movement processes and praxes.

In 2014, following the recent movements of the Squares, Maeckelbergh describes movements as having 'prefigurative strategy'. 'Horizontal' prefiguration where people 'embody (egalitarianism) in daily movement practices' (Maeckelbergh 2014, p1), of consensus, horizontal networks, constantly challenging gender, race, class and ability in order to express oneself. I explore this within my cases through the dilemmas of horizontality in direct democratic processes and through everyday anti-oppression, discussed in Chapter 8 sections 8.2 and 8.6. For Dinerstein, reading and extending the Latin and American context (2015), 'prefiguration is ultimately about transcending the "parameters of legibility" imposed or made visible by the capitalist, patriarchal and colonial demarcations of reality' (Dinerstein 2015, p19). This necessitates multiple forms of struggle that simultaneously 'negate, create, contradict and move beyond' what exists (2015, p19). I explore her argument through the dilemmas of autonomy (8.4) and in movements as living utopias in Chapter 9, section 9.2.

For Dinerstein (2016), Maeckelbergh (2009) does not problematize enough the concept of prefiguration when she argues that 'prefiguration is the ideal strategy for the construction of an alternative world without engaging with the state or the capitalist powers, but movements practice must also incorporate a confrontation with these powers, which cannot always be prefigurative' (Maeckelbergh, 2009, p95). Dinerstein asks: 'Does this mean that the struggles against power (capital and the state) are not part of the process of prefiguration?' (Dinerstein 2017, p18). She:

> problematizes, expands and contextualises the notion of prefiguration by proposing a more complex understanding of the dynamics that intervene in the anticipation of a better world in the present…[her] argument is threefold. First, in order to be able to speak of prefigurative, autonomy has to be conceived of as a complex collective action that includes the negation of the given; the creation of the alternative; the struggle with, against and beyond the state; the law and capital; and the production of surplus or 'excess'. Second, prefiguration is necessarily a decolonising process so the recognition and discussion of the differences between indigenous and non-indigenous movements is vital to our conversations about prefiguration. Third, prefiguration is a practice that is deeply rooted in the process of valorisation of capital.
>
> (Dinerstein 2016, p18).

The key point is that for Dinerstein is that:

> Prefiguration is criss-crossed by the tensions and contradictions that inhabit capitalist/colonial social relations; for autonomous practices are embedded in, and shaped by, their past and contemporary backgrounds and context of production and therefore the autonomous struggle triggers struggle over the meanings of autonomy – for the state will be always ready to integrate and subordinate autonomy to the dynamics of the value production process.
>
> (Dinerstein 2016, p18).

Maeckelbergh (2016) indicates that 'prefigurative politics changes the temporality of social change which makes it impossible to commit to "success-failure" evaluations of the movements strategies' for social transformation, rather it is those in struggle who define this ongoing assessment (p1). Through this research I am being pro-active in contributing to helping movements to define their own notions, understandings of success in their/our terms. I explore the arguments introduced in this section through my discussion of autonomy, decolonisation within the field and throughout the thesis asking the question whether contemporary movements are living utopias, simultaneously confronting multiple structures of oppression whilst prefiguring new worlds, in Chapter 9.

### 3.3.3 Critiques of prefiguration and horizontal organising and futures

Horizontality and prefiguration have come under close scrutiny, with critiques from all directions – that prefiguration is easy to crush, that horizontality cannot cope with existing structural inequalities – nor the bio-political nature of contemporary capitalism. In addition, that movements are very much a product of their local and regional as well as global processes, and that lessons from Occupy Wall Street and America or Argentinian movements should be applied with caution to the European context – which is linked to European GJM, European austerity and the Arab Spring rather than the US response to 9/11 clampdown on the GJM. An anarchist critique (Gordon forthcoming) is that anarchists, like Goodwin, Goldman and Kropotkin were thrashing out arguments around prefiguration a century before and that the Christian Millenarian tradition roots of the concept are too closely associated with Marxism and pre-destined future of a post-revolution order, rather than non-hierarchical relations, without domination, involving self, and collective transformation and confronting structures whilst creating other spaces of personal and collective experimentation. In my research, I explore these critiques as they are embodied by the social movements' praxes of my cases.

Leftist critiques of prefiguration are as follows. For Giri (2013), Occupy represents a rebirth of structuralism, class struggle and communist style politics and believes that simply 'acting as if you are free' is hugely insufficient to counter the severe repression which Wall Street and other Occupies encountered (p1). In this thesis, 'responses to repression' is one of the dilemmas I explore, so this issue is discussed throughout and in the last section of Chapter 8, section 8.8. Kliman (2012), following Marx, argues that we cannot choose our conditions of resistance and direct action and acting as if we are already free, as Graeber advocates, is refusing to recognise the legitimacy and necessity of structures of power. He prefers Leftist sit-down strikes of the 30s to anarchist communes of the 60s as effective action arguing 'the capitalist class and its agents won't allow us to hollow out their state until it collapses' (Kliman 2012, p4). Direct action in its multiple forms is another dilemma I have selected, discussed especially in 8.3. Marcus (2012) argues that horizontality cannot cope with structural oppression, criticising horizontalists, like David Graeber and Marina Sitrin, for creating a future vision of the world which fails to neither address nor rectify structural oppression. For him, if those with least power and privilege are not protected within institutional structure their situation will only worsen and in horizontal futures existing power relations will be reproduced unless inequalities of resources, power and privilege are be addressed through structures. I revisit this idea in Chapter 8, section 8.8 and through Living Utopias 9.2.

As mentioned in my Introduction, Cox and Fominaya's (2013) movement-embedded critique argue that movements are culturally specific, and we need to understand 'locally-situated processes across time with their continuities and ruptures together with transnational waves which articulate very different, national and regional realities' (p257). So that social movements continue to be 'universal and particular, specific to their time and place yet also reaching beyond it and attempting to transform it'. (p257). Cultural specificity of the London-cases has been mentioned in terms of connectivity to European movements, Occupy London's International Working Group interventions in Tunisia WSF and participation in Agora 99, discussed in my pilot, fieldwork (Burrell 2013b) and especially in Chapter 8, section 8.2.

The Anarchist critique

Critiques of prefiguration from an anarchist perspective, explore the genealogy of the word arguing the term should 'be abandoned in the discussion of anti-hierarchical movement practices' (Gordon forthcoming, p1). Gordon criticises Breines (1979), who was describing Left movements, but stereotyping anarchists as being romantic, utopian and primitivist. Anarchist critique (Gordon forthcoming) is that anarchists, like Goodwin, Goldman and Kropotkin were thrashing out arguments around prefiguration a century before and that the

Christian Millenarian tradition roots are too closely associated with Marxism and pre-destined future of a post-revolution order rather than about creating non-hierarchical relations, without domination, self-and collective transformation and confronting structures whilst creating other spaces of personal and collective experimentation. My research project, as well as the movements in my fieldwork, are precisely, extending and intensifying horizontality, creating spaces of personal and collective transformation whilst confronting structures of domination and oppression, as is discussed throughout.

Gordon states prefigurative politics was being thrashed out a century before by anarchists like Goodwin, Bookchin and Goldman. Firstly, during Marx and Bakunin's argument in 1871 Paris Commune, Bakunin argued for bottom-up organising to avoid recreating oppressive regimes, an effective rather than ethical argument. Then Goldman introduced 'values' expressing 'a new set of values and behaviours that transcend domination' Gordon argues (Gordon forthcoming, p5). And Bookchin (1980) argues for non-hierarchical organisation of society alongside self-and collective transformation which is nonetheless limited by internal/external factors of living in capitalist, patriarchal society and internal/subjective ones that we cannot undo our troubled histories 'hierarchical socialisation', nonetheless for social transformation this must be what we attempting to do, argues Gordon (forthcoming, p5). In this thesis I explore how contemporary movements are striving for social transformation, in bottom-up ways avoiding recreating oppressive regimes, following Bakunin in the 1871 disputes, with values and behaviours that transcend domination, following Goldman, and responding to or in some cases working to counteract our troubled histories of 'hierarchical socialisation', that Bookchin describes (1980), as such these movements are anarchist.

Secondly, Gordon draws on similarities between Kropotkin's 1886-1890 Freedom Paper encouraging workers to expropriate themselves, seize means of production as a first step to the reorganisation of production and society. More recent accounts, such as that of Crimethinc (2001) view the content of our own lives as being a means to escape alienation and views with urgency and need for us put content and meaning back in our lives. Similarly, Terrence Hodgson sees 'both confrontation and constructive projects as by themselves sites of liberation' as it allows individual and collective opportunity to discover and express their own 'distinctiveness and potentialities, as well as to explore qualitatively different, antagonistic social spaces' (Gordon forthcoming, p4). In my research I explore how contemporary movements are both 'confrontative' in their strategic refusals and 'constructive' in their prefigurations.

Thirdly, Gordon traces the origins of the word 'prefiguration' to a Christian biblical roots, the second coming of God arguing that this notion of a predestined history makes prefiguration a problematic word to then use politically, an example being Marxist, Gorz's 1968 project using the word to justify vanguard party prefiguring the state, making working classes into ruling classes. Gorz discusses the party 'practicing the new state' and replicates Biblical predestination because it is the coming of a new world order after Christ or after the revolution. For anarchist Gordon, this does not represent a model of liberation.

Dinerstein (2012, 2015, 2017) and Maeckelbergh (2011, 2014, 2016) however have used the term 'prefiguration' as a useful political term, not only in terms of understanding how contemporary movements are bringing about change, with Dinerstein's notion of 'excess' as one of the modes of expression of autonomous organising (2015), but also to explain how tensions between strategic and prefigurative politics are shifting over time within movements. They explore how organising social change making shifts, moving from 'strategic' pre-1960s anarchist-turn to 'strategic prefiguration' of the Global Justice Movement and 'prefigurative strategy' of anti-oppression practices being built into forms of direct democracy within the movements of the Squares, the Occupies and Indignados (Maeckelbergh 2011, 2014, 2016). Finally, in a most recent collection edited by Dinerstein (2016), Brissette, Dinerstein and Maeckelbergh, explore how prefiguration and autonomy intersect with the complex weaving of capitalist power relations.

Gordon's anarchist critique of prefiguration is useful, here because it situates contemporary movements in my fieldwork and beyond as being firmly rooted and grounded in anarchisms, of Bakunin, Goldman, Bookchin, through bottom-up, anti-oppressive (Bakunin), with values and behaviours transcending domination (Goldman), and responding to or in some cases working to counteract our troubled histories of 'hierarchical socialisation', that Bookchin describes (1980), also as simultaneously confrontative and constructive projects of liberation, following Hodgeson, which is also true of my cases. I agree also with Dinerstein (2012b, 2015, 2016) and Maeckelbergh (2011, 2012, 2014, 2016) that the term does also have practical, political use value and argue furthermore it is a crucial term for movements themselves to analyse how new forms of change-making that are emerging and shifting and thus it is a concept used in my research questions and revisited throughout this thesis.

To conclude, section 3 has problematized the concept of 'prefiguration', with critiques from autonomous Marxist, anarchist and movement-embedded activist-academic perspectives, relating these understandings to the contemporary cases in my research. I have explored critiques that claim that prefiguration cannot deal with structural inequalities, that the terms shift our understandings of class and social relations, that movements themselves are context dependent whilst reaching beyond time and space in their transformative potential. Finally, section 3.3.3 explores anarchist understandings and critiques of prefiguration versus autonomous and movement-embedded political and practical use value of the term for understanding and galvanising contemporary social transformation described in this research and beyond.

### 3.3.4 Strategic and prefigurative dilemmas and tensions

This section introduces the strategic and prefigurative dilemmas which are lived out in everyday organising of horizontal movements for social transformation. Tensions, dilemmas and contention exist within the everyday organising of contemporary movements, between strategic ways and prefigurative ways of being, doing and relating, introduced in Chapter 5, and discussed in Chapter 6.

Tensions discussed in this section are around firstly around how verticality and horizontality play out within direct democratic processes. Within collective action, tensions exist around 'symbolic' and 'direct', violence and non-violence or how 'ecologies of tactics' can reinforce, rather than undermine each other. With autonomy, whether movements work 'together with the state, despite the state or essentially against the state' is a huge debate within movements-organising (de Souza 2010, p330). Tensions and contention may exist around how decolonial discourses, practices, knowledges and affected communities' bodies and priorities take centre stage within climate change organising. Similarly, how can anti-oppression praxis, around intersectional oppression become deeply embedded within movements processes and practices, is a dilemma of everyday organising. How can movements balance order, chaos and radical imagining creating radical, diverse communities, with the minimum of order necessary to create safe spaces? And how movements can respond creatively to local, state or global repression. These are all dilemmas of daily organising within movements which, are discussed in this research.

In my research, I argue that strategic and prefigurative political contention within everyday social movements organising creates potential dynamism for social transformation and sheds light on the ways movements are undermining, exposing and seeking to replace dominant oppressive systems with other ways of being, doing and relating – like participatory democracies, collective and direct action, decolonisation and anti-oppression, solidarity, voluntary and mutual associations. The dilemmas I have selected are relevant to contemporary horizontal movements organising in the academic and wider debate. They are around horizontality, direct action, autonomy, decolonising movements, oppressions and anti-oppression within movements, balancing chaos, order and radical imagination and dealing with repression.

My decisions around selecting these particular dilemmas came through auto-ethnographic reflection on my own movement involvement since 1994 and recent fieldwork, Spring 2012 to 2019, which involved intense discussion with other activists around these and many other issues. They have developed through my pilot methodology, on power relations within horizontal movements within Occupy London, and Global Square, an international horizontal intervention at the Tunisian WSF in 2012 (Burrell 2013b). My dissertation explored how similar dilemmas create contention within three movements, Occupy, anarchist and carnival, mobilising around G8 London 2013 (Burrell 2013c). The ideas and prioritisation has shifted during my involvement or contact with my thesis networks, Occupy and beyond, Reclaim the Power, anti-fracking and Climate, Rhythms of Resistance anti-capitalist carnival, Wretched of the Earth, Defend the Right to Protest and Stop Trump, London-based but internationally networked movements (Chapters 5 and 6). In Chapter 7, I will explore how these contentions shed light on the ways movements are exposing, undermining dominant systems of oppression like global capitalism, neo-colonialism, racism, patriarchy, heteronormativity, (dis) ableism, with new ways of being, doing and relating like direct democratic process, collective and direct action, solidarity, decolonialism, anti-oppression, and voluntary and mutual associations, which are discussed in Chapter 8. Also in Chapter 8, in sections 8.7 and 8.8, I explore the ways chaos, order and radical imagining and creative responses to repression from micro- to global can stifle or create opportunities to transcend beyond the previously conceived of parameters of possibilities for transformation. Finally, in Chapter 9, I explore how the movements themselves are living out contemporary utopian thinking.

### 3.3.4.1 Horizontality

How to achieve horizontality as principle and practice, is within movements, as contentious as the wider debate around whether horizontality can deliver lasting and desirable social transformation. As such it is the first dilemma of everyday organising that I discuss in this thesis. How to achieve horizontality creates a lot of discussion both within movements and from movement-embedded scholars, as discussed in my pilot (Burrell 2013b) and throughout this thesis. Horizontality, as well as direct democratic processes, like consensus decision-making create one of the other ways of being, doing and relating, discussed in Chapter 8 which can form an alternative to the historic and current structures of domination and oppressions discussed above, and later in Chapter 7.

Graeber (2011b, 2013a, 2013b) examines the historical / anthropological routes of democracy in the US and describes how neo-liberal democracy has drifted so far from its ideals which have been reborn in movements like the GJM, Occupy and so on through horizontality, direct democracy, consensus and collective deliberation with full and equal participation). He prefers 'direct action' and 'camping' to voting and mainstream politics – which he views as intrinsically violent because of the threat of force from state, police and military, later discussed in Chapter 8, in sections 8.2, 8.3 and 8.8.

In my pilot methodology (Burrell 2013b), I discussed key definitions and descriptions of horizontality and consensus within the literature:

> Horizontality
>
> According to Mason, horizontality is a defining feature of the newest wave of social movements that are 'kicking off everywhere' and 'power to' rather than 'power over' is a new way of thinking and doing crucial to 'chang(ing) the world without taking power' (Sitrin 2012a). For Sitrin, who has experience of horizontality within both Argentinian popular uprising and within Occupy US, horizontalidad is a 'dynamic social relationship', 'a flat plane' of communication, 'direct democracy and striving for consensus', to ensure everyone is heard (2012, p8). It is rejection of hierarchy and political parties but also 'a goal as well as a tool, a means and an end' (Sitrin 2012a, p8). For Sitrin, experiences of history and collective memory are important

to understanding new movements. She traces resistance history in Argentina, through the 1990s, the children of those who disappeared during dictatorship, the 1960s-70s revolutionary armed struggle against capitalism and imperialism, 1950s-60s diverse experiences of Peronism, and back to 19th - early 20th century radical labour movements. She praises, the feminist movement's contribution to horizontality, which made space for subjectivity, the personal as political, and the civil rights movements commitment to transcending race as well as hierarchy of all kinds.

(Burrell 2013b, p2).

Horizontality thus describes movement structure – as flat-planed with no leaders; movement process, as horizontality being something which is constantly being strived for and can arguably never be perfectly achieved, within a world of global capitalism (Sitrin 2012a, 2012b). This echoes well with Bookchin (1980) and Gordon's (forthcoming) discussion of anarchist forms of transformation making in the previous section. Horizontality therefore is a way of being, doing and relating, discussed in Chapter 8.2, prefiguring futures we desire, embody and live.

Many horizontal movements organise using direct democracy and the process of consensus decision-making…which, drawing on key literature, I defined in my pilot as:

Consensus

Cornell defines consensus as meaning that 'all parties involved in discussing a topic or making a decision have reached a similar agreement' (2012, p163). For Poletta, consensus concerns clarity about diversity of opinion, as much as it does arriving at one. Occupiers 'refusal of internal hierarchy' and 'to operate only by direct democracy, without leaders but by consensus' follows anarchist principles, says David Graeber (2012b, p145), anarchist anthropologist involved with Occupy Wall Street. Anarchism, for him is the only way to organise society that doesn't involve majority versus minority interests nor coercion through threat of violence. From his US perspective, Americans are raised with the values of freedom and democracy, but are taught 'in subtle, yet constant ways that genuine democracy and freedom can never truly exist' (Graeber 2011b, p23). He describes consensus-decision-making therefore as '"enacting the impossible"….The moment we realize the fallacy of this teaching, we start to ask: How many other "impossible" things we might be able to pull off?' (p24). 'When you experience things in this way it changes your entire perspective of what can be achieved' (Graeber 2011b, p30).

(Burrell 2013b, p2).

Consensus thus, is a form of decision-making which aims to allow full and equal direct participation of all individuals / groups that are involved. It aims to shed light on the diversity of opinion in the circle, but to find actionable proposals, which everyone can agree to, or at least not feel extremely strongly against, so that decisions are made with the consent of all people involved. For Graeber, it also stimulates human radical imagining by making the impossible possible. Another theme of this thesis is around how the parameters of possibility are being shifted by movement praxes and collaborations, as discussed in Chapters 8 and 9.

Libertarians have always refused verticality in favour of horizontality, states de Souza (2010). For him, it is insufficient to criticise Stalinism or Leninism, as does Harvey, rather we must 'criticise all forms of rigid hierarchy and verticality' which are, often, reproduced inside organisations of social movements themselves, partly under influence or inspiration of political parties (de Souza 2010, p328) in his response to David Harvey's address to the 2010 WSF. I have explored this reproduction of power relations within my pilot (Burrell 2013b) within Occupy London and Global Square, an Occupy International horizontal

intervention at and beyond the Tunisian WSF. Expanding and extending this work, my thesis, explores issues within multiple arenas of dilemma around counteracting reproduction of multiple forms of oppression within movements and beyond.

Both horizontality and consensus therefore are crucial to concepts and practices of democracy within the recent GJM, represented by the carnival anti-capitalist Rhythms of Resistance network, in my research and Occupy, represented by Occupy London and its many fertile offshoots, as discussed in Chapters 5 and 6. In my fieldwork, I explore issues of horizontality, whether organising is open or closed, top-down or bottom up, within RoR, Occupy and the Reclaim the Power COP21 Paris Climate mobilisation, alongside Wretched of the Earth's decolonial critique of movements at the London March and within the Paris COP processes (see Appendices 5.2 and 5.3).

Power within movements

Understanding power relations in movements is crucial to prefiguring of new worlds and strategic action against dominant systems, as well as for horizontal movements to have integrity, to function and to be the change that they claim to be (Burrell 2013b). Means and ends being consistent with each other is a crucial principle of anarchist organising, building horizontal processes, practices and networks, prefiguring futures free from domination and oppression. However, movements also are attempting to take effective action against dominant systems of oppression whilst simultaneously providing new ways of being, doing and relating. Non-hierarchical forms of organising direct actions, campaigns and wider social transformation must function, be in line with movement principles, should ideally be accessible and have some clarity for those involved, as well as new people joining movements, so that movements can expand and increase their impact and social transformation-making traction, as I argued in my pilot and dissertation (Burrell 2013b, Burrell 2013c). This thesis is, as mentioned above, an extension and expansion of this project, exploring more dilemmas, in different movements, over a longer time frame, whilst attempting to use my voice and the voices of others to engage in shifts in praxes around oppressions and expanding potential of radical dreaming and lived-embodiment of principles.

In this section, I explore movement-embedded feminist reflections on power relations in collaborative groups and movement-embedded anarchist critiques of Jo Freeman's (1972) Tyranny of Structureless to shed light on some of the nuances of power relations within everyday organising of social change, to be discussed more in Chapter 8, section 8.2. Understanding the micro-politics of movements is crucial to understanding how horizontal movements are prefiguring possible futures through experimentation with alternative forms of democracy. Models like the Occupy General Assembly and working-group structure, which then through experimental practice in multiple sites, discussion and reflection, radical imagining and network-wide collective learning occurs to create adjustments, according to the specificities of place, and context, to problem-solve around issues like incorporating tools for dealing with internal oppression, intersectionality into democratic processes, as explored in my methodology pilot (Burrell 2013b).

My methodology pilot (Burrell 2013b) explored how power relations, within horizontality and consensus, in Occupy and Global Square, and my fieldwork, are rife with issues of power, because in movements with less structure, horizontality is constantly being worked towards and can never be fully achieved whilst we exist within a capitalist society (Sitrin 2012, Burrell 2013b). My pilot experimented with using an integrative approach, anarcha-feminist research methodology combining PAR design, auto-ethnography and militant ethnography (further discussed in Chapter 4) to explore how multiple oppressions of race, class, gender and socio-economic status could be recreated within activist communities (Burrell 2013a). I explored how the dilemmas of horizontality and consensus of participation, inclusivity and diversity were lived out in movements of Occupy London and Global Square, an Occupy International horizontal intervention, linking with Occupies Wall Street, London, 15M

Spanish, Via 22 Canadian and Tunisian activists at the World Social Forum, March 2013, as well as reflections on my own activist organising since 1994. By 'combining lessons from previous movements – women's, global justice, and current movements – the Occupy sites around the world - with hyper-reflexivity in everyday practice', I suggested some practical solutions to overcoming 'differential positioning and experiences that can create inequalities of voice within activist participation' (Burrell 2013b, p1). And argued that:

> horizontal principles and practice are fundamental to movement integrity, to 'being' the change we desire, to future possibilities of radical social transformation - in Holloway's words, to 'chang(ing) the world without taking power'.
>
> (Burrell 2013b p1).

Furthermore, I argued that horizontality involves unresolved issues, 'like 'invisible' hierarchy, recreation of inclusions and exclusions of mainstream society according to social disparity and multiple overlapping oppressions like race, class and gender (Burrell 2013b). And Marina Sitrin outlines challenges within horizontality that she witnessed at Popular Assemblies in Argentina (2012a). Firstly, horizontality is a process that is not a perfect form and can be difficult to achieve when the individuals involved are influenced by capitalist society and collectives are situated within a global capitalist context, capitalism is difficult to 'shake off'. Secondly, the amount of time it takes to get to a good decision with which everyone is happy takes up time which could be spent on other priorities like action-planning, building structures and networks. Thirdly, she argues that power relations can occur when more experienced people are listened to more than newcomers. She advises movements to be up front about informal leadership and hierarchies, by addressing them head-on, drawing on Jo Freeman's infamous 'Tyranny of Structurelessness' (1972). Her final issue with horizontal structure is that past friendships, relationships and affinity can allow certain individuals or groups to dominate.

In my methodology pilot, I asked whether Occupies had failed to learn important lessons from the previous movements, like the women's, GJM and other Occupies. Jo Freeman (1972) of the women's movement warned of the perils of horizontal organising, that friendship and trust relationships are hard to penetrate for new women, allowing existing cliques to dominate. As well as how power relations outside can be replicated within and around confidence to speak and act, time availability outside work and caring responsibilities. This is remarkably similar to Smith and Glidden's (2012) account of Occupy Pittsburgh, with camp-based General Assemblies excluding those who work or have children because they have to leave before the final decision. This can be described as 'fetishization of consensus', that is the frequency and length of GAs, taking activists away from organising actions, outreach and camp practicalities. Furthermore 'exclusive' as 'cultural, educational and social disparities…meant those less familiar with the dominant practices or less confident or articulate were discouraged' from large and open meetings (Smith and Glidden's 2012, p291). They also critique Occupy Pittsburgh for refusing to make pro-active efforts to link with oppressed groups because they do have leaders.

The Occupies certainly did create fertile ground for experimentation and in Boston, anti-oppression workshops, working groups for 'People of Colour', 'Women', and 'Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Queer and Transgender' and targeted outreach to working classes, people of colour, from Black and Latino communities worked well. They also reduced the length and frequency of assembly, gave more time to small group discussion and prioritised the voices of those who had spoken least. Similarly, at the El Paso camp, where initially, there was conflict between activists and the homeless over access to the Square, it transformed into a 'positive example of solidarity across classes', Occupiers opening up their 99% and empowering homeless communities.

Occupy London had its very own significant highs and lows of consensus decision-making process (Burrell 2013b). On the one hand the first assembly attended by 2000 people and

agreed on a statement 48 hours later in an assembly attended by 1000 people saying, 'this is what democracy looks like: come and join us!' (Appendix 5.1 Occupy London Toolkit). Consensus was forming 'strong bonds between all who participate' (Occupy London Toolkit 2011, p10), and was creating 'REAL conversations – about the state of the world, about the future we'd like to live in…that was electrifying…revolutionary…we had so much hope, everything seemed possible' (Anonymous 2012, p442) describing an unidentified UK Occupy camp. During the months of the harsh winter many activists burnt out dealing with welfare of people with complex needs, homeless and addicted on the camp site, people were paranoid, turning against each other during the five months of winter occupation. In addition, the camps 'processes' failed to deal with sexual assault, so that by the time I got involved (April 2012) there already existed some serious divisions between working groups and assembly structure and the occupying Occupiers, written about in more depth in my pilot (Burrell 2013b) and in the fieldwork chapters of this thesis, Chapters 5 and 6, which Anonymous described to be like the end of a love affair. Accounts from Occupies epitomise 'the dilemmas we have in turning principle into practice, dreams into reality and resolving multiple issues of living social change' (Burrell 2013b, p7).

My pilot drew on useful lessons from the Global Justice Movement, to inform collective learning about improving our horizontal principles and practices. Smith and Glidden (2012) argue that the GJM recognised better than some Occupies, how 'global capitalism affects different people according to class, race, gender, nationality and social position' and around 'systemic violence that excludes particular communities from full participation in political and economic life' (Smith and Glidden 2012, p292). And from WSFs, 'lab for activists to develop techniques of maximising participation and inclusion across a huge diversity of global movements' came efforts to engage Southern movements through solidarity funds, 'active-listening' and focus on collectivity of indigenous people rather than individualised cultural context of Western activists (2012, p292). This thesis is also I hope a contribution of and to the 'collective-self', in these terms.

In my pilot, I attempted to accumulate lessons and useful tools and practices from recent and contemporary movements, as well as the other Occupies, that were discussing remarkably similar issues. These were fed back to London Occupy and Global Square networks and the movement, as a whole, through workshops, and a paper, a version of the pilot, published on Occupy London website with these reflections. This thesis is thus I hope an expansion and extension of my previous work, attempting to offer more diverse and radical critiques of the contemporary issues and ideas and movement-embedded solutions to issues within movements from a huge range of radical thinkers and communities, and examples of best practice, stumbling blocks and transformation above and beyond what had been previously embodied or imagined. As such, this work is remarkably similar to my pilot.

Power in my fieldwork, and more recently explored accounts

This section explores power in my fieldwork and more recent accounts. Juris et al argue for 'deeper engagement with internal differences and power relations' within the 99% and a 'self-reflexive, adaptable approach toward negotiating and bridging' them (2012, p435), towards which this research is, I hope is a contribution. And for Starhawk (1989), a grassroots movement-embedded feminist activist, the key to dealing with power relations within collaborative groups commences with understanding the various types of power that exist. She distinguishes between five main types, following on from the discussion over John Holloway's (2002a, 2010) and Gordon's (2008) analyses of 'power-over' and power-to', in Chapter 2, section 2.3.2.

For Starhawk, firstly, 'power-over' is coercive, with threat of violence and backed by the state or law. For her collaborative groups are attempting to minimise 'power over' through collective decision-making. Secondly, 'power-from-within' or empowerment is creative, moral, spiritual, connection with the universe, and is used by collaborative groups to effect

social transformation. Thirdly, 'collective power', mobilised by empowered people through collective action and solidarity, where we set aside individual personal preferences of who we like, for the benefit of the collective and the change-making process. It also affects how we deal with gossip, communication and conflict within groups. Fourth, is 'power-with' or 'social power', like influence, rank and authority and can be earned or unearned or both. Unearned social power is 'privilege', the gender, race, social class, inherited wealth and opportunities handed to you. 'Celebrity' is another form of unearned social power, which can take value away from the collective by focusing on the individual, and can also attract resources, people and attention. Starhawk explains that 'privilege' and 'celebrity' power can create issues in collaborative groups as some people are listened to more than others, or there may be backlash against these individuals. This work is important to my fieldwork which explores especially issues of privilege and multiple oppressions in my cases, as well as tensions between vertical and horizontal ways of organising, being, doing and relating.

Gordon (2008) in his celebrated article 'Power and anarchy: In/equality and invisibility in autonomous politics' picks up on and expands Starhawk's notions of power within collaborative groups in relation to anarchist organising for Gleneagles G8 summit. He argues that whilst anarchists critique accumulation and abuse of power in and by governments and corporations and discuss inequalities of power along class, race and gender lines (power-over relationships) that within anarchist organising, 'power-to' and 'power-with' can be distributed unevenly and wielded in abusive ways, as my contemporary cases also illustrate. Gordon describes unequal distribution of 'power-to' among activists, which generates unequal access to 'power-with', a 'static' aspect of power which can be relatively easily re-distributed. Whereas the 'dynamic' one, with machinations of 'power-with', is harder to resolve. His anarchist analysis of power relations within organising rings true within many of the movements I explore within my fieldwork and so I am providing, here an in-depth account of his argument about redistribution of personal and collective resources, the power held by communicators between network nodes in place through trust bonds and that held through personality traits, which for him, at worst, replicates the world of business and state politics.

Gordon drawing on Bakunin's ideas around leadership and Jo Freeman's 'Tyranny of structurelessness' (1972), explores how easy it is to redistribute zero-sum political resources like vans and money, which are fairly easy to redistribute, and some non-zero-sum political resources like skills and information can be shared without losing them, through sharing and collectivisation. Conversely some zero-sum resources like time are almost always unequally distributed and non-zero-sum resources like traits of energy, confidence, articulation and charisma are much more difficult to replicate. Access to networks, is crucial, drawing on Juris' (2007, 2008) work in Barcelona which describe 'social relayers', who process and distribute information in particular networks and 'social switchers' who occupy key positions within multiple networks hold positions of enormous power as they are facilitators of communication between different movement sectors and can significantly influence the flow, direction and intensity of network activity, as I will discuss in Chapter 8, section 8.2. The qualitative aspect is defined, however by personal affinity, close mutual knowledge and trust and are extended by invitation from one trusted friend to another. The resources that are not zero sum but are difficult to transfer, Gordon describes as being a can of worms. Commitment and energy are not even stable for the individual, but change with one's priorities, experiences and circumstance, whilst energy is influenced by health, mood and disposition, which I have certainly found true for myself and other activists throughout my 20 years of involvement. For Gordon, however:

> The resources most difficult to come to terms with are those related to personality traits, like feeling freedom to speak, self-confidence, strong convictions and even external appearance, all of which play a role in person's ability to influence others, especially in the intimate setting of friendship networks and fluid affinity groups…

what is distressing about this is that it evokes the approach to such qualities in the world of business and state politics.

(Gordon 2008 p59)

Gordon describes the scene of anarchists as self-selected groups of people organising behind closed doors is an issue that has long disturbed anarchists and has occurred in my experience.

Gordon (2008) critiques Jo Freeman's Tyranny of Structurelessness (1972) arguing that her solutions are not anarchist, rather they involve a re-institutionalising of horizontal organising, agreeing with anarcha-feminist Cathy Levine's response that formalising elites is not the answer, in addition they lack the fluidity needed for high connectivity, rapid action and the decentralised networks of organisation of today's anarchists looking more like majority rule. Gordon critiques Freeman's analysis for not really explaining the problem, as people in anarchist networks are not necessarily groups of friends, some are intimate friends whilst others are in working relationships, some do not like each other but organise together and even within groups of friends, power relations may well still exist within and between them.

Friendships are not monolithic, with different kinds of friendship which change over time and people burn out, fall out, make new friends, so what may be true for the women's movement, Gordon (2008, p7) argues is different from today's anarchist movement. These points are reinforced by movements in the fieldwork where polarisation can occur around personalities, as discussed in Chapter 6, regarding Occupy and Rhythms of Resistance London. Gordon finally criticizes Freeman's work as having been influenced by functionalist conventions of 1970s 'value-free society' which looks at system function rather than value function. For Freeman, elites hinder the effectiveness of the movement. Nonetheless, Gordon describes a felt need to monitor, check and make visible the operations of influence within anti-authoritarian groups, as 'people find it disempowering to participate in actions that are steered behind their backs' (Gordon 2008, p65), as parts of the COP21 2015 Paris mobilisation illustrates, in my research.

Gordon's work exploring and explaining how power is held and operates within movements sheds light on issues of power relations within movements in my fieldwork. Although he does state that these have been covered in recent literatures, I wonder whether he downplays issues around class, race and gender, because anarchist organising is so frequently dominated by white, middle class young men. Groups active in London horizontal organising with an anti-colonial, feminist stance like Sisters Uncut, working against cuts to domestic violence services, Wretched of the Earth, decolonising the environmental movement, and Defend the Right to Protest network bringing together students, families of those killed in police custody, might see power relations as more boldly intersectional.

To summarise this section, understanding power relations in movements is crucial to both prefiguring of new worlds and strategic action against dominant systems of oppression and reinforces movement integrity, accessibility and participation. From my auto-ethnographic reflections of movement involvement since 1994, and intensive PAR and militant ethnographic fieldwork since March 2012 for this thesis, within three movements and contact with other London-based and internationally networked collectives, I would argue that power relations within horizontal organising are complex and always work in progress. Lessons from the women's movement, the GJM, WSFs and global Occupies, as complex experimenting grounds for collaborative living and organising can help inform better practice within movements, as detailed above. Issues around time, friendships, pre-existing affinity, exclusionary cultures, rebalancing economic inequities, listening to diverse voices, reaching out to and prioritising oppressed voices, reflection on our own personal and collective resources and possibility for their redistribution, can all be useful tools for thinking about how best movements can work with issues to maximise participation, movement integrity and possibility for galvanising social transformation, as discussed in this thesis.

3.3.4.2 Direct Action

Direct action has been a fundamental component of protest for centuries, offering principles to live and work by, strategies and tactics for networks and pushing the realms of possibility in belief, hope and involvement in bringing about social transformation, as illustrated in my research. As with horizontality, how to do direct action is contested within the daily organising of movements with tensions around non-violence, symbolic or direct, camp-based or campaign-based, as well as who is 'speaking' what is being said and to whom, as discussed in this section and in 8.3. It offers an alternative way of being, doing and relating, embodied resistance, which can help to expose, undermine and replace dominant oppressive systems, as this thesis argues.

> Practical anarchism…recognises that direct action involves producing as far as possible the anti-hierarchical relations sought as the immediate goal, but that these take place within a realm of complex institution forms and multi-faceted power relations…thus relationships are rarely purely anti-hierarchical, but continually attempt to challenge inequalities of power.
>
> (Franks 2010, p114)

In contrast to practical anarchism, some social anarchists replicate Leninist visions of organisation, albeit in different forms, whilst individualist activists evade 'paternalism' by using liberalisms 'model of consent', which recreates hierarchies of liberalism and marginalises those 'without material resources to build consensual communities' (Franks 2010).

As mentioned in my Introduction, the political imaginary of UK protest culture dates back to:

> Diggers and Luddites, suffragettes, new age travellers, miners' strike, poll tax riots, Criminal Justice Bill, road protest, anti-war, anti-summit, Climate Camp, anti-austerity to today's Occupies and beyond. The meaning, significance and importance of direct action shifted over time within movements since my first involvement in 90s anti-roads, through the GJM, Occupy and beyond.
>
> (Burrell 2013b, p12)

Direct action is principle and practice to anarchists, self-and collectively created, defying representation, autonomous, against capitalism and other structures of domination and oppression. It is the 'symbol of syndicalism in action' (Pouget 1907):

> With inherent clarity it announces direction and orientation of the working class's endeavours in its relentless attack on capitalism…(to) expect nothing from outside people, powers or forces, but rather creates its own conditions of struggle and looks to itself for methodology.
>
> (Pouget 1907 p1)

Contemporary movements in my research and this research project itself, illustrate Pouget's statement creating their own conditions of struggle and looking to itself for its own methodology and problem-solving.

Seventy years on from Pouget, anarchism is thus still influencing direct action movements. In Road Alert's DIY guide to 'Wrecking Roadbuilding' there is concern over being effective, autonomous, responsible and taking action on your own terms, and similarly within Reclaim the Streets which was born out of that movement, there are hints of prefiguration, the being, doing and relating in different ways, and preference for direct action above other methods of change-making.

DIRECT ACTION is not just a tactic, it is not the last resort when all other methods have failed, but the preferred way of doing things.

(Reclaim the Streets flyer 1996)

Debates over violence and non-violence, symbolic and more direct action have prevailed in movement building discussions over the last twenty years, since my first involvement, in 1995. Many anarchists are careful to draw a distinction between criminal damage (damaging property) and actual violence (harming people). Although media reports are often less nuanced and protests and actions have been described as violent when there have been smashed windows of symbols of corporate rule or social cleansing, for example at some London Maydays, global summits and more recently the controversial Class War 'Fuck Parade's' against gentrification and overpriced muesli bars, on 27th September 2015. At times, for some activists and movement wings, non-violence is used according to means-end principles or as tactic to dissipate state violence with their unending ability to escalate resources of repression, as discussed in relation to the GJM PGA 'diversity of tactics', Paris 'action consensus' in Chapter 5 and 6, and in Chapter 8.

Symbolic images capture the imagination and change the way people view possibility.

The sight of a fragile figure silhouetted against a blue sky, perched dangerously high, on a crane has stopped (road building) for the day and is both beautiful and functional – theoretical and political.

(John Jordan 1995, p32)

Similarly, powerful images had radical symbolic potency and potential during the Global Justice Movement as with Prague's Tactical Frivolity and pink carnival bloc, as well as functional direct action purpose to shut down the 2000 IMF-WTO talks. The impact on the imaginings of human possibility to bring about social transformation echoed across the globe. Connecting new and diverse people on the streets creating and reinforcing networks as well as spreading hope for transformation and belief that transformation can and will happen. This was a seminal moment, revisited on several occasions in my research, because the direct action was effective, and the symbolic imagery was so powerful that it transcended the previously conceived of parameters of possibility for this Anti-Corporate Globalisation movement.

The movements of the Squares, the Indignados and Occupies brought a shift from meetings and assemblies being focused on action-planning, to the assembly becoming a tool of education, occupation and an action in its own right (Burrell 2013b). Described as 'a fetishisation of consensus' process by Smith and Glidden (2012, p291), and for Cornell (2012), who critiques Sitrin (2012a, 2012b) and Graeber (2013b), arguing that participatory democracies work for running small camps but are unlikely to bring about wider social transformation when scaled up. Rather Cornell argues for 'strategic, tactically and organisationally-flexible movements that can improve millions of lives, concretely 'not just in theory' (2012, p173). And with relevance to this thesis, he is arguing that prefiguration alone is not sufficient, rather more strategic, and flexible thinking is needed for achieving wider transformation. His argument is revisited in Chapter 8, section 8.3.

Within recent camp-based protest, movements have created 'ecosystems of protest', replacing binaries of past debates outlined above (Feigenbaum et. al. 2013, p128). They draw on Foti's discussion of 'protest ecologies' in his reflection of protests around G8 Heiligendamm, Germany in 2007, including the Clown Army, samba band and black bloc. He describes black and pink blockades going hand in hand, as complimentary, not substitutes, tactical interplay, flexible collaboration and militant alliances between pink and black and certainly this was my experience in Prague 2000, Strasbourg No Borders 2001, and Evian G8 2003. Feigenbaum et. al. describe this as 'co-generative as the energy and outcomes they produce feed back into each other' (2013, p129). They see 'protest action

ecology' as helping to re-orientate discussions away from the 'binaries of violence/non-violence, symbolic/direct, and spikey/fluffy' which had come dominate discussions within movements (2013, p130). Thus, the protest camp is a 'space of experimentation, of insurrectionary imagination where people adapt and expand not only their tactics, but also their understanding of each other, and of what their bodies can do – and of what they need to be able to do' (Feigenbaum et. al. 2013, p129). Camps are certainly creating multiple sites of experimentation, and Peoples Global Action and the 'diversity of tactics' creating a particular spectacular combination, as discussed in my fieldwork and in Chapter 8.

Within my fieldwork, as well as discussing the carnival protest movement, born out of Prague, now a global, mainly European network, I also explore Occupy LSX and other occupations and strategies that were born out of it. Within the environmental movement I compare, and contrast Reclaim the Power and Balcombe Community Protection Camp against fracking, and contrast action planning in Prague 2000 with that at Evian 2003 and the Reclaim the Power and carnival mobilisations for COP21 2015. I revisit these issues in Chapter 7, section 7.6, exploring diversity and connectivity of the RoR network, and in Chapter 8, section 8.3, through my discussion around the dilemma of direct action.

3.3.4.3 Autonomy

Autonomy is another arena of contestation within movements, where strategic and prefigurative political organising dilemmas are thrashed out, as discussed in this research. It is also representing a new way of being, doing and relating, discussed in Chapter 8.4, which arguably has the potential to undermine or replace the state, as part of building living utopias, discussed in Chapter 9.

Prefiguration, for Dinerstein, is 'the process of learning hope' and autonomy is the 'organisational tool of this process' (Dinerstein 2015, p2). She argues that autonomy is a tool for prefiguration, and this involves four modes of organising resistance: 'negation, creation, contradiction and excess' (Dinerstein 2015, p2). Most theorisations, she argues, regard autonomy as 'negative praxis' (rejecting power), or as 'creative' of new worlds and/or political imagination, or as a 'contradictory process' with contested relation 'with, against and beyond the state, capital, law, policy', and as creating an overflowing which cannot be subordinated to power (Dinerstein 2015, p10). But Dinerstein aims to point at the complexity of autonomous struggles in Latin America, and in general, shedding new light on 'the untranslatability of autonomous organising and the nature of the surplus that cannot be appropriated by the state' (2015, p27). She views autonomy as encompassing the four above mentioned modes, or what she calls 'the art of organising hope' (Dinerstein 2015, p27).

She explores negation through the 'political construction of hopelessness' during neoliberal structural reforms which brought about the Zapatista uprising, which simultaneously organised 'negation' and restructures hope. 'Autonomy as creation', is explored through the 'shaping (of) concrete utopias' by urban democracy, work and justice experiments in the Argentinian movements of 2001-2002 (Dinerstein 2015, p25). With 'Autonomy in contradiction', Dinerstein explores the relationship between indigenous people 'with against and beyond the state, capital and the law' in Bolivia 2000 – 2005 (2015, p27). To illustrate 'autonomy as excess', Dinerstein explores the experience of how the MST not only challenges capitalism, landowners and agribusiness but 'confronts, disputes and transcends the *parameters of* legibility of the capitalist demarcation of reality by occupying the land, territorialising their struggles and creating "territories of hope" or concrete utopia' (Dinerstein (2015, p27). Movements in my fieldwork use autonomy as a tool for galvanising change, for example the COP21 2015 mobilisation had issues around co-optation, state repression, and yet the excess was also achieved through successful days of action in Paris, discussed in Chapters 5 and 6 and Chapter 8, section 8.4. Autonomy also helps movements to embody living utopias, discussed in Chapter 9.

Maeckelbergh (2014) argues that in today's horizontal movements, people are tied by communication in 'network nodes', rather than in 'ideology'. Thus, autonomy is ensured as there is no party line and so disagreement creates new network nodes, rather than leaving the network entirely. Within the context of my fieldwork, Occupy LSX when faced with difference and polarisation, created a similar explosion of other occupations, networks, think-tanks, working groups and a revitalisation of the environmental movement with a socio-economic critique.

Harney, who worked for government, is not sure that there is a thing called the state (Moten and Harney 2013, p142). He differentiates between state and government. He describes there being an undercommons of the departments of government that he worked in.

> For me it's not about being against or for the state, it's about being … within and against the state, but also with and for the undercommons of the state.

> (Harney 2013, p143)

He does not view there as being a society, an economy or even state and capital in a clear way. On the state:

> When you get close to it there's all kinds of shit going on there. Most of it is bad. Most of its effects are bad. But at the same time, some of the best study, some of the craziest undercommons have been working in government agencies, local government agencies at the motor vehicle department.

> (Harney 2013, p143)

Harney however is against the nation-state (2013, p144)

> I don't think its bad that people should get together and imagine they are producing something that's hard to see. It's just bad that they imagine nation-states.

> (Harney 2013, p144)

Moten views the state as non-monolithic, it is 'very thoroughly aerated' (2013, p145), but to the extent that it is monolithic Moten hates it:

> Its coercive power, to police or its power to make policy or to foster the making of policy or its power to govern or foster governance and governmentality… to the extent that it exists … I hate it too.

> (Moten 2013, p145)

Harney views a 'deepening of autonomy' – a 'deepening of scale and potential of scales' (2013, p146). He does not believe you need to build an 'autonomist institution' (2013, p146):

> You need to elaborate the principle of autonomy in a way in which you become even less of yourself; or you overflow yourself more than what you're doing right now. You just need to do more of the shit you are doing right now and that will produce the scale.

> (Harney 2013, 146)

De Souza (2010) argues that autonomous movements must 'constantly reinvent themselves, their strategies and tactics, and finally their language to avoid the colonisation of radical slogans and concepts (such as 'right to the city') and to cope with new and old challenges' (de Souza 2010, p330). And this has been the case for movements as diverse as Reclaim the Streets London, European social centres, Zapatistas, Piqueteros avoiding recuperation, Sem Teo and Abahlali base Mjondolo.

And they must do this sometimes '*together with* the state' (for tactical reasons in a very cautious and limited way), but above all '*despite* the state' and essentially '*against* the state'.

(De Souza 2010, p330).

The movements in my research are anarchist in their means-end alignment and for the most part, they are not engaging with the state, apart from for example, supporting Jeremy Corbyn's Labour, which is on a case-by-case basis, because it was specifically Corbyn's Labour born from the movements, and when he lost 60 seats and resigned they went back to more grassroots organising. Movements were co-opted and so lost autonomy to parties.

Some of the literatures that I have drawn on especially anarcha-feminist and transfeminist are against the state which they argue police even the way people experience gender. Brissette (2016) sees the political nature of movements as 'resting in a community-in-freedom beyond the state' (2016, p26). She views the state, 'not as a social actor separate from society but as a social construction, brought into being through a set of discourses (which require ongoing participation to maintain the state's materiality' (2016) and thus prefigurative movements are effectual, on many levels, one being through their non-participation. Movements in my fieldwork are creating multiplicities of voluntary association which could eventually make the state irrelevant (Gaarder 2009, Klimt in Ward 1972), as discussed earlier in this chapter, section 3.2.3, and again in Chapter 9 around living utopias.

Regarding relationships between reform and radical elements of movements, Rowe and Caroll argue that connecting these is crucial to movement dynamism, between explaining Left successes in the 'current conjuncture' (2014, p22). They argue that even when differing wings doubted each other, as with Seattle 99 and New York 2011, 'the totality of efforts has driven success' (2014, p22). Furthermore, they argue that activists should recognise its power and work practically to 'cultivate openness to dynamic alignment with activists and organisations rooted in different tendencies', as explored in Chapter 7.6, in relation to Defend the Right to Protest and Stop Trump networks.

Autonomy thus represents another arena of contestation within movements. For some it is the organisational tool used by movements to create hope, for others it is the tool that allows movements to split, diversify and persist rather than crumbling altogether. For some social transformation is about a deepening of autonomy. It involves movements constantly reinventing themselves and carefully reflecting on their engagement with, despite and/or against the state. In my fieldwork I explore issues of autonomy around Occupy London and its offshoots as well as within the COP21 mobilisation in Paris. In my discussion I revisit autonomy in sections 7.6 and 8.4 and again in Chapter 9 in the section on living utopias.

3.3.4.4 Decolonising movements

Although anti-racist and feminist cultures have affected practical anarchist movement organising for some time, with networks like No Borders and crossover between women's peace and environmental movements for change, the decolonial debate is a relatively new one to hit anarchist organising. Since the November 2015 Climate March in London discussed in my fieldwork, Chapters 5 and 6, and some powerful writings and decolonising critique of the environmental movement from Wretched of the Earth, (see Appendices 5.2 and 5.3) although networks like Defend the Right to Protest have also been encouraging feminist, anti-racist and de-colonising approach in movements and joining important dots in and around oppression and repression, since the violent police response to student occupations in London, late in 2010. How to decolonise movements is hotly contested, and informed by debates within decolonising feminism, decolonising anarchism, and more practical guides around how to practice decolonisation in movements.

Recent decolonising feminists provincialize the Euro-centric revolutionary who denies and dehumanises the raced and feminised 'other', argue Motta and Seppala (2016). Using

feminist and decolonial forms of solidarity, praxical methodologies and onto-epistemic encounters like collaborative story-building, deep listening and collective unlearning of embedded trauma, they create multiple subjectivities of resistance against heteronormative, patriarchal, capitalist coloniality. Exploring women's engagement in contemporary political struggles as being varied and complex from fighting neoliberal projects displacing poor people, to challenging the historic logics of coloniality, resulting in incarceration and forced child removal, to queering political struggle against sexism and heteronormativity. They argue that women's role within movements globally has intensified, bringing new focus to the 'micro-political' and 'everyday' as women are 'enacting and embodying' communities which 'nurture horizontal forms of political power and dis-alienated subjectivities, as well as collective and collaborative forms of social reproduction' (Motta and Seppala 2016, p7). My research is I hope part of this wider project with its focus on micro-political everyday dilemmas of movements' organising, relating this to the collaborative dismantling of multiple oppressive structures.

Furthermore, Motta and Seppala show how feminised resistances and emancipatory politics might 'subvert and dislocate domination of any kind…nurture autonomous subjectivities, alternative communities, as well as oppositional ways of thinking, being, doing and loving' (Motta and Seppala 2016, p7-8). Motta and Seppala's feminist and decolonising approach, emphasis on methodological form makes their work significant for my research. Furthermore, their attempts to dislocate domination of any kind and emphasis on alternative ways of thinking, being, doing, loving, is similar to my exploration of other ways of 'being, doing and relating' which replace dominant structures of oppression.

Ramnath, a US activist attempts to 'Decolonise anarchism' in her 2011 book. With dual heritage and involvement with similar movements to myself, and through her Palestinian solidarity has an interesting and insightful view. For her, decolonising anarchism means making anarchism a force for decolonisation, as well as dismantling our own colonial assumptions within anarchism, so it is seen as 'one locally contextualised, historically specific manifestation of a larger anti-authoritarian tradition' (Ramnath 2011, p258). Thus, we see decolonisation as running parallel to the anarchist tradition, not an imitation, nor pressuring people to take anarchism as their mantle. She argues that questions of power, industrialisation and alienation within the struggle for a post-colonial future and within the Western anarchist tradition can shed light on each other. This makes colonialism 'a system constructed from state institutions, global capitalism and profound racism – a primary component of our analysis and strategy' (Ramnath 2011, p259). Whilst similar to the 1970s radical Left, the crucial anarchist amendment is anti-authoritarian means and ends. So, Ramnath argues, we should facilitate non-statist concepts of colonial liberation, as well as 'dismantling and discrediting' racial inequities on which Western Empire was built (Ramnath 2011, p259). She acknowledges the 'malignant realities of caste and patriarchy' within the voices within her research of Indian anti-colonial movements and voices, including Ghandism, but states there is little she can do to rectify that bias (Ramnath 2011, p259).

On the issue of how to engage with contemporary anti-colonial struggles, like Palestine, she states:

> In practical terms… if someone puts out a call that you can answer, then go, but only if you are able to be engaged consistently over the long-term. And if you're able to do so with empathy and respect, without abandoning your critical awareness. Above all look to your own house; work at and from your own sites of resistance. While you do that, connect the dots; make the connections explicit. Fight racism. Undermine neoliberal capitalism. Interfere with war-making. Resist gentrification and displacement. Subvert norms. Decolonise your mind and…smash the state.

> (Ramnath 2011, p259)

Within the context of what can be done in our own activist spaces and places, she encourages global north activists to engage with domestic struggles against racism in the metropolis which is deeply connected with anti-colonialism in the global south, as they rely on the same logic, are historically connected, even 'mutually constitutive' (Ramnath 2011, p256). The APOC (Anarchist People of Colour) perspective, an important theoretical contribution to anarchist praxis is to foreground colonialism as a primary structure of oppression, emphasising racism in the global north. Their statement requires that within radical spaces and work:

> There is no manifest racism, sexism, ableism, ageism, homophobia or other oppressive behaviour within any anarchist space, project, collective or community…. *Nor is there any hegemonic orthodoxy about cultural practices and attitudes. That would be against our principles.*

> (Ramnath 2011, p257) (my emphasis)

Influenced by Ramnath, my work explores anti-racist struggles in London, like Defend the Right to Protest and Stop Trump. As well as attempting to be an ally to 'affected communities', communities affected by climate change *now* through supporting the work of Wretched of the Earth in their decolonising project within the environmental movements and beyond. Furthermore, this thesis is, as mentioned above, I hope part of a wider decolonising project which sheds light on contemporary movement building and praxes through bringing together a range of radical perspectives on change-making, including decolonial feminist, decolonial anarchist and Black discourses. I revisit Ramnath's APOC (Anarchist People of Colour) safer spaces statement in Chapter 8, section 8.5, exposing a shift in understanding since the People's Global Action hallmarks of 1998, within the current context of Islamophobia in the global West. I also explore movement-embedded accounts around decolonising praxes within movements, as this section continues….

In 'Moving beyond a politics of solidarity toward a practice of decolonisation', movement-based activist, Walia discusses the politics of indigenous people and Sans Papiers, practices of decolonising (2012). She outlines the historic and present-day colonial practices by the Canadian state and corporations on 'cultural, spiritual, economic, linguistic and political practices on Indigenous Peoples' (Walia 2012, p241). Drawing on decolonising, anti-racist and Canadian Indigenous peoples' writings, she argues against multi-culturalism, seeking rights and responsibilities within Canadian identity, and argues rather for an ongoing process of decolonisation within our movements and beyond. Whilst drawing on bell hooks' notion of solidarity, rather than support, where solidarity is daily practice and support is something which can be removed, she argues that solidarity, in fact does not go far enough when it comes to centring Indigenous Peoples within our struggles, as it is still based on an 'othering'. Rather, she draws on Black/Cherokee activist's term 'Relationship Framework', where 'we don't see ourselves, our communities, or our species as inherently superior to any other, but rather see our roles and responsibilities to each other as inherent to enjoying life experiences' (Amahady 2010). For Walia, this account challenges 'dehumanising social organisation' which isolates us from each other and normalises lack of responsibility towards the earth. This is not unity across differences, especially those rooted in power and privilege, rather creates:

> A radical terrain of struggle where our common visions for justice do not erase our common locations, and similarly that our differing identities do not prevent us from walking together toward transformation and mutual respect.

> (Walia 2012, p252)

Walia's contribution arguing that bell hooks' notion of solidarity is not enough when it comes to centring indigenous people within our struggles, rather we need to use the term 'Relationship Framework' from Black/Cherokee activist Amahady, (2010) where 'we don't

see ourselves, our communities, or our species as inherently superior to any other', so that 'our differing identities do not prevent us from walking together toward transformation and mutual respect' (Walia 2012, p252). This significant understanding is revisited in 8.4 of this thesis, and at several moments throughout this research.

In a similar decolonising context, Zunino (2016) calls for a holistic rethink of the nature/culture divide that presents an unsustainable separation between the two. She offers 'an integrated framework, the *nature-culture* paradigm as a theoretical and practical tool for transdisciplinary understanding of the planet's social, cultural and environmental intricacy' (Dinerstein 2016, p24-25). Drawing on eco-anarchism, eco-feminism and more she attempts to undo the coloniality of nature (Escobar 2008) to create a 'wider sense of human belonging' (Dinerstein 2016, p25). This is another concept that is revisited at significant moments throughout the thesis.

Significant work both theoretical and methodological engagement with decolonialism is occurring within the academy and movements, within decolonising feminisms, decolonising anarchisms, shifting understandings around how people relate to each other, through 'Relationship Framework' and '*nature-culture*' and through theoretically informed practical application, within domestic and global struggles. My fieldwork cases Defend the Right to Protest, Stop Trump and especially Wretched of the Earth with their decolonial discourses and praxis, as mentioned in this section, are significant for their work in opposing racism, Islamophobia and centring non-Western voices at the centre of struggle in the UK and beyond. This thesis, and its feminist and decolonising approach, emphasis on methodological form, the micro-political and everyday, attempts to dislocate domination of any kind, emphasising alternative ways of thinking being doing, loving, as Motta and Seppala advocate (2016).

### 3.3.4.5 Oppression and anti-oppression

As discussed in my Introduction and throughout this thesis, my work is situated where feminist, decolonial and anti-racist struggles meet anarchism and anti-capitalism, although my fieldwork looks at movements focusing on inequalities, environment, sustainability, decolonising, racism and overcoming multiple/intersecting issues of domination and oppression, including mental health, age, trans-issues. One of my areas of interest is observing and where possible, or necessary, making positive interventions towards movements' understanding of oppressions. In this section I outline some key texts and issues which are exploring these themes within movements.

The recent anarchist explosion in the academy is 'articulating a very practical and contemporary anarchism intersecting with feminist, anti-racist, queer and ecological movements, opposed to all forms of domination, and that strives to prefigure these aspirations through organisational movement forms' (Eisenstadt 2013, p14), like Gordon (2008, 2018), Graeber (2012, 2013), May (2009), Day (2013), Sitrin (2012, 2013), Juris (2004, 2007), Maeckelbergh (2011, 2014, 2016), Newman (2010), as my research illustrates, and to which my thesis is also a contribution.

'Contemporary anarchist studies: An anthology of anarchy in the academy' (Amster et al 2009) brings together issues around anarchy and post-structuralism (May, Kuhn 2009), movement building and racial order (Olson 2009), 'anarchic economies' (Buck 2009), infrapolitics and nomadic educational machine (Shukaitis 2009), non-state based solutions to dealing with violence against women (Gaarder 2009), Anarchy riot girl style (Kaltefeiter 2009), identity and difference (Ackelsberg 2009), faith issues in anarchism (Kemmerer 2009) and how to 'dis-able' anti-capitalism, radical equality and exploring ideologies of normalcy (Moshe et. al. 2009). The article on 'dis-abling anarchism' is interesting and whilst it is referring to physical conditions could also be applied to mental health. It is worth noting that in this 2009 text, there is no mention of mental health as an oppression or form of neither resistance, nor decolonising discourses or praxes.

'Organise! Building from Local to Global struggle' (Choudry et al 2012), another crucial text for exploring oppression and anti-oppression within movements, written just three years later, is a collection of radical organisers reflecting on the key challenge for social change being the need to build mass and inclusive movements 'in which people extend control over their lives' (David MacNally 2012, back cover). The perspective is 'antiracist, anti-colonial, working class and anti-capitalist' (David MacNally 2012, back cover). Grounded in struggles in Canada, the US and New Zealand, written by activists, lawyers and artists, it explores 'community based labour organising with immigrant workers, to mobilising psychiatric survivors, from arts and activism for Palestine, to organising in support of indigenous people'. (David MacNally p1). Significant work informing my project are around feminist radical queer and anti-racist organising in Quebec (Breton et. al. 2012), 'Moving beyond solidarity to decolonisation' (Walia 2012), detailed above and Mad activism in Toronto (Reville and Church 2012), music and community mobilisation (Nawrocki 2012). Bargh's 'Community organising: Maori Movement', in the same text is another interesting contribution to decolonising debates and praxes (2012).

Trans issues represent another oppression that is relatively new to movements, discussed in depth in the last chapter (section 2.3.2), around its influence on anarcha-feminism and social movements' discourses and praxes. With a strong critique of liberal intersectionality and the state policing gender, transfeminists are using the combining of personal stories of intersecting oppression to collectively dismantle the multiple structures of oppression. Within movements trans-awareness in gender oppression is being taught at gatherings, and many meetings now start with trans-inclusive introductions.

Anti-oppression discourses shift over time, as do anti-oppression movement-based praxes. As shown in the fieldwork, around the case of Rhythms of Resistance International, its longer history (born in 2000) and more embedded direct democracy and anti-oppression praxes, than some newer movements. Mental health, age, trans-issues and the decolonial debate are relatively new concerns for movements in terms of how to understand them, organise around them and include them in everyday anti-oppression processes and practices. The collective learning of movements around how they deal with understandings, around newly highlighted oppressions, is one of the areas of exploration in this work.

3.3.4.6 Order, chaos and radical imagination

> The radical imagination is crucial to stimulating creating and living prefigurative futures as it allows people to feel solidarity with distant people opens up the possibility for change and enables collective envisioning.

> (Burrell 2013b Dissertation p27)

Absence of radical imagination in the global North over the last 20 year, in movements and academies alike, had created a 'malaise' argue Khasnabish and Haiven (2013). The collective process of 'radical imagination' is key to bringing about social transformation according to those influenced by the 'anarchist turn', post-colonialists, anti-racists, feminists, intersectionalists and horizontalists, as this thesis also illustrates.

In the 1970s, in France, Castoriadis, with his anti-Marx, pro-autonomy, and pro-creativity stance wrote 'The Imaginary Institution of society' in which he describes radical imaginery.

> Within the having-to-be the radical imaginary emerges as otherness and as the perpetual orientation of otherness which figures and figures itself, exists in figuring and figuring itself, the creation of 'images' which are what they are as figurations or presentifications of significations or otherness.

> (Castoriadis 1987 English Translation, p369)

In the final chapter, Castoriadis describes 'reality' for a 'given society':

> The institution of the common world is necessarily each time the institution of that which is and is not, does and does not have worth, of what is and is not do-able, both 'outside' the society (in relation to nature) and 'within' it. As such it must also be 'presence' for society of non-being, of the false, the fictive, of the merely possible but not actual.
>
> (Castoriadis 1987 English Translation, p371)

The radical imagination helps radicals to 'project the world as it would otherwise be… and the inspiration that motivates resistance' (Khasnabish and Haiven 2013, p411). Stoetzler and Yuval-Davis (2002) draw on feminist standpoint theory, arguing the radical imagination is a 'transversal' capacity to struggle against multiple structures of oppression, a key theme of this thesis. They see the 'situated' imagination as 'the way we experience being in an embodied racist, sexist, oppressive society gives shape to what we can anticipate, expect and hope for' (Khasnabish and Haiven 2013, p411). They encourage constantly working for 'common imaginaries', sensitive to oppression and offering unending solidarity. It cannot be grasped or measured, they argue, rather 'convoked' as in Seattle, where Northern activists 'shared moments of radicalising hope, and through it built imaginaries' (2013, p411).

Thus, radical imagination is crucial to the process of prefiguration, the building of solidarity, and creation of lived alternatives today, as my research illustrates. And as detailed above debates around solidarity are being pushed through and beyond, informed by work like Motta and Seppala (2016), Ramnath (2011) and Walia (2012) on decolonising feminisms, anarchisms and movements. When movements in my fieldwork encounter difficulties, outlined in Chapters 5 and 6, we see them stifle, reseed, and/or radically transcend above and beyond their issues as discussed in Chapter 8 sections 8.7 and 8.8 and in Chapter 9.

3.3.4.7 Repression and human imagination

Contemporary movements are dealing with repression in new and different ways. Incorporating diverse tactics and strategies of resistance whilst prefiguring new relations, movements are creative in their approaches. Rather than attempting to seize power, these popular revolutions, are in some cases using the 'minimum of violence necessary' to defend their land, like the Zapatistas (Graeber 2013b), and in others creating a 'revolution as non-violent as feminism', as with Occupy (Graeber 2013a).

In the Democracy Project (2013b), Graeber discusses the notion of revolutionary collective action as transformative - outlining diverse tactics from diverse movements as bringing about change. Even in situations of extreme state or corporate repression, like carnivalesque anti-summit protest of the GJM making mockery of global capitalism and its structures and proponents, and the Zapatistas, who using the minimum of violence necessary protected the Chiapas from violent attack from the Mexican Government then reverting to non-violence, revolutionary action and impact occur. In industrialised / semi-industrialised countries, Governments have seemingly infinite resources to crush 'anything which captures the human imagination' (Graeber 2013b, p13). I use this notion of minimum of violence necessary at various moments throughout this thesis.

Giri (2013) highlights his concerns regarding Graeber's vision of Occupy. For Giri, Occupy represents a rebirth of structuralism, an opportunity and necessity for class struggle and communist style politics to be reborn. His biggest issue with Graeber is that he believes that simply 'acting as if you are free' is hugely insufficient to counter the severe repression which Wall Street and other Occupies encountered. Eviction and violent repression of Occupies occurred globally within days, weeks or months of the occupation. In terms of my experiences with Occupy London, once the prefigurative space is removed – the occupations – the movement faces new and different challenges around how it can hang together and continue to be without the occupied space which brought diverse actors together, as detailed in Chapters 5 and 6, and discussed in Chapter 8, section 8.8.

Maeckelbergh (2014) argues that with increased surveillance and repression, prefiguration only works when movements also confront the existing power structures. In 2011, horizontal prefiguration spread like 'wildfire', however many were left critiquing its imperfections, as outlined in section 3.3.4.1 on Horizontality, and with extreme austerity in Europe, some horizontalists have created political parties. 'Only time will tell whether the horizontal prefigurative strategy that dominated movements since 2011 will survive the social crisis in which Europe finds itself today' (Maeckelbergh 2014, p1).

3.4 Concluding thoughts

This section has explored dilemmas of organising around horizontality, direct action, autonomy, decolonising, oppression / anti-oppression, chaos, order and radical imagination and dealing with oppression. It has drawn on current themes within the literature and pointed towards how the dilemmas will relate to the fieldwork in Chapters 5 and 6. Horizontality is deeply contested, but that very debate within and outside movements, helps to create possible solutions to its issues and does, when done well, as Graeber states, make the 'impossible possible'. With Direct Action, thinking and practice is moving beyond the dualisms of violent/non-violent, direct/symbolic towards 'ecosystems of protest' where diverse actions and tactics are reinforcing rather than critiquing or undermining each other. Autonomy, as a 'tool of prefiguration' (Dinerstein 2016), means creating 'concrete utopias' (Dinerstein 2017, p22), sometimes together-with', sometimes 'despite' and essentially 'against the state' (de Santos 2010). Decolonising movements is crucial to the current conjecture, as will be discussed in my fieldwork, and gifts us with new ways of understanding anarchism from a decolonial perspective as well as new ways of understanding decolonialism from an anarchist perspective (Ramnath 2011). Crucially, decolonialism can be practically applied reflexively within anti-colonial struggles like Palestine and Northern industrial context, through urban anti-racist struggle (Ramnath 2011). Furthermore, indigenous knowledges and theory inform our understandings around equality between ourselves, our communities and our species (Walia 2012). Anti-oppression practices within movements, have been usefully informed by post-anarchism's bringing together of anarchism with post-structuralism – feminism, queer theory, postcolonial, anti-racist thinking is connected to anti-oppressive practices within movements. The radical imagination similarly draws on feminist standpoint theory, so that we can feel and act in solidarity with others who are close and far. Repression, which can threaten prefigurative movements like Occupy can also inform our understandings of how to simultaneously say 'no' as well as many 'yeses' and examples in my fieldwork show how repression can in fact strengthen, diversify and reconnect resistance.

Section 3.3 has introduced the concepts of strategic and prefigurative political dilemmas, explored how their relationship has shifted through movements overtime. It has explored some criticisms waged against horizontal and prefigurative futures from the Left, movement-embedded and anarchist perspectives. Finally, it has introduced the prefigurative and strategic dilemmas that will be explored in my fieldwork, suggesting how each might relate to contemporary movement organising, in the London-based but globally networked horizontal movements with which I have had contact or been involved.

The literature chapter explores how, since the 1960s anarchist turn, social change is shifting from a top-down and vertical structures like unions and parties, to bottom-up and horizontally networked prefigurative movements, which are creating utopian visions and new possible futures in the present. Foucauldian accounts of resistance informed again by autonomous Marxist, feminist, global and decolonising feminist, anarchist and post-anarchist and Black study accounts which critique and build on Foucault's work on how people can work and act together in common and related struggles. The third section of this literature chapter, introduces the concepts of strategic and prefigurative politics, critiques horizontal and prefigurative organising and futures and introduces dilemmas. Finally, in this chapter, I explore literatures around dilemmas of horizontality, direct action, autonomy,

decolonisation, oppression / anti-oppression, order, chaos and radical imagining and around dealing with repression, which are crucial issues of contention within movement organising. In fieldwork Chapters 5 and 6, I explore how these dilemmas are played out within contemporary movements, London-based but globally networked.

In Chapter 7, I discuss how the dilemmas shed light on how movements are exposing, undermining and perhaps replacing dominant oppressive systems of global capitalism, colonialism, racism, sexism, heteronormativity, (dis)ableism, with other ways of being doing and relating, like participatory democracy, collective and direct action, decolonisation, solidarity, institutions, voluntary association discussed in Chapter 8. In Chapter 9 I conclude the thesis, explore how these dilemmas create dynamism for social transformation and movement-based utopian thinking and practices.

# CHAPTER 4:

# Research design and methodology

CHAPTER 4: Research design and methodology

4.1 Introducing my anarcha-feminist approach

In this section, I describe how I am combining research design and methods to create a methodology that is anarcha-feminist. Anarcha-feminism focuses on bringing an end to all forms of domination and oppression and focuses on the 'hows' rather than the 'whats?' and 'whys?' of organising resistance (AK Press). I have therefore created an integrative methodology combining Participatory Action Research design – to collaboratively select topics of significance and for collective critical reflection within movements, with other methods. Auto-ethnography brings feminist reflexivity and positionality to this research, as I reflect on my role as an activist on and off since 1994 (anti-roads, street parties, anti-war, social centres, anti-summit, carnival protest), situating them in historico-political-cultural landscape. Meanwhile 'militant ethnography' (Juris 2007, 2008, Graeber 2004, 2012, 2013) brings anarchist-anthropology which is sensitive to issues like movement diversity and horizontality, as I participate in current movements as half activist and half academic (within Occupy, anti-fracking, carnival, anarchist movements) and other movements with less-in depth involvement. Within the PAR framework, I am attempting to contribute to collective learning within movements, by combining my experiences from the past, with my experiences from current movements, with accounts and analysis within the literature (both academic and movement-based) I have created a synthetic methodology which stimulates personal and collective reflection on how we best organise to bring about radical social transformation that we live and dream of.

To pilot this approach, as discussed in the previous chapter, I explored direct democratic processes used within movements 'horizontality' and 'consensus' within Occupy and Global Square at the Tunisian World Social Forum (Burrell 2013a). Through conversations with Occupiers and longer-term activists and from my own experience I realised that consensus and horizontality could be potentially hugely empowering or disempowering processes. By using this anarcha-feminist approach, I was able to experiment with 'how multiple oppressions map onto experiences of horizontality and consensus in the past, present and possible futures' (Burrell 2013b, p7), in an attempt to overcome 'historical amnesia' (Smith and Glidden 2012) that can occur within movements because of the rapid turnover of activists and lack of continuity from one activist generation to another. Activism is high stress activity that people tend to do for a few months to a few years, burn out being common as, is difficulty in continuing to engage over the life course – with children, diminishing health and so on. Comparing two Occupy experiences, one in London camps and General Assemblies, and the other a 'horizontal' intervention by Occupy London International working group and others from Wall Street, Canada, Indignados and Tunisians in the World Social Forum, it was possible to shed light on when, how and why these decision-making processes worked well and achieved their potential, and circumstances in which they functioned less well or became somewhat divisive or exclusionary. To contribute to collective learning my pilot was posted on the Occupy London website and I co-facilitated a workshop 'Overcoming barriers to horizontality and consensus' at GlobalSkillsXchange June 2013 and at other venues, as well as having informal conversations about power, privilege, oppression, working openly and participatively with other activists. Also drawing on cases from the literature where similar movements had encountered similar issues, what they had learnt and practical suggestions about how to improve the processes to work in line with movement principles. I concluded that my anarcha-feminist methodology provided a 'relevant, nuanced and holistic understanding of horizontality and consensus' (Burrell 2013b, p6) and I would add an active intervention within the thinking and doing of the process.

## 4.2 PAR design

PAR is a 'philosophical approach rooted in social justice' (Rutman et al 2005, p155) which emphasises the importance of different ways of knowing – and does not prioritise one form of knowing over another – so that praxis, theoretical and affective ways of knowing are equally important (O'Brien 1998). Rather than using it in traditional ways – either for organisational development or for giving voice to the voiceless, I am using it as an opportunity to collectively select topics of concern within movements and to open up a space for critical collective reflection on how we organise so as to transform dilemmas and contentions into spaces for creating collective solutions and responses to recurring issues within movements, how we decide and act out what is important to us. Motta (2005) critiques ontologies and epistemologies rooted in realism (usually associated with PAR), arguing rather for 'prefigurative epistemology', which locates the site of knowledge production firmly within movements themselves, simultaneously breaking down academic-activist divide and hierarchies of knowing and doing. Similarly, Khasnabish and Haiven (2012) attempt to create prefigurative methodologies that can explore and 'convoke' radical imaginings of and for new worlds. I am using PAR within movements to 'convoke' radical imaginings around multiple oppressions, possible futures and pathways to reach the worlds we desire. PAR design also helps me to create a methodology which reflects movements themselves, as it is open, participative, collective, non-hierarchical, engaged, research which is relevant to, and interactive with, the ways movements organise. It invites all activists to become co-researchers by inviting their input into themes and critical reflection.

Otto and Terhorst (2005) discuss the complexities of researching movements from the perspective of global North academics researching movements in the global South, but state that their lessons ring true for research constellations crossing other 'cultural-economic boundaries' (p201). The constellation they argue 'can contribute to and sustain global inequalities by silencing and exploiting the oppressed…with duality between the subaltern - those who are struggling for voice and mobility within the dominant symbolic order and the activist researchers, those who arguably move speak and made themselves heard more easily…constructing hierarchical power relationships' (p201). They critique the relationship between activist-researchers and sub-altern positions, to 'problematize the blurry line between re-enactments and changes in hegemonic power in order to permit imaginations and practices to overcome this dilemma'. It is important to 'see activist research as a political act that is at once defined by and helps to construct a common project through collaborative partnerships' (p202).

Similarly, Chatterton et al (2007) point to the difficulties of using PAR within movements and radical communities, in the UK, but recommend putting the 'Action' back into PAR by working towards outcomes through delivering social transformation as a research priority and outcome. Their recommendations are that activist-academics create research which contributes to transformation by 'collectively identifying needs, sharing skills and co-producing work, by challenging power relations within the movement, through prefigurative action, being the change, we want to see, and creating participatory spaces for "transformative dialogue, mutual learning as well as conflict" (Chatterton et al 2007, p222)' (Burrell 2013b, p6), which I have attempted to do.

As mentioned above, during my MRes methodology pilot, I used PAR to collectively select and encourage informal conversations around issues of horizontality and consensus within Occupy London and Global Square at WSF (Burrell 2013b). Next, I experimented further with the design for my dissertation, where I collectively selected movement dilemmas around strategic and prefigurative organising – collectively selecting issues of 'direct action versus democratic process', 'strategy, tactics and analysis', 'dealing with repression' and 'order versus chaos' within three movements mobilising in London against G8 in Ireland 2013. My intervention involved encouraging critical reflection around these issues during

and after the organising processes, including a presentation back to Occupy London at 'Future of Occupy' event, Autumn 2014.

For my PhD, I worked to collectively select topics within three movement cultures, where I carried out militant ethnography, Occupy and its offshoots, Reclaim the Power, anti-fracking Climate and Rhythms of Resistance carnival anti-capitalism. In addition, I selected some topics from much less in-depth involvement with networks Wretched of the Earth and their decolonising critique, Defend the Right to Protest and Stop Trump. All these movements are London-based but globally networked movements. With Wretched of the Earth, I began my involvement as an ally and activist and then became researcher after a few months as discussed in more depth below. I also auto-ethnographically reflected on years of involvement within anarchist and anti-capitalist movements and drew ideas from my pilot and dissertation. Recurring themes in all these movements have been around intersectionality and multiple oppressions, diversity, inclusivity and horizontality. The dilemmas I selected and have discussed in my literature, fieldwork and analyses are participatory democracies, collective and direct action, autonomy, decolonising critique, anti-oppression, balancing order, chaos and radical imagining dealing with repression and institutions. I have explored these issues in my thesis literature Chapters 2 and 3, fieldwork Chapters 5 and 6 and analysis Chapters 7 and 8.

The ways that power relations of mainstream society are reproduced within activist communities and how we can work to overcome this has been a recurring theme throughout my thesis, dissertation and pilot (spring 2013). The idea being that if within our activist communities we hold the seeds for future worlds, then our micro-politics – the ways we organise - could have huge impact on the ways that society transforms in the future. If we dream and desire and live out very different futures – of equality, sustainability, real democracy, alternatives to global capitalism, then new forms of organising society can be born out of movements, becoming more numerous and more prevalent as the existing oppressive systems become obsolete and fall, as discussed in Chapters 7 and 8. This means that our seeds of change need to be well-thought out, living the futures we desire so that as transformation occurs, we do not replicate the old ways of being, doing and thinking, rather create new worlds and new ways of interacting with peace, harmony and respect between all people and new relationships within the living world and care for our planet. My argument is that hypersensitivity to micro-politics within, between and beyond movements now will help us to 'change the world *without* taking power', as Holloway endorses.

4.3 Methods

As mentioned above, my methodological techniques combine feminist reflexivity of auto-ethnography, with Juris's (2007) anarchist 'militant ethnography' to explore contentions and dilemmas within movement organising which can be used as a space to open up discussion about how we can bring about, work for, live and be the social change. The prefigurative and strategic dilemmas within movements, introduced in Chapter 3 are explored through ethnographic techniques, in order to shed light on how social change occurs. My methodology is open, participative and horizontal, so as, to reflect the movements, and prefigurative in epistemology, as well as methodology, as movements become sites of knowledge production (Motta, 2005). I have spent half my research time as an activist at demonstrations, actions, within social centres and gatherings within Carnival, post-Occupy and anti-fracking and other networks, having informal conversations as well as participating in and leading workshops, throughout the duration of my PhD. I fed my work back to the activist community through short presentations, mini-papers and discussions within the different movements.

### 4.3.1 Auto-ethnography

Auto-ethnography is a feminist research method which situates personal experience and reflection within a socio-political and historico-cultural landscape (Skinner 2011). Ideal for embodied research practices, such as these where 'the body itself becomes a research tool, fundamental to understanding the experiential, practical and affective daily reality of the activist' (Burrell 2012b, p5) because 'the living body/subjective self of the researcher is recognised as a salient part of the research process' (Spry 2001, p226). Auto ethnography necessitates rethinking of terms like validity, reliability and objectivity, in itself a critique of representation and legitimation within social sciences, and is a 'useful tool for understanding complex social relationships in contemporary contexts' (BRE 2001, p226). Critiques of auto ethnography include loss of researcher detachment and distancing (Gans 1999) and that it is so concerned with the 'self' that it risks losing the voice of the 'other' (Andersen 2006). However, Skinner argues that if auto-ethnography is engaging, evocative and useful, then the academy should embrace it as 'significant sources of knowledge' (Collins 1986, p29). I am using auto-ethnography as one method among a 'battery of methods' (Klandermans et al 2002, p314) to avoid losing the crucial and equally important voices of others within movements.

Within this thesis, as has been the case with my pilot and dissertation, I have used auto-ethnography to reflect on my own experiences of activism since 1994. This includes anti-roads protest, Reclaim the Streets street parties, Carnivals against Capitalism in the UK, Prague 2000, No Borders camps, anti-war, squats and social centres in London and Europe. I have been involved specifically with Rhythms of Resistance samba band UK and international (2000-06, 2011-2014) and more overtly anarchist networks and mobilisations. I have also been an 'ally' of affected communities within Wretched of the Earth, but because of ethical issues discussed below, I am not writing as an ethnographer, rather using publically released documents, as was decided by the network (Appendices 5.2 and 5.3).

### 4.3.2 Militant ethnography

Jeffrey Juris explains the rationale behind his research method of 'militant ethnography' within the 'anti-corporate globalisation network' (2008):

> I really wanted to study the networks behind the demonstrations during their visible and 'submerged' phases (Melucci 1989). It seemed that if activists wanted to create sustainable movements, it was important to learn how newly digitally powered networks operate and how periodic mass actions might lead to long-term social transformation….I realized…my focus was not really a specific network, but rather the concrete practices through which such networks are constituted…contemporary activist networks are fluid processes not rigid structures…(outlines a number of questions for his research)…. Finally what are the links between activist networking, political change and social transformation?
>
> To answer these questions, I turned to the traditional craft of the anthropologist: long-term participant-observation within and among activist networks themselves. Indeed rather than studying activist networks as an object, I wanted to understand how they were built in practice, which meant becoming an active practitioner.
>
> (Juris 2008, p6)

My approach differs from Juris in the sense that as a long-term activist and developing an interest in research after several years away from front-line activism, following pregnancy and raising my child, when an opportunity presented itself to do a PhD, this seemed the perfect way to re-engage with activism in a new role. So, opportunity to carry out my own research drew me back to movements that I had given most of my adult life to, in order to

try to connect what happens on the ground with the many detailed and varied accounts of what we were achieving (or not) within the literature and mainstream perspective. Also, to ground myself theoretically so that my contribution to movements was more informed. During my Masters in Research, I thrashed out my methodological rationale and with prefigurative methodology, inspired by Motta (2012), I am attempting to re-appropriate academic rigour and reflexivity to benefit movements themselves. Juris continues:

> Over the next year and a half, I attended hundreds of meetings, protests and gatherings and took part in online discussions and forums. I lived the passion, excitement and fear associated with direct action protest and the exhilaration and frustration of working with activists from such diverse backgrounds. I also became embroiled in movement debates, at times aligning myself with certain groups against others. This made me feel uneasy given my dual role as activist and observer, but I came to realise that only by taking clear positions could I grasp the complex micro-political dynamics of transnational activist networking. At the same time I hope this book will prove useful for activists. What impressed me most about so many of those I came to know and respect during my time in the field was their *fierce dedication to egalitarian, collaborative process, which demanded of me a politically engaged mode of ethnographic research.* (My emphasis).
>
> (Juris 2008, p5-6).

For Juris, becoming an 'active participant' means 'organising actions and workshops, facilitating meetings, weighing in during strategic and tactical debates, staking out political positions, and putting one's body on the line during direct actions…. One has to build long term relationships of commitment and trust, become entangled within complex relations of power and live the emotions associated with direct action and transnational networking' thus being 'politically engaged and collaborative and breaking down the divide between researcher and object' (2008, p20). Militant ethnography, therefore, for Juris is about experiencing the powerful emotions 'alternating sensations of anticipation, tension, anxiety, fear, terror, solidarity, celebration and joy' – affective dynamics which are 'central to sustained processes of movement building and activist networking' (p20-21). And as with auto-ethnography, the body is research tool to generate 'kinaesthetic' empathy (Deidre Sklar 1994).

In terms of broader relationship with the academy, Juris describes this as being broken down during the moment of fieldwork, but not at all during the moment of writing up. Quoting Routledge (1996) he describes what de Certau calls 'a gap between solidarity time and the time of writing. The former is marked by docility and gratitude towards one's hosts while the latter reveals the institutional affiliations, and the intellectual, professional, and financial profit for which this hospitality is objectively the means' (Routledge 1996, p402). One criticism hurled at Juris by a British activist was that 'You go back to the University and use collectively produced knowledge to earn your degrees and gain academic prestige. What's in it for the rest of us?' (Juris 2008, p21).

Juris's militant ethnography attempts to 'provide critically engaged and theoretically informed analyses through collective practice (it) can provide tools for activist self-reflection and decision–making while remaining pertinent to broader academic audiences' (2008, p22). Similarly, Graeber (2004) describes the role of vanguard intellectual positing ethnography as a potential alternative 'teasing out the tacit logic or principles underlying certain forms of radical practice then not only offering them back to those communities but using them to formulate new visions' (p335). So that 'militant ethnography' includes 'three interrelated modes' – which he attempts to incorporate throughout his work (Juris 2008, p23):

1. Collective reflection and visioning about movement practices, logics and emerging cultural models. (For Juris – horizontality versus top-down structures and finding balance between the two).
2. Collective analysis of social processes and power relations affecting internal decision–making. (For Juris, mass actions as bringing people together – but having diminishing returns in impact, and violence versus non-violence debate creating 'diversity of tactics' within the Peoples Global Action networks).
3. Collective ethnographic reflection regarding diverse movement networks, how they interact, and how they might better relate to broader constituencies. (For Juris, help activists grasp 'competing organisational logics and political visions within the alternative networks – between institutional reformers critical sectors' (Marxists and Trotskyists, radical network-based movements and militant anti-capitalists).
(Juris 2008, p301).

These inter-related modes discussed by Juris, have influenced my decisions about how to do this research, and which significant debates with which militant ethnography could usefully engage. Overall, within the Anti-Corporate Globalisation Movement (ACGM) networks, Juris describes a need for 'more co-ordinated planning and decision-making…to achieve a productive balance between long-term strategic coordination while continuing to emphasize more far-reaching utopian goals' (2008, p302). The strategic, prefigurative and the utopian are also themes within my research.

I have carried out a combination of auto-ethnography and militant ethnography throughout my fieldwork. I became involved with Occupy networks in March 2011, visiting Finsbury Square camp, attending General Assemblies, some working group meetings and actions and travelling with Occupy London activists to World Social Forum in Tunisia March 2011 and Agora 99 in Rome November 2011. I also participated in Occupy Democracy's process to occupy Parliament Square for nine days of direct democracy, learning and protest, 17-25 October 2013. From summer 2013-2016, I became involved with anti-fracking networks, spending a summer at Balcombe Community Protection Camp against fracking in Sussex, summer 2013, and with Reclaim the Power network at their Balcombe camp summer 2013, and during the organising process of their Blackpool camp, August 2014, and spent some time involved with the Reclaim the Power London network. Reclaim the Power mobilised for Paris in the run up to December 2015 and I was involved in this process and went to Paris and participated in organising and action. I attended a conference for Defend the Right to Protest 2014 and a talk on Stop Trump in London and danced at the demo and rally July 2018 with multi-band samba band.

Wretched of the Earth, is a network with a decolonising critique of environmental movements, born in response to the silencing and marginalising of Indigenous voices in the Climate process in London and Paris. Within this network, I participated firstly as activist as a supporter of affected communities. I was understandably refused permission to carry out ethnographic research within that network because of issues around the White, colonial gaze. As mentioned above, it was agreed by consensus, that rather than using ethnography that I could use publicly-released documents from the network, and press releases (see Appendices 5.2 and 5.3).

Another interesting fieldwork intervention that I discuss in the coming chapters was a Rising Up Strategy day, which was part of the pre-process of Extinction Rebellion and the Stansted15 actions. My mini-paper is Appendix 6.1. I supported the Stansted15 at solidarity demonstrations and spoke with those involved.

### 4.3.3  My shifting position as auto-militant ethnographer

This section explores my changes in position from activist to researcher and from researcher to becoming a parent. I specifically mention my shifting position with Wretched of the Earth.

Twenty years ago, I was an activist who had all the time in the world to commit to movements organising and I was a fulltime activist for over a decade, taking some breaks to earn money and to travel. When I became pregnant with my son in 2005, I was living in a squat that had been used to organise resistance against DSEI an arms trade fair in Docklands, as well as other actions. During DSEI the squat was surrounded by police vans and my pregnant self, also burnt out from years of organising decided that I never wanted to see a police man or riot van again. I moved to the West Country and started working with environmental and sustainability issues, writing for a local publication, doing some freelance work for a Malian sustainability NGO and teaching dance and volunteering one day a week at the Wellbeing in Developing Countries Research Group, which later turned into a small contract. Living on a boat I was absorbed by motherhood and working part-time at the local universities. I was burnt out and disillusioned with activism.

It was not until some years later, that I became aware of Occupy Wall Street which came to my attention on social media. Initially there was mainstream media blackout. I was at this stage in discussion with academics at Bath University about the possibility of doing a PhD. I was absolutely stunned to see Occupy in Wall Street of all places and recognised instantly the seeds that had been planted by mine and thousands of other peoples work in the Anti-Corporate Globalisation Movement or Global Justice Movement. If they could occupy Wall Street, they could occupy anywhere I thought to myself. Soon the occupation had spread to London and eventually over 200 sites around the world (The Guardian).

In conversation with the University of Bath, and as an activist desiring to return to a world which now five or so years later I was starting to miss, I was directed to my supervisor Dr Ana Dinerstein, who was working on Latin American movements at the time and submitted a proposal to do a PhD on Occupy which was accepted.

I moved to London, to be closer to my mother and to the movements as my Masters in Research at Bath was progressing and threw myself back into social movements organising now writing about them as well. As I mother of a small child, I took my son to many Occupy meetings and to Balcombe for a long summer coming, going according to his needs. I took him to the Blackpool Reclaim the Power camp and I often left him with my mother on days of action where could not anticipate the levels of safety for a small child.

Returning to activism as a mother has its own challenges. I could not go to as many meetings, or actions as I had formerly in my twenties, and having taken a significant break of maybe six years, I had to build trust relationships with older and especially newer, younger activists. Both of these factors made my involvement more challenging. My personal mission as an activist and for the benefit of my research, was to try to increase connectivity between movements, but straddling movements, going to RoR and RTP and Occupy meetings meant that I had less time to dedicate to each movement, which was difficult for the younger activists to understand. As mentioned in Chapter 8, I have found in the field is that for younger and newer activists, it is easier, I would argue to falsely assume that the amount of time an individual puts into organising has a direct correlation with how much you care about that network and how committed you are to planetary or social justice. As activists get older, they often become a bit more forgiving around other people having commitment to multiple networks, children, work or a life outside of political organising.

As activist-researcher I participated in many networks and went to camps that were part of my research, as well as participating in networks and actions that were not to do with writing

a thesis. My involvement with Wretched of the Earth began with me as an activist, an 'ally' to black and brown people supporting those on the frontline of climate change. The network did not even know I was writing a PhD because I was there at meetings to support their work, which I heard about soon after Paris Climate mobilisation.

I had heard about Wretched of the Earth on my return from Paris at the Paris RTP debrief in London. It was not until I had been going to occasional meetings for a few months that I decided that their work was relevant to my thesis and asked if I could include their work in my research. As mentioned elsewhere, the group felt that because of the colonial history of the ethnographic gaze it was not appropriate for me to use ethnographic methods or disclose meeting content, but there was consensus around me writing from publicly released documents which is what I have done and has worked well, alongside auto-ethnographic and militant ethnographic accounts from other mobilisations.

This section has explored my shifting relationship and positionality from activist to mother and activist researcher. It has explored the additional challenges of being an activist-researcher and a parent and explored my shifting relationship and position with Wretched of the Earth, from activist to activist-researcher.

### 4.3.4   Collective learning

Collective critical reflection is fundamental to PAR, as is the feeding back of ethnographic reflections to movements, within militant ethnography. As mentioned above, historical amnesia within movements is common, since very few activists sustain a lifetime of activism, it being high risk, high stress, at times traumatic and not so compatible with say having a family or earning a living, which means that whilst continuity certainly does occur with people, affinity groups, principles and practices, much knowledge gained, lessons learned remain unrecorded, undiscussed. Similarly, few activists have time to read academic papers because they are time-pressured and motivationally pressured to act and organise, many are not familiar with language, terminology and debates and even fewer would find time and resources to respond to a 25-page referenced analysis, nor a thesis. Similarly, whilst attempts to have anti-oppression built into direct democratic process, few would ethnographically analyse their cultures and communities in the interests of movement reinforcement from within.

### 4.3.5   Collective learning within movements, situating, triangulating around activist/academic/mainstream social transformation debates

By triangulating my auto-ethnographic reflections on my past experience of activism, my 'militant ethnography' or 'ally' involvement within current movements (Occupy, anti-fracking, carnival and anarchist, Wretched of the Earth, Defend the Right to Protest and Stop Trump) and accounts of experiences of other movements – past and present – within the academic and activist literature, I have attempted to combine lessons from the past, with lessons from the present, which can then be used to inform future practice within and beyond movements around issues of how we organise to maximise our impact, whilst holding true to our principles of autonomy, self-organisation, horizontality, against all oppression and towards sustainable planet-centred futures.

For example, within my pilot, I found issues within horizontality and consensus, that within Occupy London, power relations of mainstream society were being reproduced, frequently through tensions between such a huge diversity of people including the dispossessed. By using literature from the women's movement and comparing Occupy London's experience with accounts of other Occupies – New York, Boston, and Pittsburgh – I found examples of possible practical solutions that could be used.… From Jo Freeman (1972) – rotating roles, skill-sharing, being conscious of distribution of access to resources between women and from Occupy Boston – the positive stack – where those who speak less are given priority

within assemblies and working groups for those oppressed in particular ways – People of Colour, LGBT, women, outreach groups specifically for Latino and African American communities.

Once my previous experience, current experience and lessons from other movements have been drawn together, this could then be fed back to the movements that I am and have been involved with, as collective learning intervention through informal conversations, process points within meeting, workshops (like 'Overcoming barriers to horizontality and consensus' at GlobalSkillsXchange 2013 and 'Anarcha-feminism, intersectionality and gender-inclusivity and trans issues – at the Earth First! Gathering 2014), and the notes or mini-paper I fed into the Rising Up Strategy process I wrote on 'On oppression, anarcha-feminist intersectionality, affected communities and bottom-up organising', (see Appendix 6.1).

Furthermore by exploring the ways past and present movements organise and mobilise, situating this within debates of how to change the world without taking power, how movement-initiated social transformation has, does and will occur through a complex interaction of strategic and prefigurative politics (Burrell, 2014c) within our 'cracks' or prefigurations, through different ways of being, thinking and doing, by creating alternative ways of living and relating that become more significant as the oppressive, outdated regimes of global capitalism, patriarchy, post-colonialism, racism and homophobia crumble away, to make way for people-centred, planet-centred, humane, just and equal localities and globalities. How social transformation will occur is hotly debated within movements and beyond, and my anarcha-feminist methodology helps me to gain understanding around how living possible futures now can prefigure a huge global shift in understanding and doing, whilst making a positive engaged contribution to movement dynamics, thinking and organising so that awareness and consciousness are heightened for maximal impact in building social transformation.


## 4.4  Ethics

Ethical concerns within my work are very particular because of working with activists – whose security is often multiply attacked through police surveillance, infiltration, eviction of home/organising spaces and repression of demonstrations and actions, as discussed in my fieldwork. Consent has been verbal at the start of meetings, or when I enter new spaces / movements, and risk to others is minimised by very careful thought (recommended by Pickerill, 2007) and conversations with others about what to write and what not to write. Risk to myself exists, as all public order situations are unpredictable and when police are charging and batons whirling, no journalistic nor academic ticket will get you out of the situation (Ross, 2013). However, many years of experience means that I can anticipate the likely progression of many situations. I do have privilege, through the University – time, access to books, journals and resources, funds to access rare and niche books, as well as ESRC/SWDTC funding to support myself and my son, which gives me privilege within movements. I am white and well-educated in conventional terms. Conversely being a single mother and having to withdraw from activism to write up, puts limits on the time I can contribute to activism. Over the length of the thesis, my privilege reduces, as funding has run out and pressure from my department to complete complex, experimental and synthetic piece of research increases. Although according to Motta's prefigurative epistemology and my 're-appropriation' of academic rigour and reflexivity to further movement-initiated social transformation building, my time as an academic can be viewed also as another dimension of my activism. Finally, regarding ethical concerns, all ethnography risks objectification and representation, so as Khasnabish and Haiven (2012) recommend, I will be working to counteract this by using this research to make a positive contribution to the movements themselves.

As the work on my thesis has progressed, the scale and complexity of the project has become clear, with multiple movements, in UK and international contexts, and multiple dilemmas being explored through those movements. In order, for this research to illustrate the impact and outcomes of radical imagining on movements it is fortunate that the project has taken longer than anticipated because some of the collective learning outcomes and movement transformations takes years rather than months to occur. A good example of this being the impact of Wretched of the Earth's decolonial critique on movements which eventually created new movements like intersectional solidarity around the Stansted15. The scale, experimental and integrative aspects of my methodology and write-up have thus made it a larger and more complex than I could have anticipated, and at times I have felt that the research project that I chose was too ambitious for the scale of a thesis, which at times has been overwhelming.

### 4.4.1   Responsibility to multiple publics

Responsibility to speak and answer to multiple publics, the different movement networks I am involved with, my supervisor, department, University, ESRC/SWDTC funders, the academy and more mainstream audience necessitates 'reflexive ethics' that are not static and detached but 'responsive, relational and often contextual' (Cordner et al. 2012, p171). The ways I work as well as my research outputs must be understandable, digestible and acceptable to anarchists, campaigners, and academics alike making this movement-embedded research particularly challenging and thought-provoking. As a contribution to collective learning in movements, I have attempted to keep the content and themes very relevant to activists as well as to the wider debate around how movement-initiated social transformation is occurring.

### 4.4.2   Access

Long term involvement within movements means that I have some strong connections with a handful of the older more experienced activists within movements. However, the fact that activist turnover within movements is rapid and that I took a six-year break from protest after the birth of my son has meant that I have had to start some relationships with some networks from scratch. My re-involvement with movements began in spring 2012, just after Occupy London Stock Exchange had been evicted, but whilst a strong presence remained at the Finsbury Square occupation, alongside working groups and general assemblies. And for the duration of my fieldwork, I have been rebuilding relationships of trust within activist networks in London and beyond. Access is not always easy. Whilst movements claim to be open, participative and horizontal, this is not always the case and relationships of mutual trust develop through working together as activists. In some cases, as I disclosed the fact that I was doing research, this roused suspicion, in others an expectation that I would study and write about other people and the way I interacted as an activist and an academic caused some confusion about who I was and what I was trying to do. Movements going through difficult times are obviously sensitive to the idea of having their micro-politics thrown open to critique and exposed in a way that is public – through my ethnographic fieldwork. At times, attempting to resolve conflict within groups has been extremely difficult – like walking on a tight rope and still being seen, as being on 'the other side' by polarised groups within networks. Overtime, more people gain understanding of what I am trying to do which makes my work easier and more possible as time goes on.

### 4.4.3   Consent

I have requested verbal consent within movements at the beginning of meetings, gatherings at the commencement and throughout my involvement with networks. Explaining that I am trying to create an anarcha-feminist methodology usually draws interest and stimulates some conversation before and after the session. I explain my work is looking at how movements bring about social transformation, with a particular focus on oppression within

movements and beyond. I have had concerns expressed over activist and movement security, that I do not claim to represent anyone, and around the value of doing research, and that my work may be journalistic rather than with movement aims and objectives as the core of my purpose. There was also, criticism around the fact for a duration of the research, I was effectively a 'paid activist' because my study is funded. Concerns stimulate interesting debate and are more prevalent within more closed networks than the more openly operating networks and I attempt to respond to criticism within my research as well as at that moment on the ground. Names are not included, and I always give everyone the option of having their voice omitted from my work.

Early on in the fieldwork, I was asked to omit one voice and been asked at just one meeting not to use the work for my research. However, later on a couple of quite complex issues occurred around consent. The first was within a network mode that was falling apart over how to deal with an alleged perpetration, and they asked for details of the discussion to be omitted from my fieldwork, which I have done. At an international gathering of that same network, discussions in the feedback session from the last year of news from each node, people expressed that it was important that it was recorded in my research that this had occurred, especially given the significance of the London node, which had been the first and hugely influential, also so that other network nodes and horizontal groups could learn how to avoid this same problem. As a result of this I have written about it, but in, I hope a sensitive way which does not disclose too much. Another London-based network which had issues of consent, as mentioned above, was within a collective which had a radical anti-racist, anti-colonial stance and issues around the white gaze. As mentioned above, it was decided by consensus that I would use publicly released documents for my research only and no ethnographic notes although I participated in meetings, as an 'ally', for a few months.

### 4.4.4   Objectification and representation within ethnography

Steeped in historical context of racialized colonial violence and 'othering', anthropological techniques must be used with care, sensitivity and reflexivity to avoid the same pitfalls as our academic forefathers (Graeber 2004, Hale 2008). By using an anarcha-feminist approach combining reflexivity of auto-ethnography, with movement-embedded militant ethnography and horizontal and collaborative engagement of PAR, I am attempting to avoid 'othering' my fellow activists, rather inviting their interest and input as equals. My desire is to displace anthropology's oppressive history and distortive presence of researcher by participating in anti-oppressive action research which attempts to contribute to collective learning, social transformation, challenging conventional ways of thinking, being and doing, rather replacing them with new ways, that can be part of prefiguration of new worlds. By teasing out the logic and principles underlying radical practice I am offering that analysis back to the community to help movement's self-awareness and to create new visions (Graeber 2009, Juris 2008). Furthermore, Khasnabish and Haiven (2012, p414) describe the researcher as catalyst rather than observer within prefigurative methodology, analysing but also creating spaces of hope and possibility.

Wretched of The Earth as mentioned above, a radical network working to de-colonise the environmental movement, whose meetings I attended for several months post-COP in Paris, as an activist firstly did ask me not to take 'ethnographic' notes during the meetings because of my white privilege and issues around the white gaze. Consensus decided however, that I may be able to write about the documents that they released publicly which is what I have done (see Appendices 5.2 and 5.3).

### 4.4.5   Privilege

Working with intersectionality has drawn my attention to the idea that we all exist within complex matrices of privilege and oppression – which then have different effect depending on the circles within which we move. My privileges – being white, from a middle-class

background, educated to a high standard, and having been encouraged to pursue my interests and passions, and a home, hold within mainstream and activist cultures. My oppressions – being a single mother and having suffered some trauma – also exist within mainstream and activist circles. However, comparing myself to peers from my first degree, I am living on an extremely low income, whereas to other activists – who survive mostly on minimal income – I have access to a wealth of resources – funding for my fees, a stipend, a research expenses allowance, library access, computer and desk at University – which give me to time and financial capability travel to, attend workshops and gatherings, read academic literature, source online activist materials, buy niche movement-related or political books, pamphlets, magazines and to read, write and be active. Conversely, my commitment to doing a PhD takes time and energy away from the movements that I am trying to work to strengthen and reinforce – sometimes at critical moments like whilst Occupy Democracy were preparing to occupy Parliament Square – their largest scale mobilisation since St Pauls and Finsbury Square camps, several years ago (as discussed by Routledge 2004, and Juris 2008). Within activist culture, I also have the privilege of long-term engagement and experience, which eases access and participation, but means that I need to be careful how and when to use my voice. Over the years, I have become less forthright with my opinions, allowing others to talk, discuss and organise and only speaking when I feel there has been a serious omission, oversight or risk of missing an important opportunity. Throughout an activist's life course, the empowerment journey may begin as self-empowerment, but becomes more about empowering others and sharing skills and lessons and teaching others about empowering others.

### 4.4.6   Risk to myself

> For those who have been scholar-activists within Occupy, the omnipresent threat of police repression, even brutality, speaks to this built-in element of danger. Police show scant regard for journalistic credentials when they start swinging their batons, and of course, none whatsoever for scholars engaged in the field.

> (Ross 2013, p9)

Risk is discussed frequently within activism, as part of the empowerment process for new and more experienced activists, when planning and debriefing. Risk of eviction, risk of arrest, risk of police violence, risk of escalation of a situation, are ongoing conversations. We also discuss the level of risk we each as individuals, affinity groups, collectives and movements are comfortable to put ourselves in. Demonstrations and actions are risky because they are unpredictable. In recent conversations I have started to talk about the predictable, the unpredictable and the totally off-the-scale outcomes that no one could have imagined occurring. As a long-term activist, I have become accustomed to the predictability and unpredictability of mass actions situations, and I also can tolerate off-the scale and usually remain calm and collected enough to get myself and those I have affinity with on the day away from danger.

### 4.4.7   Risk to others and the movement

Gillian and Pickerill describe 'positions of particular vulnerability' of activists and movement-based collectives as being a 'complex ethical consideration' given that 'they may be relatively powerless in terms of their social situation, their activities may be covert or illegal and they may face a high risk of repression' (2012, p133). Activists frequently suffer extreme surveillance, harassment and oppressive strategies and tactics from the police and from corporate private security companies. During my fieldwork, the 'Police Spies Out of Lives' campaign hit mainstream news headlines as activist women had been seduced by and had long term relationships and one baby had been born from relationships with police infiltrators. The campaigners joined with the Stephen Lawrence family – whose friendly

'liaison officer' was digging dirt on family members to tarnish the family name and discredit the campaign rather than focussing on justice after Stephen's death.

> We don't need no report from MacPherson

> To find out what's known by every black person.

> You could've asked any black person.

> We knew police were racist before Stephen's murder

> (Baby J Skeme and Big P 'You').

Many activist communities have a similar attitude to the state and the police as expressed in the hip-hop lyrics about police racism, knowing that they are specifically targeted for harassment. Groups are still recovering from the impact of infiltration as will be discussed in later chapters, and so particular sensitivity around these issues is necessary. And as Gillian and Pickerill remind us, as activist-academics we have to select very carefully 'what we report, in what terms we report it and what we leave unsaid, judging the risks faced by the research respondents' (2012, p133). I argue that when doing ethnographic studies of how we organise to maximise social transformation building, this is even more crucial, so as to discuss enough to have a meaningful intervention, but also not to expose so much that movements themselves become more vulnerable to state and police repression.

## 4.5  Limitations

Whilst attempting to work horizontally, the reality is that the multiple oppressions of mainstream society are replicated within movements (Khasnabish and Juris 2013), and so I must reflect and recognise my own privilege as a white, middle class woman from the global North. And whilst attempting to make the work as inclusive and collaborative as possible, I must also acknowledge the limitation of being one voice, although my methodology attempts to push beyond this limitation through its extreme collaboration, and alignment of research and methodology with movement principles and practices. Writing academic work within for and about movements is also problematic as many activists have not been to University and/or are too busy to read lengthy documents or theses, so I have condensed my work so far into short presentations and would like to also produce more accessible pamphlets which are widely available, easier to digest and respond to. Challenging privilege within any community is deeply charged and especially so within activism where people try to be and usually are extremely self and collectively aware about multiple oppressions.

Finally, as mentioned above, the scope of the project to both describe social change in action, and to play a part in making it more effective and to contribute to an enormous Left-Anarchist-Feminist debate on how social transformation can and will happen is ambitious for a thesis. To both describe the world and to change it has been crucial to social movement's research through Marx and later feminist activist researcher of subaltern politics, Naples and Fraser (2004). For Naples it is not an 'either/or' and we cannot do one without the other (p1106). Thus, my research is an attempt to both describe the world and to change it. My two areas of exploration around how movements are replacing the dominant systems of oppression with new ways of being, doing and relating and around how lived out daily dilemmas of organising coalesce and combine to create new dynamism for change are complex and huge questions. The fieldwork has been necessarily vast and lengthy so trust relationships could be built, the methodology complex, experimental, synthetic and challenging to record in a way that makes sense to diverse audiences. The thesis is integrative in order to explore new areas of thought and praxis in new and different

ways and to participate in self and collective movement-reflection and movement-building through research-activism.

### 4.5.1   Multiple oppressions

Despite our best and many efforts, no individual nor methodology can ever be free from the effects of the capitalist, patriarchal, racist society which we inhabit, argue Juris and Khasnabish (2013). This means that despite my many efforts to shed the white, middle-class background that I grew up with – in my own daily life, my beliefs, practices and research, I can never ever be entirely free of it. Our standpoints affect the movements we engage with, the ways we participate with them and the stories we tell about them (Juris and Khasnabish 2013).

### 4.5.2   Subjectivity and micro to macro

Both auto ethnography and militant ethnography are deeply subjective. By using in depth personal analysis of certain moments within certain movements, from my own perspective, I cannot claim to represent anything more than that. However, I hope that my accounts alongside other accounts from other moments, within other movements, can create a diverse patchwork of knowledge and understanding of movements from within and beyond. Furthermore, by situating my experience within a historico-cultural, socio-political landscape and by locating grassroots organising within activist-academic and mainstream debates, I hope to make a more general contribution to how movements can bring about the social transformation we desire. Fundamental to anarchism is the notion that I can represent no one but my own self. Whilst I may seek to listen to and attempt to make heard as many other voices as I can and create solidarity within as wide a network as I can, this work is a product of my own thoughts and feelings and is not representative of the movements that I am involved with.

### 4.5.3   Collaborative enough?

Whilst I have gone to great effort to making my methodology as collaborative as possible – through collectively selecting issues of concern, through militant ethnography, through contributing to collective learning both informally and feeding back my findings more formally to networks, the reality is that most activists face barriers when engaging with academic debate. Time pressures, issues with language, terminology and complexity of academic outputs block many activists from reading and responding to academic debate. To counteract this issue, I would like to publish digestible, readable short pamphlets summarising the key aspects of my work throughout the PhD as well as making the thesis into a paperback after completion, probably publishing with an independent / anarchist / online free distribution press. Some of my contribution to collective learning already has been through workshops and small presentations and my one-page document, 'On oppression, anarcha-feminist intersectionality, affected communities and bottom-up organising' which I wrote up and presented as a response to the Rising Up strategy in 2016, as mentioned above and was well and thoughtfully received and I think incorporated into later organising processes, especially the Stansted15 (See Appendices 6.1 and 6.3).

### 4.5.4   Balancing celebration with critical analysis

Striking a healthy balance between critical analysis and celebration of movements and their multiple achievements is a considerable challenge within this methodology. Juris and Khasnabish warn against being too celebratory of movements, rather to draw out power relations within movements for collective critical reflection (Juris 2008) or collective envisioning of other ways of thinking, being and doing. Following consensus when it is working at its best, to display difference of opinion between activists, affinity groups,

collectives and movements, so as to clarify points of agreement where effective and potent collaboration can occur within, between and beyond our networks.

Conversely, it is crucial within my methodology that I am not too critical either. The aim of the work is to strengthen and reinforce movements, not to undermine any good work that is being done by being over-analytical – which is how this intervention could feel if you are on the receiving end. Being an aware and thinking and achieving individual or collective and being asked by someone to be even more aware and thinking and active has the possibility to stimulate short-term defensive responses as well as longer-term positive outcomes. Movements are hugely significant to the lives of those involved with them – represent their community, solidarity, purpose in life, their empowerment process and the process through which they empower others meaning that any request for further reflection on principles and practice must be done with great sensitivity. Activists tend to be aware, reflexive, committed individuals already and requesting rethinking or deeper further reflection must be done with tact!

As I stated in my dissertation:

> Whilst I want to offer a useful critique for the movement's internal and external dynamics, the last thing I want to do is to upset anyone or put anyone off organising. These are simply some reflections on how movements have shifted over time and how we might be able to balance between effectiveness and prefiguration, whilst constantly stimulating our own and other people's radical imagination, so as to improve our possibility and probability of transforming this world into something just and free and sustainable. The topics are not and never have been easy – patriarchy, sexism, racism and class warfare within movements – I imagine are as old as the movements themselves… the task now is to use personal and collective reflexivity as a constant process of working towards more horizontality, more diversity, more connectivity, and being effective in strategy, tactics, analysis and communication to 'change the world without taking power' (Holloway 2010).

> (Burrell 2013c, p38)

### 4.5.5   Integrative and ambitious

My methodology is integrative and synthetic as well as being very ambitious. Very few attempts to carry out PAR within movements have been successful because of disdain within movements of institutions, verticality and increasingly neo-liberal agendas of universities. Militant ethnography was carried out successfully by Juris and Graeber within the Global Justice Movement, but the addition of PAR, auto-ethnography, a self-consciously anarcha-feminist approach and comparison with movements past and present in the interest of future organising for social transformation makes this methodology very much my own creation. As such, it is a methodology in experimentation which integrates many aspects of learning for social transformation. With fieldnotes from actions, meetings and gatherings, I am attempting to write within the style and mood of each different movement culture, so as to convey poetic flavour of the moment and the space. Then to situate this within broader movement-based, academic and mainstream debates and produce meaningful outputs for movements, academy and society as a whole is hugely ambitious. As is trying to explore how movements bring about change through strategic and prefigurative intertwining, as well as how they are overcoming oppressive systems through creating and living out new ways of being, doing and relating is - an enormous work, especially within the scope and confines of PhD.

## 4.6 Concluding thoughts

This chapter has described a methodology that I have articulated by engaging with the methods used by anti-oppressive researchers, ethnographers, anthropologists, geographers, sociologists and developed over the first two years (MRes and first year of PhD) in order to engage with movements' own practices and theorising in a way that reflects movements themselves, open, participative, horizontal, engaged, relevant, collective, anti-oppressive, prefigurative and with the explicit intent of contributing to radical social transformation. With an anarcha-feminist approach, I am combining collective selection of issues, with reflexivity of auto-ethnography, with the movement-embedded approach of militant ethnography. With a particular shifting positionality from activist to mother, from 'ally' to activist-researcher. My methods are triangulated with movement debates within diverse literatures and fed back to movements themselves contributions to collective learning. Ethics involve the complications of working ethnographically, particular requirements around activist security, access, consent, and safety, and deep reflection on representation, objectification and privilege. My limitations are also reflexive around multiple oppressions and standpoint, collaboration, celebration and/or critique and the integrative and ambitious nature of this work and methodology. My aim is through engaging with social movements to make a positive contribution within movements around organising according to our principles, around anti-oppression within movements and beyond and about the importance of the micro-political everyday prefigurative communities that we live and act in which I view as the seeds of radical social transformation.

# CHAPTER 5

## Highlights and seminal moments in networks, camps and movements organising

Chapter 5: Highlights and seminal moments in networks, camps and movements organising

In this chapter, I firstly introduce the fieldwork case studies, London-based and in cases their international counterparts, and the depth of my involvement with each. Secondly, I provide field-work note vignettes from significant movements over 5 years, provide commentary and photographs and programmes. This provides a diversity of rich evidence giving a colourful flavour to the everyday dilemmas as they are lived out within mobilisations, and these specific protest movements, in particular.

For this chapter, I have selected highlights, seminal moments of everyday organising within movements that are mobilising for social change. They include moments of deliberation, moments of celebration and moments of movements in crisis, drawing attention to a diversity of themes, dilemmas which will be discussed in more depth in the next fieldwork chapter (Chapter 6)

My aim is to show the daily mechanics around movements deliberation and consensus over issues like horizontality and verticality, negotiation and co-optation, dealing with internal oppression, diversity and connectivity, balancing order and chaos, and dealing with repression. In Chapter 6, I relate the dilemmas back to dynamic tension between strategic and political organising. In Chapters 7, 8 and 9, I explore how these daily dilemmas of movements mobilising for social transformation relate to exposing, undermining and moving beyond dominant systems of oppression with other ways of being and relating, asking finally whether thus these social movements represent living utopias. I deliberately chose to present the 'raw' research material (your fieldwork notes) in the text, in order to "bring alive" my experience as researcher-activist – which means that the prose of this writing, my notes does not follow the standard academic prose.

## 5.1. Introducing the networks

My embedded fieldwork for this thesis has mainly included three London / UK – based networks and their European counterparts / mobilisations, Rhythms of Resistance London and International network, Occupy London and beyond, and Reclaim the Power UK camps and COP21 Paris mobilisation. However, I have attended some trainings and meetings of Wretched of the Earth, as a supporter of frontline communities affected by climate change and of their work to de-colonise the environmental movement, as previously discussed. In some cases, like Defend the Right to Protest and Stop Trump, I have attended only one conference or meeting, but have decided nonetheless to include them in my fieldwork chapter because their respective work is seminal, and they feature as incredibly significant markers on the landscape of contemporary movement-based social transformation.

### 5.1.1   Rhythms of Resistance and International networks



Photoes of carnival protest networks: Sambatage (SOAS University band) and Rhythms of Resisitance London. From photo-journalist activist Rikki

Rhythms of Resistance (RoR) London and International network were born out of mass actions against the IMF/World Bank meeting in Prague 2000, the RoR protest network is strongly politicised protest/action samba. London was the first band to form shortly followed by Amsterdam and Gent. There are now over 200 bands in Europe, which come together at various international and regional meetings especially around Europe.

Rhythms of Resistance London band started as an anti-capitalist direct action band that came together first in Prague 2000 against the IMF/WTO conference, a 'tactical frivolity' philosophy and practice. In the UK, we were being called terrorists in the new Terrorist Act, and none of us knew what to expect in terms of Eastern bloc policing. So, we created a carnival, samba band with dancers, and when they gassed us we put masks on and kept playing. With an Earth First bloc and no real plan but to be spontaneous and outwit the police, and weave between sites of confrontation to get to the summit. So, whilst the black bloc fought the police and Tutti Bianci (Italian white overalls) pushed the police with their padded outfits, we took advantage of sites where there were no police, got to the conference centre, some entered inside the centre and shut the conference down.

The London band that formed also gave workshops to community groups, the disenfranchised, played benefit gigs and participated in a load more international mobilisations in Europe, No Borders (2001), G8 Evian (2003), COPs, DSEIs, anti-capitalist blocs, May Days and many anti-war demos.

RoR International is a network of direct action sambistas, from over 200 bands and describes themselves on their website as a transnational anti-hierchical, anti sexist and anti-racist network:

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Rhythms of Resistance International website:

We are a transnational anti-hierarchical anticapitalist, antisexist and antiracist network fighting for social and ecological justice. We are activists using tactical frivolity as a form of political action to confront any system of domination.

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RoR International bands meet regularly at The Jungle Calais, No Borders Camps, anti-capitalist actions, climate actions and camps around Europe and beyond and hold their own annual Trans-National Meeting, where an action is created and network-wide decisions are made using consensus.

*Sambatage*, a sister band of 'London Rhythms', is a SOAS student band and has been involved in recent protest against austerity, in support of their cleaners, against the shutting of ULU students Union, against police repression at protests and against the managerialization of University's making them less democratic institutions. Sambatage was born out of 2010-11 student occupations against fees. A young, energetic, political band, run by consensus, with responsibility of the University society being passed down from year to year, through electing reps. Sambatage and RoR London have historical connection and quite a bit of crossover of people, traditions and music. Whilst RoR London has now folded as discussed in more depth below, Sambatage still practices weekly and has a political and musical presence on the streets in protest, at demos and gigs.

In this thesis I have written vignettes of some of the last direct actions of RoR London (2013-14), and a sensitive account of the run-up to and crisis within the band which caused it to

fold (2015). I have also written an account of the RoR International Trans-National Gathering 2016. In Chapter 6, I will explore the ways that RoR London and RoR International bands deal differently, with internal oppression, so as to shed light on lessons that can be learned when dealing with these dilemmas.


5.1.2 Occupy London and beyond

Occupy London Stock Exchange began on 15 October 2011, a month after the start of Occupy Wall Street with 2000 people holding an assembly at St Pauls. Twenty-four hours later 1000 people had arrived at consensus on the statement (see Appendix 5.1). Occupy London, like many of the Occupies prefigured new worlds in the here and now, as Brissette (2013) states, simultaneously entwining strategic and prefigurative politics, by creating alternatives to capitalist modes of being through free association, mutual aid, instantiation of new ways of living, creating the most inclusive community, that of the 99%, where everyone is welcome, experienced and new activists, living amongst the dispossessed, creating DIY welfare provision to those worst hit by financial crisis (Brissette 2011, p224-227). Occupy London was in fact one of the longest Occupies to maintain occupation until 28 February 2012 and like with others the individuals and collectives involved experienced the strain of achieving the impossible.

As detailed in my fieldwork pilot (Burrell 2013b), even by the time of Occupy Finsbury Square (22 Oct 2011 – 14 June 2012), the assemblies and working group structure of Occupy London and the Occupiers themselves were becoming dis-attached from each other. The assemblies were meeting still on the steps of St Pauls away from the actual occupation that was in Finsbury Square itself. The assembly did not support the occupations desire to resist eviction, because the current occupation was in the borough of Islington not in the Corporation of London's square mile, and thus eviction costs would be covered by a borough not by the proceeds of bankers. When occupying Occupiers asked for £500 to spend on building lock-ons and defences, this was turned down, creating further division. In addition, two personalities within Occupy London fell out and Occupy London and Occupiers became quite polarised between supporting one or other of these personalities.

There was a series of Open Action Planning assemblies at the Friends Meeting House, Euston which created a run of successful actions in and around the City of London, celebrating the birthday of the Indignados (15 May 2012) and playing 'games' with financial targets on the streets. These actions were organised and attended by a wide diversity of Occupiers, both occupying and from the assembly and working group structure. But in the run up to the Olympics summer of 2012, any occupation or squat taken by anyone linked with Occupy London was rapidly evicted. Meanwhile, Occupy London, the working groups of Real Democracy, Occupy Economics, the Energy, Equity and Environment, Welfare, Press and Social Media Working Group and Occupy International which may have mutated into anti-TTIP (Transatlantic Trade International Partnership), became more like a think-tank, a hive of radical thinkers.

In this thesis, significant moments of Occupy London and beyond that I have selected are Occupy Friern Barnet Library, an anti-austerity occupation of a library closed with local cuts (2013-14), Occupy Parliament Square, an attempted occupation by Real Democracy working group (October – December 2014) and Agora99, an international conference of horizontal movements in Rome (October 2013). Occupy Friern Barnet was so successful that the keys of the library were handed back to the local community. Occupy Parliament Square had mixed success because of the repeated extreme repression waged by the police. Agora99, the international conference for democracy and rights was highly successful although there were issues around horizontality discussed in Chapter 6. These moments will be discussed in more detail in the next chapter, with regard to the dilemmas of everyday organising.

### 5.1.3 Reclaim the Power

Reclaim the Power (RTP) formed out of the No Dash for Gas action group that occupied West Burton gas-fired power station in 2012. Coming together in summer 2013, a collaboration of climate and economic justice groups attempted to 'join the dots' and challenge the undemocratic, unjust and unsustainable system that is heading toward climate catastrophe, whilst imposing austerity on the most vulnerable. Occupy and groups like UKUncut stimulated a rejuvenation of the environmental movement, with a renewed commitment to social justice and RTP was one of the significant outputs. Although, RTP has its roots in the alter-globalisation movement of the 1990s and Climate Camp Network the following decade.



Photo of Reclaim the Power on an anti-coal action.

Reclaim the Power website – Who we are:

Reclaim the Power is a UK based direct action network fighting for social, environmental and economic justice. We aim to build a broad-based movement, working in solidarity with frontline communities to effectively confront environmentally destructive industries and the social and economic forces driving climate change.

RTP held large action camps in solidarity with frontline communities (Balcombe 2013, Nanas a group of activist grandmothers, in Blackpool, Lancashire 2014, Didcot 2015) - affected by fracking and fuel extraction. They have movement allies working on fuel poverty, anti-racism, tax justice and opposing TTIP.

In this thesis, I have selected significant moments from my involvement with RTP, the collaboration between Balcombe Community Protection Camp and the RTP camp a couple of miles down the road (summer 2013), dilemmas and contentions within RTP's camp in Blackpool (August 2014) and the organising and mobilisation of Paris COP21, December 2015. In Chapter 6, I will relate these moments and mobilisations to the ongoing dilemmas in movement organising.

### 5.1.4 Wretched of the Earth

The Wretched of the Earth is a network of frontline and affected communities and their supporters, born in the wake of Paris COP21 2015, and the need to decolonise the environmental movement. The network came together and hit the autonomous and environmental movements' headlines during and after the London Climate March, 29 November 2015, when having been asked to lead the march, were then side-lined and replaced with NGO Corporate logos and animal masks at the front. Their direct action against this marginalisation and the Climate March response resulted in an open letter to the organisers which created huge discussion within movements (Appendix 5.2).

### 5.1.5 Defend the Right To Protest

Defend the Right to Protest is a feminist, anti-racist, anti-Islamaphobic network that emerged post 2010-11 clampdown on occupying students and riots from deaths in police custody. A coalition of movements including Stephen Lawrence family, families of those killed in police custody, partners/wives of the police spies in the environmental movement, students opposing PREVENT, this is a diverse network of networks which has tried to use state repression and police violence as an opportunity to grow and unite movements and their solidarity response. In this chapter, I look at the content of their 2014 conference.

### 5.1.6. Stop Trump

Stop Trump is a diverse and radical network which launched on 2 February 2017, with a letter in the Guardian of reasons to disagree with Trump – as a racist, Islamaphobic misogynist war-mongerer, engaged in profiteering from planetary destruction, turning migrants away from the US and refusing hospital treatment to some of the most in need. It brings together anti-deportation, anti-racist, anti-austerity, radical and broad Left as well as environmental campaigners and activists. The network was asking people to organise in their communities for pledges from people to come onto the streets in protest if/when Trump visits UK. In this thesis, I discuss an Open Meeting that I attended in Autumn 2017 and the protest against Trump, July 2018 in London.

As discussed in Chapter 4 (Methodology), this chapter is an account of four years of engaged fieldwork. In some cases, I have been deeply involved with movement organising for around twenty years (albeit also with years away from organising), like Rhythms of Resistance London and International network. With some movements, I have been involved whilst doing this research, for example with Occupy London and International (2012-14) and Reclaim the Power since Balcombe summer 2013 to COP21 Paris December 2015 and an anti-aviation action in April 2016. With other networks, like Wretched of the Earth, I attended a training and action organising meeting and several meetings over the post-Paris year, January 2016 to December 2016. I attended as a supporter of frontline communities rather than as an affected community member myself. In some cases, like Defend the Right to Protest and Stop Trump, I have been to one conference / public meeting but felt that the work of those networks to be so significant in London-, UK- and global resistance that I chose to include them in my fieldnotes and later discussion over dilemmas of organising.

## 5.2 The actions, interventions and camps

In section 5.2, I have selected some moments, actions, camps and mobilisations from my fieldwork and the last years of my participation within social movements organising. Some are moments and mobilisations which have become seminal for the people and networks involved and for the transformations they are struggling to achieve. Others are quite small moments of innovative thinking, significant movement-based reflection over priorities and issues around how we organise, others are moments of crisis within organising. In my dissertation, I defined a successful horizontal movement as one which is 'resilient, focused, diverse, connected, expanding and capable of bringing about radical social transformation' (Burrell 2013c). I also argued, following Crass (2013) that the way we balance strategic and prefigurative priorities within social movements organising should be continuously interrogated so as to create movements which are strategically directed and focused but with a lived prefiguring of possible futures in the ways we explore the need for ever-expanding and ever-more inclusive forms of process that speak to people of all ages, all creeds, all classes and educational backgrounds, catering for 'humanity in all its imperfections' (Crass 2013, p35). With this in mind, my thesis builds on this work, attempting to shed further light, on the ways we think about how strategic and prefigurative politics combine and coalesce in contemporary movement-based organising. The moments of movements I have selected here involve dilemmas of organising around issues of horizontality and verticality, direct action versus direct democratic 'process', working openly, dealing with internal and external issues around oppression, including decolonisation, on how we balance order, chaos and radical imagining and how we respond to repression. I have also selected these moments because they shed light on the exploration of ways in which movements are contributing to exposing, undermining and in cases seeking to replace the dominant systems of oppression (global capitalism, racism, patriarchy, heteronormativity, [dis]ableism, ageism) with other ways of being, doing and relating, like, direct democratic 'process', direct action, decolonisation, anti-oppression practices, balancing order chaos and radical imagining, free association and solidarity, as will be discussed.

## 5.2.1 Post-Occupy network

Fieldwork notes: The 'Future of Occupy' meeting - 13 October 2013

Today was Occupy's 2nd anniversary day of talking, 'the Future of Occupy'. Interesting had 8 minute talks from each of working groups, squats and other people interested in trying to move Occupy forward. Occupy seen as think-tank, direct action and campaigning tool. Been very involved in anti-fracking at Balcombe (maybe 60 people from there Occupiers). Not so much time for discussion. It was catch-up time rather than any planning or moving on time. But there will be another one in a month's time which should be interesting… Hard to get listened to – I found but never mind was interesting. A friend said to me do not expect Occupy to do anything – it's more about repeating ritual (General Assemblies and Working Groups) than it is about actually making it possible to mobilise. There is talk of needing new people but when there are new people they get not listened to because they were not AT Occupy – bit frustrating…. Next month I will feed back from my dissertation….

Occupy experienced extreme repression in the run up and throughout the London Olympics summer which followed the 'winter of our discount tents' (Pete the Temp 2011). Any squat related to anyone even loosely involved was rapidly evicted, making it difficult to take space

and maintain presence in and around the square mile. On mass actions organised the following year, like celebrations of the anniversary of the Indignados (15 May 2012), pop-up tents were treated as items of dissent and seized by police to prevent further occupations. Police and authorities were under pressure to 'disappear' Occupy by the time international athletes, delegates and huge crowds arrived for the Olympics that summer. Simultaneously in the Olympics zone, biodiverse ecological sites, warehouses of artists and boating communities were removed to make space for massive new Olympics sites around Hackney Wick. Accompanying regeneration has continued to alter the cultural flavour of Hackney Wick, with local groups resisting new road, concrete factory and losing live/work communities through the construction of a pedestrian link up between the Olympics site and new luxury developments in the area (2016-17).

### 5.2.1.1 Occupy Friern Barnet Library

The impact on actively occupying Occupy, as opposed to those in working groups, was to look beyond the city centre for places and campaigns. One celebrated example being Occupy Friern Barnet library, where following laws to criminalise residential squatting, a group of Occupiers squatted a recently closed library in Barnet. Linking with local people, who were already campaigning against its closure as part of a multi-billion-pound programme of cuts and supposed regeneration of Barnet where, as in many areas, community assets were being sold off by the council, Occupiers challenged austerity. The library was squatted for 2013-14 during which time the Occupiers reopened it as a community hub, library and artistic space with books donated by the local community. After lively marches around Friern Barnet, and ongoing conversations with the council, huge profile-raising of the campaign because Occupiers worked hard on a media profile, the keys were eventually given back to the people of Friern Barnet to run the resource as a community trust. A successful campaign and happy victory for all involved! Occupy Barnet local group was set up and remains politically active today.



Photos from Occupy Barnet

Simultaneously other Occupiers were creating an eco-village, Runnymede Ecovillage, participating in anti-fracking protest site at Balcombe in Sussex. Whilst working groups where Occupiers are still continuing to put thought and action into creating alternatives to global capitalism as the organising logic of society, reinvigorating and refocusing a climate movement on issues of social as well as environmental justice, and staying connected to international networks, Tunisians, Indignados, Wall Street and so on. Eventually Occupy – the General Assembly and Working Groups folded. But former Occupiers continue to be active campaigners and political and social justice thinkers and doers in other movements. So, when people ask whatever happened to Occupy, splintering and reseeding and new fecundity in a diversity of London, UK-based and global campaigns and actions occurred because of Occupy and Occupiers. Some important moments are detailed below.

## 5.2.1.2 Occupy Parliament Square

Balcombe Community Protection Camp, against fracking (discussed below), and its daily direct action resulted in Occupy Democracy Working Group developing a more direct action-focused agenda for a time. One significant output being Occupy Parliament Square, an occupation that had several months planning and a multi-network approach to organising and delivering the occupation.
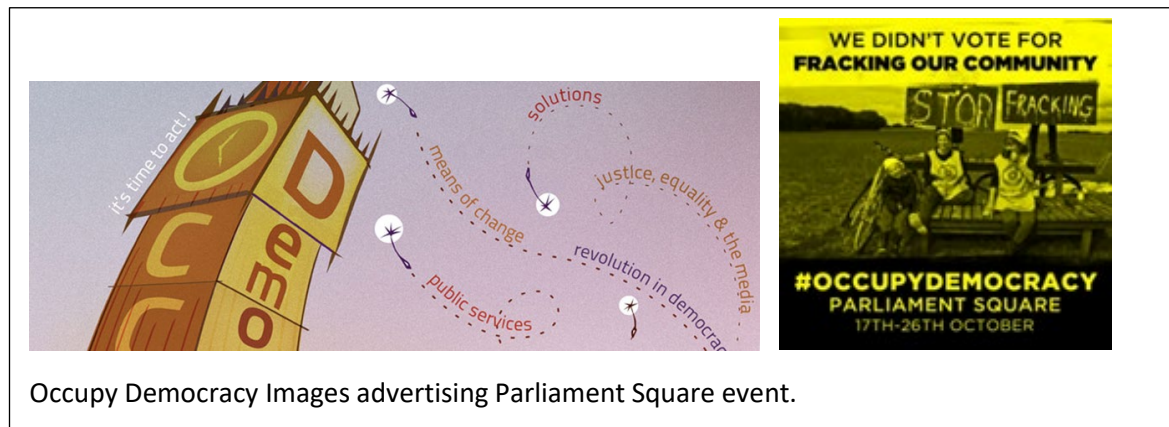


Occupy Democracy Images advertising Parliament Square event.

Fieldnotes: Occupy Parliament Square, 17-26th October 2014

Occupy Parliament Square, planned for 17-26th October 2014 was shifting focus from financial centre to the seat of UK democracy, aiming for nine days of occupation organised by many different single-issue actors, campaigners together, demanding better democracy from Parliament. Days themed around cuts to the NHS, education and benefits, anti-TTIP (Trans Trade and Investment Partnership), a global economic treaty taking power from Governments to corporations and anti-fracking. Speakers and workshops from a diversity of movements were planned as well as a big roving bloc from the TUC march on 18th October with Reclaim the Power and samba bands (discussed below), community-based anti-frackers, anarcho-black bloc, ANON and Occupy. The aim of the bloc was three-fold, to bring the more traditional Left in from the TUC march, to bring disguised structures into the square and to create a carnivalesque atmosphere to the occupation. Occupy Parliament Square was attempting to avoid some of the pitfalls of Occupy LSE by providing a camp for nine days, rather than longer occupation, with more opportunity for discord, division, and falling out between different 'types' of Occupiers.

However, this new experimental high-profile occupation of Parliament Square was met with extreme repression. The police had evidently been told not to allow it under any circumstances. Firstly, they seized the banner type bamboo structures that had been brought into the square. Once the bloc had met with the Occupiers in the square, a couple of hundred people tried to meet, discuss and have the days planned events. There were talks from high profile Occupiers like Russell Brand and David Graeber. However, extreme police tactics were employed trying to prevent people from erecting structures or sleeping in the square. Everyone sat on a tarpaulin which could be used later for shelter, but the police surrounded and kettled the crowd, picking individuals off one by one and arresting them. Harris fencing was erected around the square, and anyone that arrived with a sleeping bag or blanket had it seized by the police. Whereas immediately post-Occupy LSE the pop-up tent became illegalised, now even tarpaulins and blankets were being seized as signs of intent for occupation! The following day's Occupiers went back to Parliament Square to try to make the camp happen each day met with a similar level of repression.

## The ANONYMOUS 'Million Masks' Action

Fieldwork notes: Anon 'Million Masks' Action (5 Nov 2013):

Three weeks later, was the Anonymous 5 November 2013 'Million Masks' action which commenced by blocking roads and holding a street party in the no-protest zone of Parliament Square. The numbers, a couple of thousand, subsumed early efforts by police to prevent the event from happening. There was a bonfire against austerity on Westminster Bridge and hundreds of people rocked the fence that had been erected to prevent the Occupy Democracy occupation of Parliament Square. People moved away from the square on a roving street party to the Palace. Fireworks were aimed firstly one into the air above the palace at the Queen's flag, then one into the wall, another one near the police line at which point huge reinforcements of riot police arrived seizing a sound system and pushing the party away, grabbing and beating people who did not move fast enough.

A month after the first attempted occupation, Occupy Democracy activists and supporting people and networks went back to Parliament Square. Although the main part of the square was still fenced off, they held a successful weekend of events at the far end of the square, although, again sleeping bags and blankets were seized.

The main difference between the failure of Parliament Square occupation, and the success of the Anonymous Million Masks action was that with Occupy Democracy camp the police had been briefed not to allow any structures to go up and to not let the occupation happen. The Anon protest happened at night, there were several thousand 'up-for-it' activists that came out and the police were overwhelmed by the numbers and the seriousness of the Anonymous activists. All in all, the Anon action was more successful than the Occupy Democracy one, which was just too repressed by the police. However, Occupy Democracy did eventually have a successful weekend of workshops.

## 5.2.1.3 Agora 99 – European Meeting for horizontal movements on debts, rights and democracy

Fieldnotes: Occupy International –

Agora99 – European Meeting on Debt, Rights and Democracy for horizontal movements (Oct 2013).

Hosted by an amazingly well organised network of Italian social centres, in diverse anarchist spaces. Great for international networking and making alliances Europe-wide. Interesting focus on how South of Europe is marginalised by the North in mainstream politics, but within ancient culture of early democracy and within new radical imaginings of alternative possibilities – Greek anarchists, Spanish Indignados, the South is in many ways leading European resistance currently. Meeting style was long and arduous and favoured few speakers, often male-dominated. Apart from the opening and closing assemblies and one put on by the collective from Firenza University – making a map of barriers and opportunities for organising European-wide resistance – creating a mind map of overcoming barriers to growth of European struggle – which was very interesting, thought provoking, stimulated personal and collective reflection over how as, individuals and resistance communities, we may have blocks and how to overcome these for common good of movement growth and sustainability (see programme on the next page).

The Euro-Med zone is in a situation of crisis, catastrophe and increasing inequality, extreme Right and repressive policing – but it is also a zone of movements 'sprouting up' simultaneously in resistance and creating alternatives. Themes this time are debt, democracy and rights and the programme was amazing! There was criticism that Agora99 was not embedded within Italian movements. That the organising process was not incredibly open and that many Italian movements had wanted to participate more but that their workshops had been turned down and their ideas not listened to (my proposal on overcoming barriers to horizontality had also been turned down). Only way to influence the programme was to have participated in online Mumble discussions – a process of international meetings organising Agora99 – and that those who had done so – had their proposals accepted. Participating requires knowing that the meetings are occurring, being invited to join and having access to high-speed internet connection.

The aims were to open a research space about difference in northern and southern European power, shift from national to transnational struggle, creating open space for debate and transnational connection, exploring, opening new processes, creating transnational organisation and lessons. Agora99 also aimed to be a space of contamination, to multiply, intensify and extend our action and movements and explore being more connected throughout the year.

Important points about the newest horizontal movements (Occupy, Arab Spring) are they have shown that it is possible to attack all dimensions of the political system. People spoke about importance of turning German discourses of lazy Southerner and hard-working Northerner by mutating ourselves with multiple faces, multiple stances. Another argued for Euro-wide Left Wing with new cycles of production and reproduction, Greek style of democracy, reclaiming Commons, creating counter-power with European wisdom, a constituent process band with common language, common identity.

## agora 99 Program

**Friday 1 Nov**

COMMUNIA

10am-13am Opening
10-12 Introduction to the meeting
12-13 Communication Working Group

ESC

2pm-5pm Round table
Europe: which space for common struggles?

CINEMA PALAZZO

6pm-9pm Workshops
Technopolitics, nets & democracy
Ethnography of UK protest

**Saturday 2 Nov**

OFFICINE ZERO

10am-1pm - Workshops
Networking the struggles against austerity in Europe
Territorial & environmental struggles
Precarious work & new "unionism" devices

3am-6pm - Workshops
The Troika Party campaign vs. the neoliberal narrative
Right to the city: struggles for urban space
Occupied factories & self-organisation of production

6am-9pm - Workshops
A visual common language
Geographies & agendas of the global struggles
Constituent processes in Europe

STRIKE

Blockupy & transnational resistance
University: knowledge, research, precarity

Migrating Europe: asylum, borders, self-organisation
The struggle for housing rights

Health-care: movements & self organization
Athens & our cities

Axis
Debt
Democracy
Rights

**Sunday 3 Nov**

10am-12am - OFFICINE ZERO /STRIKE
Assemblies per axis:
Debt, Rights, Democracy

12am-3pm - STRIKE
**General Assembly**

The Agora99 2013 Programme

AGORA99 http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IKWsOI9vRZg

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Fieldwork notes: Agora 99 (cont'd)

Someone else asked how we can build a synergy of struggles which does not forget social class and positioning. Another participant argued that optimism is crucial within these new shades of Europe from below and the European cities of resistance – Athens, Madrid, Rome, Istanbul. Someone else described the situation in Greece where since 2002, there has been a network of assemblies throughout the country and constituency is a stable movement structure with democratic assemblies or social forums and free social spaces inside cities. Constituency exists in structures, networks and autonomous communities, and in ways of opposing, struggling and making decisions. When movements fail, it is lack of constituency. Power must pass to movements and to society. Another person questioned 'liberal democracy', stating democracy is something we have in our struggles, new forms of democracy starting from struggles and our structures and Europe is first step to real transnationality. Finally, a long-term activist from Occupy London described contradictions between our local, national and global struggle, arguing that some struggles like anti-fracking are transnational. In his view, the GJM failed because 10 years ago we had Genoa and the movement collapsed because it was not situated in local struggle. Fortress Europe is not only a European problem it is also an African problem. The process has far to go before it becomes 'constituent power', in Northern Europe.

## 5.2.2 Rhythms of Resistance and samba activism

Some of the last successful actions of Rhythms of Resistance London are detailed in fieldnotes below. They involve moments from G8 in 'Carnival against capitalism' London in June 2013 and a post-Mayday carnival which was a mixture of the SOAS band and Rhythms of Resistance London. They were successful because the bands acted to the best of their potential, in defying repression in the first case and in effective direct action in the second case.

Both the actions were overcoming repression although repression around the G8 was extreme. The 'David Willetts' action was also very successful and a complete surprise to find his car surrounded. And the Occupy TUC march was another success for RoR London.

## 5.2.2.1 RoR UK and London samba

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Fieldwork notes: Rhythms of Resistance London London G8 2013

The repression surrounding the last London G8 (June 2013) was extreme as discussed in my dissertation (Burrell 2013c). On the morning of the planned 'Carnival against Capitalism', the Stop G8! Squat was violently evicted by riot police who came in through the roof of the building at 4am, and many of the banners and people needed for the day of action were inside the building and a very small samba band (part London part Internationals) did to some extent save the day by taking the street with a joyful attitude and carnival atmosphere despite state attempts to prevent the day from going ahead, went with about 300 anarchists on a tour of the intended targets drawing attention to tax evaders and capitalist 'criminals' in central London. However, repression on the day was heavy, one member of our band had his drum trapped between two police vans whilst it was attached to his waist with the driver deliberately trapping him and accelerating to crush the drum… It was extreme – racist violent policing! And after many failed attempts, the police did eventually kettle and surround the band for a short while.

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Fieldwork notes: RoR London at Mayday 2014

After the Mayday march, a samba band (mixture of RoR London and Sambatage) was meeting at SOAS to do a post-Mayday march carnival on the streets with some students. I arrived a little late, could hear the band playing already and ran to catch up with them. I found the band and a place to dance in the street near them. Suddenly sirens and, some kind of special police van whizzed past inches from me with sirens blaring! What could it be I wondered that had drawn so much police attention? I saw ahead that students were surrounding a car. It was David Willetts the minister who had played a huge role in the development of £9000 a year fees for undergraduates. And the next day, I saw these headlines and pictures.

Mayday was a controversial action for the band. Some people liked the coverage, others did not, some people felt that it was a great action, others felt that we had lacked sufficient knowledge at the time to participate in the action.

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Occupy TUC march - Saturday 18 October 2014 (after TUC march), then again November 2014

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Fieldwork notes: RoR London at Occupy TUC march - Saturday 18 October 2014 (after TUC march)

Another of the last great involvements of RoR London in direct action, in my opinion was leading a bloc from the end of the TUC Trade Union march to the beginning of Occupy Democracy's Occupy 'Parliament Square', October 2014, as the camp was trying to establish itself for nine days of occupation, workshops and info-sharing (detailed above). Structures were banned in Parliament Square, by emergency bylaws. We met with RTPers (including the Yorkshire Nanas), some 'black bloc' affinity groups and some Occupiers). Part of the idea was to move people from the TUC march, but also move some structures into the square. There was a bylaw against structures and some people organising had been sent letters warning them that they would not be permitted in Parliament Square. When the police saw what we were doing, we were surrounded by huge numbers of them who kept trying to surround and divide the march by putting police lines in the middle of our bloc. At times we walked, at times we ran to avoid getting cut off. It was an edgy day. Some sambistas lagged behind and I ran back to check if they were okay, and they said that they didn't feel comfortable in that situation and were deliberately distancing themselves from it, so I ran back to keep up with the rest of the bloc. One of three structures seized aggressively by the police.

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Occupy Parliament Square bloc was a controversial action for the band, as some people had felt comfortable to continue and others wanted to stop and in the timescale of the protest, with police pressure, we did not have time to stop and discuss and decide together what to do. One woman, a student was nervous about being deported back to the US in the middle of her studies, so we discussed what to do if this kind of situation occurred again.

Issues within London band

Over the time the direct action principle and practice of the band, which had been fundamental to its foundation and earlier years was watered down, many of my generation of activists understandably became burnt out, traumatised, disillusioned, 'got on with their life', left the band, or the more influential people left in the band favoured demos to direct action, so that by the time I re-joined the band it was virtually a demo and gigging band, rather than a direct action band, apart from a few exceptions, vignettes of which are above. Consensus and direct democracy processes eroded, because people preferred to play, than talk. Eventually the band meetings became purely a list of dates, personal and political discussion was by e-mail, and the pub after meetings ceased to be a place to organise action, and there was little space to discuss issues over risk-taking, people feeling excluded, or oppressed or violated. 'Talking days' were few and far between and did not have enough running time to deal with the back-log of organising and issues. Diversity within the band which originally had been practicing in a Holloway Refugee Arts Centre became more middle class, and student or recent graduate dominated. The band lost connectivity to UK direct action networks and most crucially the international network, with its radical direct action, anti-oppression agenda. Where there had always been a tension between musical quality, gigging and demos and taking direct action, when things started to go wrong and were not easily reparable, which coincided with the split of another long-term band, another band was established and many of the more musically-oriented were invited to join for professional gigging band. A handful of important personalities within the band stopped participating, joining or re-joined other bands in London or within the European networks or

left samba completely, revealing the importance of friendship groups within the micro-politics.

All of the above, meant that, when RoR London dealt with allegations of assault it was not in a very healthy state to do so. The band had no safer spaces policy, although a working group did form rapidly to put one together. In fact, the issue had already been festering for a couple of years by the time it came to the attention of the alleged perpetrator. Complicated by the anonymity of those who felt they had been violated, by the intersectional issues surrounding both those making allegations and alleged perpetrator, by long term friendships, notions of sisterhood, pre-existing personality differences. For some the issue had been blown out of all proportion, for others the only possible outcome was to remove the alleged perpetrator from the band. Old members came back to try to help find a peaceful resolution, external facilitators brought in, but despite this the band was torn to shreds and the process of trying to resolve the issue went on for about a year. In which time, many people left because practices had become so hostile and full of conflict and arguments. In a sense it was not so much the problem, but the way that we dealt with the problem that caused the band to disintegrate and dissolve.

I think it was a shock to many people that what had seemed like such a happy and joyous large and 'together' collective of politically minded people, could come to such an end, in such a short space of time.

## 5.2.2.2 RoR International

Rhythms of Resistance (RoR) Trans-National Meeting (TNM) and Action in solidarity with migrants and against gentrification - Amsterdam

TNM – 30 June - 4 July 2016

In July 2016, 250 European samba activists from all over Europe, but a large proportion were from Amsterdam, the 'hosting' band, lots from Germany, France, Belgium, Finland, Bucharest, Jerusalem and just me from the UK met in Amsterdam. The TNM is the annual trans-national meeting of samba activists, usually held in Europe (alternating between Eastern and Western to facilitate access for all bands).

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Fieldwork notes:

Rhythms of Resistance (RoR) Trans-National Meeting (TNM) June – July 2016

The venue this year was ADM, an almost 20-year old squat, a few miles out of Amsterdam – with communal workshop space, bar, kitchen and huts, trailers, shacks, boats and massive art installations. An 'organic community' transformed a 'disused, derelict shipyard into a thriving Living Experiment, by sharing the space, visions and creations' (ADM Amsterdam). There was also a little Roma community outside the perimeter of the fence, people living in caravans. The authorities had recently tried to evict ADM by dividing the Roma community from the squatters, by offering ADM legal status on the condition that the Roma could be evicted, but the community refused to be divided and so all were still in occupation, standing strong together. The site is idyllic with beautiful trees and views of the water, home to a community of 100-120 people including kids.

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Fieldwork notes: Rhythms of Resistance (RoR) Trans-National Meeting (TNM) June – July 2016 (cont'd)

The TNM consisted of plenaries and working groups to organise the camp, plus a 'network plenary' making consensus decisions, for the Rhythms of Resistance International network, as a whole. The 'network plenary' discussed issues around using social media, in particular, Facebook to organise in each country. Some samba activists were generally very against its use for security reasons, that Facebook helps the police and security forces to map out networks of connection between individuals and groups. Whilst other country / city bands found it a useful tool to grow their band or network or publicise events they were participating in. There was also a discussion on cultural appropriation, feedback on a meeting about cultural appropriation which had stimulated a PoC working group within the network. One of the proposals from this group to the network was around a song and symbol, which was deemed culturally and racially inappropriate. The backstory, to this being, my old friend from Freiburg band, filled me in. There used to be a song called James Brown. Some years previously, the name of the song had been changed from James Brown, who was described as a 'wife-beating misogynist' to 'Angela Davis', a black American, feminist, civil rights activist who and had links with the Black Panthers. However, some people within the network, particularly People of Colour felt that the hand signal used to communicate this song, the shape of an afro hairstyle to be inappropriate and so they proposed changing the sign to a hand signal showing breaking bars, representing Angela Davis's campaigning for the abolishment of the prison system.

Even the translation at the TNM had been hugely reflected and acted upon. A woman activist of my generation, who I had been on the streets with many years before as part of the international RoR network, had participated in setting up a collective to provide three way radio translation provided by a collective including a sister, who used to be in the Amsterdam band years ago. In the past, people and facilitators had been encouraged to speak and run meetings in English. With this collective's three-way radio system, everyone was encouraged to speak and facilitate in mother-tongue to be less colonial – languages French, German, English.

There was an evening session rounding up what had happened in the last year consisting of 10 minutes feedback from each band in alphabetical order, with five minutes question and answer and useful suggestions from the meeting around how to progress the band, or deal with any issues. I spoke of the end of the UK band, which is quite a significant event also for the network as a whole, London having been the first band to form around the time of Prague in 2000, and having been influential in early European actions (No Borders Strasbourg 2002, Evian 2003) and exchanges (between Amsterdam, Gent and Brussels) and supporting new bands with skills and musical and political ideas and processes. The individuals in the meeting expressed sadness and solidarity to my situation and that of the London band, suggested that having facilitators from the international RoR network could have helped, offered at some stage in the future to try to restart it and told me that Amsterdam band had also shut down for some years only to be restarted by a mixture of old and new samba activists and is now really thriving. Other interesting feedback from the network was that the Cologne band had decided not to play any more after discussion on cultural appropriation.

Fieldwork notes: Rhythms of Resistance Transnational Meeting (cont'd)

A workshop on cultural appropriation facilitated and delivered by some former samba activists from Cologne lead to detailed discussion about history of our music and political culture. They asked whether we have appropriated someone else's culture for our own motives. Whether Afro-blocs, the neighbourhood carnivalesque empowerment groups, active in 1970s and 80s racial emancipation in Salvador-de-Bahia, north east Brazil, that created the some of the styles of music that the network bands play, as well as the use of music and dance with a political intent, would be happy with the ways we use them. Usefully discussion created a PoC (People of Colour) group within the workshop to discuss the issues, which then decided to create a network-wide PoC working group, discussing movement diversity and how to increase it, what it feels like to be the only black face in a band, how PoCs experience repression from police and feel on a demonstration. Another useful outcome of the workshop was to create resource thread and open conversation on the history and ongoing stories of music and dances of our network.

Another interesting workshop within the TNM, exploring, maintaining and increasing movement diversity was entitled 'Am I too old for this?' The workshop was facilitated by an activist of my generation from Freiburg, who I remember from international mobilisations, actions and camps 15 years before. And asked questions like how is it possible to stay involved with the network when you get older, have a job / kids and cannot get to as many meetings and actions as before. We discussed, how younger people within the network see us, what kinds of friendships we can have with them, how we can stay interested through repetitive conversations within groups and network and how not to alienate younger people with our experience, risks we can and cannot take, getting slower on actions, having children at actions and gatherings. And finally, how to make meaningful and effective use of limited time we do have to contribute.

There are ongoing conversations about many of these issues on network-wide Crabgrass discussion list so that learning and discussion continues throughout the year, even between gatherings. Forthcoming actions and events being discussed and planned at the event were Brussels Anti-TTIP 12.07.16, Klima Kamp – Rhineland in the Hambacher Forest, which was a De-growth school followed by an action lab, following Ende Gelände mass occupation of the coal mine earlier in 2016, and a Jerusalem Mini-TNM in October or November 2016 were donated the leftover funds from TNM Amsterdam, and Calais New Year's Party and gig at the jungle.

Throughout the days of the TNM an action was being planned. An Amsterdam-based action planning working group had been working for some months and people were invited to join the working group and to participate in the action, organised by spoked affinity groups. The RoR TNM International action happened on the Monday, and was spectacular, with around 100 costumed-up samba activists loading into coaches to the first target, an immigration office. After about an hour's hot drive on coaches into Amsterdam we piled out, drums in hand and started a moving carnival towards the immigration office. I was dancing at the front with a handful of other people some of the steps and mashup choreographies that had been passed around the network and taught and shared at different gatherings over the last 16 years. Shouting breaks and slogans of solidarity to people inside, we played outside the office for about half an hour. We then re-joined the buses and headed to the next target. In a plaza outside, the band formed a massive circle and played and played. Each meastre from each band has their own particular style, and sound, so whilst the tunes that all the bands play are largely in common, the style shifts as conductor shifts. Bassy hip hop, rave, samba reggae and afro-Brazilian beats and tunes pelted out in party style. Sadly I had run off with my rucksack and tent to catch train back to the UK but the plan was to continue to an area of Amsterdam that had recently been destroyed by gentrification, get into the foyer of a hotel in that area that had been profiteering and have an impromptu carnival in the foyer!

### 5.2.3 Anti-Fracking, Reclaim the Power and COP21 Paris

### 5.2.3.1 Balcombe Summer – Autumn 2013

Balcombe, a picturesque Sussex village and rural community was split in two during the summer of 2013, over Cuadrilla's plans to frack. What began as a day's occupation by local-residents, former Occupiers and environmentalists from London, Brighton and Sussex, turned into a campaign of sustained daily direct action and blockades along the road leading to the exploration site.



Balcombe protest camp and Reclaim the Power demo at Balcombe.

Fieldwork notes: Balcombe Anti-fracking Camps - Summer – Autumn 2013

A camp with thirty to a hundred occupants living along a busy road, who collectively created a beautiful family-friendly camp, with strong feminist ethos of non-violence, info point, kitchen, communal bender, kids space, workshop spaces and a sea of smaller tents as people took residence to participate in campaigning, information-sharing, poetry, daily yoga and healing, music and art, and daily blockading of trucks in and out of the site, with fracking equipment. Activists, locals, former-Occupiers, peaceniks, a former coal miner, kids, dogs formed a strategically-placed prefigurative community experimenting with direct democracy, direct action and living peacefully alongside the site. At points there were so many people arriving each day that camp introductions happened twice a day. Daily meetings, campfires and working groups created the fora for discussion and organisation of camp issues and people to work in kitchens, clean toilets and blockade. Hundreds of people took direct action for the first time and/or participated in new ways in this vibrant and thriving community. The camp also gave the 60 or so London Occupiers that were involved a chance to understand protest camp living (prefiguration) away from pressures of city and so many homeless and disenfranchised to deal with, within the community.

Fieldwork notes: Balcombe Anti-fracking Camps - Summer – Autumn 2013 (cont'd)

Early one morning, a couple of miles and a few fields away, dawn was breaking, and people were unloading large structures from trucks that had converged on this site. Huge structures were being erected with military precision, following a site map that had been drawn up in the previous months. Compost toilets and hay bales with small enclosures for privacy placed around the site. A tripod and site security team held the entrance and welcomed activists new and old, Balcombe campers and directed press to a media team, whilst keeping an eye on police and Cuadrilla security movements. This was Reclaim the Power, a network of activists born out of UK climate camps. Whilst UK climate camps had received some criticism for reproducing structures of elitism within society, largely student and graduate led with some old heads from groups like Reclaim the Streets London, previous international anti-summit mobilisers and a handful of self-identifying anarchists and No Dash for Gas, Reclaim the Power, attempted to combine issues of crisis, and inequalities, brought to the fore by Occupy and UKUnCut anti-austerity action network, RTP had a revived agenda of combining social justice issues with environmental issues, bringing together groups like Fuel Poverty action, Disabled People Against Cuts with local people campaigning around issues in their area and environmental activists of Climate Camp, and before and after.

On Sunday, there was a mass demo of 1000 people from the neighbourhood and pouring off trains from London, Brighton and further afield, swarming along the road through beautiful ancient woodlands to the Protection Camp.  A London samba band created a booming carnival atmosphere, and the thousand people holding hands surrounding the entire protection site, church singers changing words of hymns to create anti-fracking anthems sung at the gates of the site, and speakers from the local campaign and village gave rousing speeches against fracking and pro-ecologically and community-centred futures. The next day was a spectacular day of direct action, with DPAC (Disabled People Against Cuts) activists locking on to the fence followed by a day of six simultaneous actions around the country, in numerous cities. The exploration site was teeming with police vans and massive fierce police dogs. Our friendly local bobbies replaced by unsympathetic and unfeeling TSG (riot police). Eventually the police decided to clear the gathering of a couple of hundred people around the entrance to the site with batons and arrests and people who had locked on were removed. Arrests included Brighton's Green Party MP Caroline Lucas which hit the headlines!

Exploration work stopped for the entire day and fracking was placed on the national agenda. Balcombe Community Protection Camp benefitted from this injection of experienced 'up-for-it' activists in the area, and from extra people and the two camps together pledged 30 days of direct action at the site, and strategically the direct action and the anti-fracking campaign had gone to another level. In later months of the camp, many people were bailed outside of the area, police snatch squads developed a habit of snatching key people, at any moment so people moved around site in affinity groups from dawn until dusk.

The site was evicted in the Autumn, following which some stayed reoccupied local land, whilst others went North to Barton Moss and other anti-fracking camps around the UK. Balcombe locals had been irreversibly empowered and went on to set up a renewable energy coop in Balcombe as well as supporting other local communities to mobilise against fracking through RTP, Frack-Off and the Nanas, the activist grandmothers, in Blackpool.

5.2.3.2. Reclaim the Power Gathering 2014 – Blackpool

14-20 August 2014
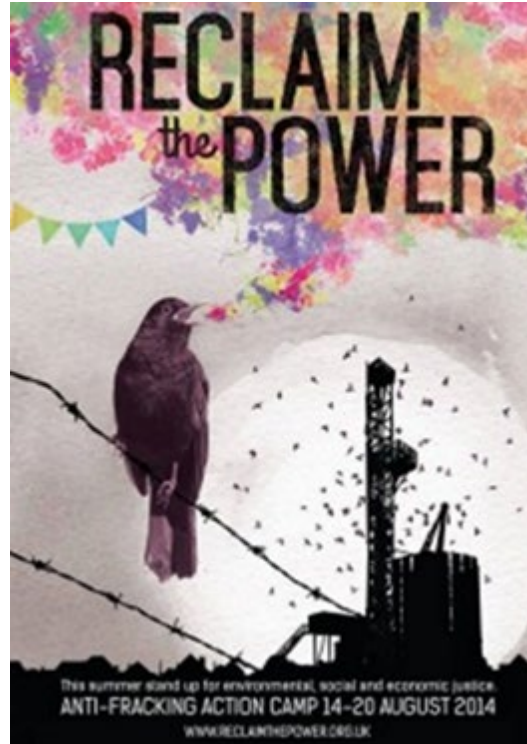


Flyer for Reclaim the Power Anti-Fracking Camp, Blackpool
August 2014

Fieldwork notes: RTP Anti-Fracking Blackpool 2014

6 miles out of Blackpool, camp set up. We arrived on RTP's coach from London on Thursday afternoon to a windy field that had been occupied for a week by the Nanas (Blackpool-based anti-fracking grandmothers in protest against Cuadrilla's plans to frack in the field next door). Previous fracking here in 2011 – following an earthquake(!) had been shut down – the hole plugged – although sandstone and concrete do not bond so - rumour had it that the gas was leaking.

Following the successful anti-fracking mobilisation in Balcombe 2013, RTP decided to help mobilise the 'desolate North' as George Brown had called it – to build a Northern movement, offer solidarity in regions of protest sites that had been active during the winter – Barton Moss in Manchester, Crawberry Hill near Hull…. Lancashire was the most likely county for Cuadrilla to be granted licence, so emphasis was to prevent this.

Fieldwork notes: RTP Anti-Fracking Blackpool 2014 (cont'd)

Aims of the camp were to unite political, social and environmental struggles around the issue of fracking. To unite environmental, anti-austerity, crisis response (e.g. Occupy), movements… experienced activists with campaigners, locals and first timers. Diverse and useful workshops ranging from organising and lobbying, to direct action help desk, workshops around group dynamics on actions, 'what is anarchism?', mobilising for COP21 2015, TTIP, Occupy Democracy Parliament Square, TUs against fracking, community mobilisation, fuel poverty, setting up energy co-ops to name but a few. Plenaries had numbers of speakers followed by some question time. The idea was to create an environment where direct action was encouraged, and normalised, so as to engage more people in it. Speed dating / affinity group creation, alongside rousing accounts of previous actions, possible actions being offered out to people according to their level of arrestability, mobility, tastes and strengths for action. A studenty vibe with 'socials' and 'ents' in the evening. Anti-Oppression was built into organising process – but did it actualise a more diverse community? Certainly, there was diversity of ages and classes – as Blackpool Nanas and supporters were older and more working class than say the WG structure of organisation. Ethnic diversity minimal, class diversity within activists minimal. Mainly white, middle class, University educated, in 20s, no kids demographic. Queer space every night but someone suggested there should also be spaces for PoC, people with mental health issues, and so on. One man was offended by 'frackmania' term as not being acceptable for those with mental health issues. And there was a vibe that kids should be seen and not heard!

The 600 people were organised into regional camping zones, main morning meetings occurred to deal with infrastructure – allocate people to kitchen, gate, first aid, office, tent-ups, litter picking, cleaning toilets and so on each day…. Workshops during the day, some plenaries – community mobilising against fracking, TU debate. Little time for direct democracy or any kind of participative discussion. Meetings were dominated by maybe 15-20 voices with very little space for others to contribute and little open agenda time.

Sunday was the Nanas' March, very beautiful and witty, bit of a photo opportunity… because it went along the waterfront and there was so much emphasis on the photo-shoots that flyering and talking with passers-by was not potentially maximised.

Day of action – really effective. 13 simultaneous actions in one day around the country No arrests. Obviously, a national policy from highest security level to make zero response…. Because No Dash for Gas activists had occupied an EDF power station for a week the year before, been threatened with £6 million costs and had massive media coverage, huge petition and costs were dropped. One Nana was prevented from leaving her hotel that day by police who found an old speeding charge which they just happened to implement that day…. We went on the 'mass' action – to NW HQ of Cuadrilla also local office of Chambers of Commerce. With music, song, dance, satire and a giant puppet monster Cuadzilla, a play on the words of the MNC that wanted to drill, Cuadrilla. Music and dance from an arts collective that had formed on site and PA revolutionary music.

## 5.2.3.3 COP21 Paris December 2015

The COP21 mobilisation, 2015 that RTP mobilised towards in the UK, with two years of planning, created a massive Red Lines action involving a huge red fabric arrow which was laid on the ground between Arc de Triomphe pointing towards La Defence to represent the involvement of global capitalism within climate change. Red lines actions represented the red line over which humanity should not cross, in risking its future.

One squat with UK organisers was raided at 4am with police at gun point, twenty-seven French activists were put under house arrest. Some people had consistent places to stay

throughout the week but because every squat which was taken was immediately evicted by police, hundreds of us moved almost every night from one squat to another, had little access to inexpensive anarchist kitchens through stressful days of organising.

On the Sunday, there was a post action debrief where various individuals and groups fed back their experiences of Paris and Red Lines. There was criticism over the two-tiered organisation, which meant many were prevented from collaborating in the creation of the action – its style, content, location, messaging, and from important decisions around the action itself. Contentious issues were around the lack of participation for those arriving in Paris that week could have had more input into deciding the type of action that occurred and how they participated in it and a lack of basic communication around essential issues. Others felt the action had been watered down significantly from earlier plans people felt they had been working towards – like shutting the delegates into the conference centre until they came up with a genuinely humane and sustainable plan for the future. Some criticised the inner core's security, and then the night before the action spending several hours negotiating with police, creating a supposed 'action consensus' not to break police lines, damage property or escalate police violence and pandering to symbols of state nationalism (Arc de Triomphe, Eiffel Tower). Others noticed a missed opportunity to connect with those migrants, refugees and People of Colour suffering from extreme harassment from the police post-terrorist state of emergency or to have to have placed indigenous or frontline communities more firmly at the centre of the action. The inner core through need for anonymity refused to comment on these questions but said that they would collectively write a response which would be posted online. However, as far as I know, this never did happen.

5.2.4 Wretched of the Earth

In the run up to the UK Climate March 2015, indigenous people or frontline and 'affected communities' (those already on the front-line of climate change) had been invited by the organisers of the march to lead the London march. However, a few days before the march they were told not to and on the day were replaced by NGO logos and corporate messaging. The frontline communities decided to take direct action and lead the march anyway and to do a 'die-in' action at a corporation HQ that was involved with climate crimes.

During the march, the stewards from the march (from a mainstream NGO) tried to physically remove them from the front and they were told that their 'messaging' was inappropriate, as they held coffins to mourn those who had already died from climate change, rather than giraffes and corporate logos, that the organising NGOs chose to prioritise over affected people.

I attended some of the Wretched of the Earth trainings and meetings in the year following Paris and asked for permission to write about my experiences. However, as mentioned in my methodology chapter, because of the complexity of the issues of decoloniality and representation, we agreed between us that I could write about WotE but using only publicly released documents rather than any detailed ethnographic notes or conversations within the network. For this reason, I have included two crucial documents that were released creating discussion throughout autonomous movements and hopefully the entire environmental movement, see Appendices 5.2 and 5.3.

I thus began my work with Wretched of the Earth as an 'ally' of the 'black and brown communities' supporting frontline communities, supporting their work as a white ally, but when I realised how useful the work was for my research, I asked for access and became involved not as a militant ethnographer because of the issues around representation and around the White Gaze, but I became an activist-researcher involved in the network of networks. This represented a shift in my positionality within the group that was interesting and rewarding.

Photo of Wretched of the Earth Bloc at the London Climate March - November 2015

5.2.5 WE DO NOT CONSENT: Defend the Right to Protest Conference 16 Nov 2014

Defend the Right to Protest was 'formed in the wake of violent police tactics and arrests at the student protests of November and December 2010 to build a collective response to the criminalisation of large numbers of young protesters' (DtRtP website. Accessed 28.02.19). Defend the Right to Protest developed also in the context of the police shooting of Michael Brown in Missouri, August 2013, who became a symbol of racism and police violence globally. In the UK, years of campaigning exposed huge injustices past and present – fitting up of striking miners, police 'support' spying on Stephen Lawrence's family and treatment of women activists by undercover cops.

Those seeking accountability have a hard struggle against powerful institutions. Today, fresh attacks on civil liberties, with the police continuing to kettle and physically abuse demonstrators, despite the death of Ian Tomlinson in 2009. Anti-union laws prevent workers from striking, legal aid cuts removing people's ability to challenge the states abuses, and Conservatives pledging to take away the European Convention on Human Rights. Escalating inequality, austerity and 'war on terror', and the only means we have left to fight and to raise alternatives is through protest, occupation, organising and solidarity. See Appendix 5.4 for the full conference programme.

So, the Defend the Right to Protest provides a space where people can share experiences, equip their selves to defend basic rights and build a stronger movement against injustice.

Defend the Right to protest is a network of protestor defendants, their families, activist trade unionists, academics and lawyers. It was formed after violent police tactics and arrests at student protests of November and December 2010 to build a collective response to criminalisation of young protestors. The aim is that criminalised protestors do not fight alone, but are united through campaigns against policing, policies and practices which criminalise protest and work with families and communities against state racism and violence.

Photoes from Defend the Right to Protest website

Fieldwork notes: Defend the Right to Protest Conference Nov 2014

The conference had a feminist, anti-racist, anti-islamophobic stance, was packed and hugely inspiring. Held at SOAS the opening and closing sessions and all the workshops were heaving with people absolutely enthralled by the genius of bringing together these formerly quite detached movements that have so much in common and so much more potential power through working together. The conference occurred quite soon after the 'community support officers' spying on the Stephen Lawrence families and Police Spies out of Lies campaigns had hit the headlines.

Fieldwork notes: Defend the Right to Protest Conference (cont'd):

Hearing people talk about members of their families and the lawyers of bureaucracy and court cases people had to fight through to find out how their loved ones had died was emotive and horrific. There were also speakers from the Calais Jungle, talking about how their humanitarian work was being labelled 'terrorist', in order to try to shut them down, long before Calais had hit the headlines. Leaders from Islamic communities described how growing up in contemporary racist Britain provides in some ways, perfect context for young people to become radicalised, whilst others were fighting PREVENT, the educational aspect of 'anti-terrorism' with students, teachers and universities being encouraged to report dissenting young people as radicals and potential terrorists, with shocking examples. The final speech, given by a trans-person from US Black Lives Matter, was the most powerful speech I have ever heard within activist organising circles, or anywhere, perhaps. The onus of the day was very much to take what we had learnt that day and apply it, within all of our everyday movement organising.

### 5.2.6 Stop Trump! – working towards 11 July 2018

Stop Trump is a coalition of organisations, and individuals that have come together to protest against Donald Trump's planned state visit to the UK.

> Stop Trump website:
>
> Donald Trump's presidency is turning out to be every bit as dangerous and divisive as we feared. The rhetoric of his campaign and his early executive orders have sparked a wave of fear and hatred. Those who are often already marginalised and discriminated against – especially Muslims and migrants – have been particular targets for Trump.
>
> Trump directly threatens steps towards tackling climate change, fighting discrimination, inequality, peace and disarmament. At the very moment when the world needs more solidarity, more cooperation and a greater commitment to justice, he proposes to build walls and wants to turn us against each other.
>
> We are dismayed and shocked by the attempt of the British government to normalise Trump's agenda. People in Britain never voted for this. It is our duty as citizens to speak out. We oppose this state visit to the UK and commit ourselves to one of the biggest demonstrations in British history, to make very clear to our government, and to the world, that this is not in our name.

Stop Trump launched themselves with this statement in the Guardian (2 February 2017), trying to mobilise a broad Left with a radical agenda to pledge to come onto the streets and mobilise in their communities and neighbourhoods for more involvement in the campaign, resulting in a successful mass mobilisation onto the streets in July 2018.

I went to one of their public meetings off the Bethnal Green Road, East London:

> Fieldwork notes: Stop Trump mobilising meeting: Autumn 2017
>
> The first half of the meeting had a panel of speakers from a diversity of movements discussing the significance of Donald Trump. Following this, we were asked to discuss in groups, 'In what ways is Brexit for the UK, like Trump for the US?' Followed by responses from key members about their groups' involvement and the possibility and potential scale of mobilisation against Trump. The second half of the meeting gave space for people to discuss and decide how they would like to mobilise. Bringing together anti-austerity, anti-racist, anti-war, anti-capitalist and environmental struggles asking people to mobilise in their own communities and pledge to take action against Trump, this campaign and developing movement is broad based but with a really radical agenda.

### 5.3 Concluding thoughts

In this chapter, I have selected highlights, seminal moments of everyday organising within movements that are mobilising for social change. They include moments of deliberation, moments of celebration and moments of movements in crisis, drawing attention to a diversity of themes, dilemmas which will be discussed in more depth in the next fieldwork chapter (Chapter 6)

I have introduced the fieldwork case studies, provided fieldwork note vignettes from significant movements over 5 years, provided commentary, and where possible included links from mobilisation websites. I hope this provides a diversity of rich evidence giving a colourful flavour to the everyday dilemmas as they are lived out within mobilisations, and these specific protest movements for social transformation.

In the next chapter, I relate the moments and mobilisations to common dilemmas for horizontal organising, around themes that were introduced in Chapter 3. I explore how each of the dilemmas of daily organising for social change can produce stumbling grounds for movements as well as opportunities for collectives and networks to radically transform and overcome issues that may have stifled them in the past. In Chapters 7, 8 and 9, I explore how the everyday organising dilemmas relate to the ways movements mobilising for social transformation are simultenously exposing, undermining and moving beyond dominant oppressive systems with other ways of living and relating, and ask to what extent the movements are thus living utopias.

# CHAPTER 6: Militant and auto-ethnographic reflections on the everyday dilemmas of daily organising

CHAPTER 6: Militant and auto-ethnographic reflections of the everyday dilemmas of daily organising

In this chapter, I am discussing the dilemmas and contentions within everyday organising of social transformation-making mobilisations that were introduced and explored in the previous fieldwork chapter. As discussed in previous chapters, every mobilisation for social transformation experiences dilfficulties. The literature and my experience within movements thus far suggest that those attempting to organise horizontally, have particular sets of dilemmas with common themes, as discussed in Chapters 2 and 3.

In this section, my writing includes my fieldwork analysis, autoethnographic reflections and running commentary of the different dilemmas and how they are experienced and acted upon within the daily organising of each fieldwork mobilisation. I explore to what extent each movement has built in strategies to deal with the issues, and in some cases how different mobilisations are managing to build in for example anti-oppressive practices, or decolonising praxes within the time that I spend with them as militant ethnographer.

The chapter is divided into text boxes of 'my fieldwork notes', experiences of actions and meetings, 'my fieldwork reflections', that is my thinking around the issue and the network and my 'auto-ethnographic' reflections', where I reflect back over years of experience to compare for example how the mobilisation of COP21 2015 compares to Prague 2000 against the IMF summit and Evian 2003, against the meeting of the G8. Using these three types of reflection, allows me to describe the present form of action, reflect on issues within movements, making comparisons with say polarisation in Rhythms of Resistance London and Occupy London, and bringing in lessons from the past to inform future practice, for example signposting to the PGA hallmarks for diversity of tactics, in other chapters the APOC (Anarchist People of Colour) decolonising statement, and Sisters UnCut for a very inclusive and comprehensive Safer Spaces statement.

In the case of the mobilisation of Wretched of the Earth, as previously mentioned in my methodology, I have used no ethnographic material. As discussed in Chapter 4, because of complex isues around representation and ethnography having a colonial history, the network decided by consensus, rather that I could speak of the networks' activities using publicly released documents, not ethnography, so in this chapter I summarise two of the articles released by Wretched oif the Earth, with full versions in the Appendices.

In this chapter I explore the themes of the everyday dilemmas that have presented themselves during my fieldwork. Dilemmas of organising are arguably always contentious, they are the dissensus within the consensus, the diversity of opinion over what did, could have, should have happened and over what should, could, might happen now and in the future. And so, the dilemmas I have chosen to discuss, are extremely topical and fiercely debated issues within the movements themselves, as has already been shown in earlier chapters. The dilemmas I discuss are around various issues of horizontality and verticality, autonomy, negotiation and co-optation, dealing with issues around oppression, decolonial critique and practices, how we balance order, chaos and radical imagining and how we respond to repression.

By incorporating lessons from past mobilisations with current practices, in this synthetic research, I am convoking radical imagining, potential for individual and collective relection around how movements can respond. In some cases, I am describing movements in crisis, in others, moments of radical imagining, collective collaboration where mobilisations start to overcome the issues. in thinking and praxes, developing new ideas, ways of doing, being, relating, organising which were previously inconceivable, like the post-Paris, WotE, LGBT anti-deportation collaboration of the Stansted15 action and solidarity, intersectionally organised, with genuinely intersectional support.

## 6.1 Horizontality versus verticality

### 6.1.1 Top-down and bottom-up organising – Occupy London and Agora 99

Within Occupy London, there was a lot of contention over the identity of an Occupier:

> Fieldwork notes: Who is an Occupier?
>
> Is an Occupier one of the dispossessed, multiply oppressed, carrying out 'occupation' and 'living the movement' or is the Occupier someone who facilitates meetings, organises media coverage and messaging, part of the think-tank of Occupy, attending international meetings, connected by high-speed internet to Wall Street, Spain and Tunisia. Was there space for those different types of Occupier to coexist within one movement called Occupy London, or did the existence of one necessarily preclude the existence of the other and if so, which would win?

I may be using stereotypes, but my point is serious that the '99%' is made up not only of Occupiers verging towards one or other of these identities, but encompasses an enormous diversity of people, many of whom are represented in some way within Occupy London – students, workers, homeless, long-term and new activists, academics, bankers, clergy, environmentalists, feminists, LGBT communities, white people, People of Colour, the healthy, the addicted, nurses. And within each identity, every person has their own unique individually crafted, creatively formed personality and self. All of these people, and more, make up the 99%.

Occupy LSE was a hugely powerful and hugely challenging occupation, to survive a winter, with such a vast range of humanity in the financial centre, overlooked by the 1%, with the world watching their every move, face eviction of St Pauls, and squatted buildings all in the space of a few months was inspiring and breath-taking. But it took it's toll on individuals, many were burnt out and traumatised, as were people in working groups who were providing the living infrastructure for the community and on the brand new movement of Occupy London, that was still deciding who and what it was post-eviction.

After that winter understandably some people did not want to live/work/organise with others again. The assembly and working group structure became a little more detached from the occupying Occupiers, as discussed in Chapter 5, which was exacerbated by falling out of two young men, both personalities of the movement, which caused some polarisation and division. One had mental health and addiction issues he was struggling with, and post eviction, he was arrested and sectioned because of his behaviour toward another Occupier. A woman, especially from the Welfare Working Group and many others tried to positively intervene to find solutions but more generally the assembly and working group structure and occupying Occupiers became a bit more divided as a result. Polarisation around movement personalities, has occurred in several movements, including Rhythms of Resistance London, twenty years ago, and again more recently. It can be really difficult to overcome. Frequently one member leaves, or it can cause the node to collapse altogether, as occurred with RoR London.

Despite its divisions and organising dilemmas, Occupy London as described in the last chapter, continued producing amazing actions and interventions like the Indignados anniversary 15 May 2012, amazing interventions like 'Shift the debt!' Canary Wharf, during G8 (detailed in my dissertation Burrell 2013c) assemblies like the one on debt (2014), and occupations continued like Occupy Barnet and later, post-Balcombe, Parliament Square, as well as a huge number of less formal squats over the years that have been home-places and organising spaces, taken by former Occupiers. Many of the working groups also

continued to thrive becoming places of radical thought, practice or expertise and support networks for Occupiers for many years after the actual occupation.

My experience as someone coming into the network to do collective learning research was, because of the intensity of that St Pauls occupation experience it was at times difficult to be heard, within some circles. As with any movement, it takes time to develop trust relationships with other activists. The network understood that it needed more people, and there were some extremely specific gaps of organising and help needed to keep the Occupy infrastructure together like the website and social media, livestreaming and so on.

Because I was trying to by be activist/researcher contributing to collective learning and be an activist, initially I found it quite tricky to carve out my own role. Having said that, I collaborated with an interesting woman from the Real Democracy working group, delivering useful workshops like 'Overcoming barriers to horizontality', at G8 Occupy Learning Space, and another gathering about horizontality in the workplace. I created a session to feedback from my dissertation at one of the 'Future of Occupy' sessions and introduced my thesis at an Occupy Research Collective session on 'How to make research more relevant for movements' (URL). So, opportunities to collaborate and contribute to collective learning certainly did exist and were thoughtfully and well-received.

- Top-down or bottom-up - Agora 99 Rome (October 2013) – a conference for horizontal movements with input from Occupy London's International Working Group

Regarding Agora99 – the Euro-wide conference for horizontal movements, the three axes of democracy, debts and rights were extremely relevant across Europe, particularly at that immediately post-Occupy / Arab Spring moment, but also historically and continuously. However, the outputs of Agora99, were similar to inputs, and workshops did not create as many solid proposals as had been anticipated. People held tight to ideas, which made me question the purpose of the conference and whether it was a real exercise in collective learning and about engaging people, so they have ownership of the movement, in a way that is horizontal and bottom-up or whether it was more an exercise in spreading information and ways of thinking, ironically, about horizontality, in a top-down manner. The format of workshops was quite 'old school', with few speakers and few participating in the discussions, although assemblies had a better gender balance of facilitators and voices. The Italian movements criticised Agora 99 for not including them in the organising process, which was done through high-speed internet Mumble meetings, which you had to be invited to join. Those participating in the Mumble meetings generally had their workshops accepted as part of the programme and generally those who did not, had not. One of OCCUPY INTL projects was to map the movements which is an extremely important piece of work, but as Marx, and Fraser and Naples (2004) said we need to describe the world AND change it. So for me, the workshop that Firenza University Collective delivered, making a mind map of opportunities for and barriers against building European movements, was more interesting because it stimulated individual and collective reflection over how to make change happen.

6.1.2 Action versus process - Reclaim the Power

Fieldwork notes: Action versus process - Reclaim the Power network

Amazing camp-based actions and international mobilisations with huge impact by simultaneously attacking several sites, like Balcombe (2013), Blackpool (2014) and Paris (2015) aviation (2017). Extremely well-polished media work both within and outside the movement communicating coherent messages which attract more people to get involved as well as carrying clear message to those targeted and general public over the issue.

However, some of the meetings, as with Occupy, represent more top-down spreading of information, talks and larger meetings dominated by a few voices. There was not a lot of brainstorming or collectively collaborated ideas within those forums, at camps and in the run-up to Paris. Although at national gatherings in winter, there is more brainstorming and collaborative planning which then gets processed into plans for the next year. Some decisions are made behind closed doors, difficult to access, the decision-making processes or even finding out why certain decisions have been made can be difficult to decipher. And once decisions have been made in this other space it is difficult to influence them.

Fieldwork notes: Action versus process - Reclaim the Power network

Post-Paris as we were organising an aviation action, there were a couple of people in a small meeting who were unhappy with one of the decisions made around the risk-level of action on the day and by making an extreme fuss, eventually, the facilitator and dominating voices did back down and ask for help from the network, which resulted in there being a much larger meeting to discuss the same topic which resulted in the decision that we were hoping for that there would be choice on the day what level of risk people wanted to take and that the working group be enlarged to include others who could make that happen. But what nearly happened was like in Paris, experienced activists were having the level and content of their action dictated by less experienced activists, their autonomy over the type of action to take removed.

As with many activist-networks, cliques do exist and friendship groups can be difficult to penetrate. For me as a forty-year-old woman, returning to activism after 6 years away to raise my son, the feminist-in-me would have found gendered hierarchies around youth, age and beauty, as exist in many other organising networks replicating power dynamics of the mainstream to some extent. This can affect access to decision-making processes. Also, a lack of awareness around children and basic lack of childcare provision at meetings and gatherings, echoed by another single-mum activist friend. Klimakamp (August 2016), Rhineland, Germany's climate camp, in contrast had a kid's space and people on hand to help run the space and look after children as well as a list of names of people you could approach if you were a parent and wanted to take direct action, to look after your child. This offered a completely different experience of action for a single parent travelling hundreds of miles with a child to participate in organising and action, from say Blackpool RTP (August 2014).

## 6.1.3. Paris – open / closed

As discussed in Chapter 5, the Red Lines day of action in Paris and other actions surrounding it like Climate Games were amazing, very, exciting actions, to organise and participate in. The organisational process, as all actions do, inevitably had some tensions and dilemmas. This section explores how tensions around open and closed direct democratic process occurred in the Paris process.

Fieldwork notes: open or closed organising at Paris COP21 mobilisation 2015

The day of action was organised with two tiers of organisation (Climate Coalition) an inner core and meetings and assemblies for the affinity groups and networks participating. People within the inner core, it was said, had to be in Paris 3 months before the action, excluding many people. And a varying number of participants from each network were invited to join or were able to join - usually two. I attended one of these meetings the night before the main Red Lines Action, as part of the international samba band and some networks had a hugely over-proportionate representation there. Information and decision options in the proceeding days were being passed out of the core to networks, who then met, discussed and fed back.

In the feedback after the action many people, like German autonomists and some RTPers described finding this programme disempowering and limiting individual and collective creativity in more participative brainstorming and decision-making around actions. In addition, many people were unhappy with something which was described as an 'action consensus' although there had been no test for consensus, rather it was something passed around as if it were. It included a statement to not escalate police violence, damage property and not to break police lines. Compared with for example, GJM 'diversity of tactics' that was part of the People's Global Action philosophy and practice for mass international mobilisations and did not dictate how activists should take action.

Another contentious point had been that the night before the action, a lot of energy from the core had gone into negotiations with the police. For many activists and anarchists speaking to the police before, during or after an action is an absolute no. Other people expressed dismay at the lack of frontline / indigenous or affected communities at the day of action, when it had been claimed that the day would be centred around these communities, others that the actions missed the opportunity to connect with people in the banlieue suffering racialized terror from the police since the Paris shootings.

Some found the day to be too lightweight, that too much of the action that people had originally discussed, talked about and dreamed of to shut delegates into the conference centre until they came up with a better plan that would stop climate change had been watered down by the fact that the police were using recent 'terror' events in Paris as an excuse to clampdown on all political activism. Also, that the symbols used in action – Arc de Triomphe, La Defense and Eiffel tower were pandering to state nationalism.

It had been impossible for most activists involved to have their opinions aired over how the event should be, opinions expressed had been ignored and there was little possibility to influence the plans or the organising infrastructure. The inner core through need for anonymity refused to comment on these questions, but said that they would collectively write a response, which would be posted online. However, this was never done, as far as I am aware.

Within, the RTP and COP mobilisation in general there did exist a majority feeling that the whole organising process had been too closed and not open enough, not fluid enough and not participative enough. These elements which are arguably crucial to successful horizontal mobilisation-organising, and thus frustration did exist around the lack of potential for those who met there to really be a part of what was going on.

### 6.1.4. Auto-ethnographic reflections – Prague, Evian

Tensions of horizontality and verticality, open and closed working, action versus process and dealing with extreme repression at global summits occur within many movements that are aspiring to organise horizontality. Here are some auto-ethnographic reflections based on my experiences within the Alter-Globalisation Movement, of how these tensions and contentions have affected movement-organising at previous mobilisations, the shift from road protest to AGM, Prague 2000, Genoa 2001, and Evian 2013.

Auto-ethnographic reflections – Prague, Evian

Horizontality and verticality, open and closed working, action versus process and dealing with extreme repression at global summits.

It is easy to glorify past actions, which were successful, as I am sure long term and newer activists are aware. Prague 2000 has become a moment in activist and popular social movements' history, because it was the first alter-globalisation action in Europe that involved a flooding of activists to a city for direct action against the tyranny of global capitalism, as represented by the IMF/WTO summit. Although Seattle 1999, had been a year before and London based Stop the City J18th 1999 which involved a huge street party in London's financial district, activists storming the Liffey Building, housing the London Stock Exchange and some smashing up of banks, also coincided with G8 summit and similar events occurred in 40 cities worldwide. And in preceding years there had been a Birmingham street party against G8 1998, and a Cardiff street party at a similar time, against an EU Summit.

So Prague was by no means the start of the summit mobilisations, rather it was part of a process in the UK, at least as a shifting away from focus on roads and inappropriate development (airports, luxury housing), to car culture, with London-based and UK-wide street parties, to a more overtly anti-capitalist or anti-corporate globalisation, with slogans like 'Our resistance is as transnational as their capitalism'. However, for many activists of the time Prague was something else again. Whilst in the UK, activists were suffering pressures of the Terrorism Bill, which would make wearing a Mandela badge into a terrorist act, as well as the fear of the unknown European, recently, Eastern bloc policing tactics, which most of us had not encountered before. So a group of mainly women created 'tactical frivolity', made carnival costumes with skipped pink and silver ripstock, joined by UK anarchists, activists and Earth First!ers (radical deep green no compromise in defence of earth, dressed in pink!) forming a bloc whose movements would be spontaneous on the day (supported by some amazing reconnaissance), shutting down the conference with a couple of people gaining entry, asking pertinent questions to those assembled. Meanwhile, red block, the broad Left followed a predecided route, Tutti Bianchi, the Italian padded White Overalls pushed police lines and the black bloc fought the police (see film 'Crowd beats Wolf'). We had a handful of activists teaching each other some basic tunes, drums, dancers and a carnival. And as we had practised in our drill, when the police gassed us, we put on our gas masks and kept playing and dancing. There is spectacular footage of the water cannons hitting us. George Monbiot and some of the Tactical Frivolity affinity group made a film about their experiences (Tactical Frivolity). London and Amsterdam and Gent Rhythms of Resistance bands were formed as an action output (as mentioned in chapter 5). The decision-making around Prague happened in large assemblies at the Convergence Centre in Prague, with individuals and collectives of activists being followed around by rather conspicuous 'secret' police. The organising assemblies were open to everyone and decisions of how the day would work made in preceding days.

Because of the success in shutting the conference down in Prague 2000, repression of these global anti-corporate action days escalated exponentially. The killing of Carlo Giuliani, Italian anarchist, in Genoa, in 2001, followed by a mass civil disobedience, followed by massive violence and repression by the police. The Indymedia (our independent media centre) in Genoa, was smashed to pieces and people beaten in the early hours, violent arrests, everyone traumatised. I did not go but horrific film footage and stories came back from fellow activists.

By the time of Evian in 2003, which I was involved with, the international police operation around summits was vast. The city was divided into a green zone, amber zone and red zone of different scales of militarisation around the conference centre to protect the conference and delegates. Two UK activists shut a bridge by suspending themselves from climbing ropes which were cut, by the police who deliberately caught one climber and let the other drop to the floor and smash his spine. The pink bloc went out with the black block on the main day of action. Gas masks now illegalised, we left the camp at 4 am, with our mouths protected by triangles of fabric covered in cider vinegar to protect us from the CS gas used by the police.

Decision-making was taken in spoked affinities within the group on the street, which worked well but was time consuming. And in these days of action, seconds and minutes matter because if you are a few moments ahead of the police you rule the day, a few moments behind and they will thrash you. So, whilst our horizontal decision-making processes during the action were better, rather than shutting the conference down we delayed the starting ceremony by 20 minutes and hundreds of people were gassed and shrapnel bombed. A few days later I visited a friend of a friend who had a section of his calf blown off by one of the crowd dispersal devices hitting his leg. Some these actions and resistance techniques and moments can be seen on films Tactical Frivolity and Rhythms of Resistance.

Comparing the Prague experience to the Evian one, in Prague we did indeed reach the conference centre. Despite severe repression, the conference was shut down. With Evian and the slower decision-making on the streets, repression and police violence was horrific and we only managed to slow the opening of the conference by twenty minutes. The shooting of Carlos in Genoa traumatised a lot of the activists that had been involved. A year later Disobediente, in 2002, the Italian anarchist Left invited a team of six sambistas, three from London and three from Amsterdam to give workshops at five social centres in five cities around Italy. This was because they wanted 'tactical frivolity' and samba activism to de-escalate police violence following Genoa. They wanted new and 'fluffier' ways to interact with the police and this resulted in a team teaching about 'tactical frivolity' and carnival activism, as well as drumming and dancing workshops. The tour around Milan, Rome and Turin was so successful that a new Rhythms of Resistance samba band started in Turino. Disobediente and the Turin samba activists participated in an enormous action or rally against austerity with the Italian, London and Dutch activists.

These accounts of auto-ethnographic reflection over my experiences of the AGM, illustrate to some extent the similarity of dilemmas and tensions about balancing action and process, working in open and closed ways and dealing with large scale repression from police and national and international structures. Carnival activism, influenced the shifting tactics during the decade 2000-2010, although as discussed above carnival activism is still very strong on the continent, creating horizontal resistance communities on the streets in protest.

## 6.2 Autonomy, negation, negotiation, co-optation and excess? COP21 Paris

> Fieldwork reflections: Autonomy, negation, negotiation, co-optation and excess? At COP2015
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> The situation in Paris was that the inner core was under huge amounts of pressure post-Paris shootings from the French state to cancel the day of action. One squat was raided at gunpoint in the early hours, 27 French 'known activists' were under house arrest. The collective had competing pressures of NGOs wanting reassurance that the day would be peaceful because they had people of all ages and walks of life planning to come, direct action networks had first time activists coming to Paris to take action as well as autonomists and anarchists who were more experienced in planning and delivering international mobilisations in situations of extreme state violence and repression. One of the justifications of using a spoked organisation with closed core was for security reasons. However, the police said to the core that the plan of action had been leaked to them, whether this occurred through a police spy, people chatting carelessly or through surveillance, was unclear. The police argument was that seeing as they did know the plan, so the inner core might as well negotiate with them. Evidently, no one in the inner core blocked this idea, although people may have challenged it.
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> Obviously, the challenge of the day, with so many competing demands was to pull off an action at all, one that would be safe to attend, although safety is difficult to define 'safe' in such a diverse context, inspiring, and send a clear message to COP21, the world leaders and people across the planet, that we did not feel that the outcome of the COP21 went far enough to addressing the social, political and environmental causes and consequences of climate change. Even the organising collective found one NGO domineering and difficult to work with. At various stages Trade Unions pulled out, Indigenous people pulled out because of fear of repression. Earlier plans to surround the conference centre and shut delegates in until they came up with a better solution, which had a clearer messaging, were abandoned to be replaced by a very 'symbolic', rather than 'direct' action, that felt more like a legalised rally and demonstration, which in a sense it was. The film footage was beautiful and inspiring (the 350degrees film actually looks like the day was set as an advertisement for their NGO), but what happened on the ground some would say was not direct action, and I'm not sure how clear was the messaging, and a lot of people were frustrated that after up to two years of participative organising beforehand was toned down so much.

The two tiered organising system meant that some of the more experienced activists who had dealt with similar pressures in the past before were excluded from the process and many affinity groups and networks did not want to moderate the plan because that is exactly what the police wanted us to do. Because the police always do put huge pressure on mobilisations in the run up to back down, cancel, moderate, and negotiate. But it was virtually impossible to influence decision–making around how to respond.

State repression also meant that new squats were evicted every night. So, whilst some activists had quite stable places to stay, huge numbers of us were getting moved from squat to squat getting evicted, bad nights' sleep, with less access to communal kitchens, and decision-making processes.

RoR International – Paris COP21 Mobilisation 2015

Rhythms of Resistance samba bands in Paris, were working to the other extreme of openness and closed working, and forward planning. Crucially RoR international network had its own large squatted organising space, which helped provide a stable base for

organising, even if individuals allocated squatted accommodation-spaces were less secure, a huge number of experienced and some less experienced samba activists working towards a consensus decision on the action the night before, and half the band participated in a post-Red Lines action with French anarchists:

Fieldwork notes: Autonomy, negation, negotiation, co-optation and excess within the Rhythms of Resistance International Mobilisation for COP21 2015

When I first arrived at the start of the week, there were about 15 international sambistas from different bands around Europe, a couple of whom had been involved in the closed assembly and were feeding information back to an action planning working group which was feeding back to the whole. There were a few interventions early in the week going out with the anarchist kitchen, to one main square which had been a site of shootings as well and giving out information and raising awareness around the demo. By Wednesday practice before the action day on Saturday, we had the basement of another social centre, there were about 40 of us, practising tunes, choreographies, tactics for moving around police lines, and for quickly changing direction, should there be trouble or blockage from the police. The issue with the samba band was not its lack of deeply embedded, open whilst secure horizontal organising, rather that a lot of people were only arriving the night before the action and so decisions about how we participated on the day of action were formulated into proposals but no decisions were made until everyone was there to participate the night before. By Friday night we had an assembly of about 100 people from Germany, Holland, Belgium, Spain, St Petersburg, Jerusalem and more and we could make decisions. I went with an old colleague to the closed meeting as part of the samba network, and we came back and fed back to the group. Our decisions were that we would go on the Red Lines action, but that seeing as the network had no Plan B at all if something went wrong, we would come up with back up plans, one was to break the police line if necessary, to allow people to participate in action or get out of a dangerous situation with the police, another was to split up and re-assemble. In the end we had 5 back-up plans, which key people knew and would organise around if necessary. There was a supply of DIY masks and goggles for those who had not brought their own gas protection. We also had waterproofs to protect us from the police CS gas.

Towards the end of Red Lines, we were handed a small piece of paper, saying if you feel that the action you have taken today, is not enough and you would like to do more, meet at 5pm in an area of the city, with lots of migrants. After a much-needed sit down and rest, after Red Lines, about 40 people decided to continue into the evening with the anarchists. As we came out of the metro playing huge chants were going on. We started with a big bloc going through the streets chanting environmental and anti-capitalist slogans. After about another 40 minutes, police started to come and try to surround us. People ran through estates and shortcuts to get away from them. Sirens increased and speed of people running increased. I was with a band of RoR people some of whom had big drums. Eventually, the crowd of maybe 600 people was split in two as half managed to get over the bridge, over the Seine, the other half remained on the near side. We were surrounded by lines of police two strong with batons raised in a charging position for about an hour. It was the most terrifying situation I have been in in 20 years of protest. Police vans and buses that came sirens blaring numbered about 50! Eventually after about an hour they decided to let people go in groups of five. Less intimidated by French policing than us, the French anarchists were singing 'Tous ensemble ou pas de tous' (Everyone together or no one at all). But gradually they let us go escorting us through lines and lines of police and surveillance, cameras and video cameras, where the samba band regrouped just outside.

## 6.3 Dealing with internal oppression

### RoR London versus RoR International

As with all the dilemmas, and as mentioned in the chapter introduction, there exists interconnectivity between dilemmas. Movements mobilising for social transformation tend to meet crises when several dynamics are going on, for example within Rhythms of Resistance (RoR) London.

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Fieldwork Reflections: Dealing with internal oppression - RoR London:

Rhythms of Resistance London, was becoming less connected with UK movements and the RoR international network, personalities were taking over from politics, and several important ones left (retiring, starting other bands or returning to European networks) and focus was going into demos, musical quality and gigging away from direct action. The group itself, due to changes in locale of practice from a refugee arts centre, to various squats to a community centre, from which the band was not hugely embedded within, was losing diversity. Crossover with sambatage meant there were a lot of students and recent graduates, who due to their life stage can be quite transient and are still making formative decisions over how and where to spend their lives. Also, a lot of people were working during the days, meaning that a lot of anti-capitalist action which is during week-days – as it involves drawing attention to or stopping work in a place often happen during working hours was not happening. Earlier days of the band fom 2000 to 2006, when I was really active there had more migrants, more squatters, activists, queer activists and community/political artists of different ages, many of whom had done some action before although the band had always been quite transient, it had seen a huge through-flow of people over the years.

Internal oppression reared its ugly head in the form of patriarchy, in this particular moment, and allegations of abuse. Although this was complicated by intersectional positionality of both the accusing and the perpetrator. And as described in chapter 5, it was not so much the problem, as the way we dealt with the problem. But the surprising thing for a group which only a year earlier had seemed really buzzy and well-bonded was that there were two strong positions of opinion, forming polarisation and division.

The polarisation was similar to that described in Occupy London. A lot of effort was put into trying to resolve the issues – internal and external mediation, old members coming back but the issue seemed irresolvable. Or we could not find a solution that everyone was happy with. Power dynamics between individuals also took a role. Practices became so fraught and distressing for everyone that eventually most people left the band. We had no safer spaces policy, and so nothing to refer to, although a working group did put one together fast.

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For other groups struggling around similar issues, I have attached the Sisters UnCUT safer spaces policy as an example of a good statement for dealing with internal oppression (Appendix 6.2). Safer Spaces statements are agreed using consensus, can be prepared by a working group and published online, so as to set the tone for expected behaviours and groups can discuss around how to deal with violation. Ideally an activist space would have a minimum of rules to keep people safe and allow the collective to deal with violations, whilst maximising diversity and spontaneous energy within that space. In the second half of Chapter 8, I explore and discuss ideas about creating decolonising safer spaces, building anti-oppression into everyday organising and balancing order, chaos and radical imagining.

One of the positive outcomes and a movement-based response to patriarchal oppression was the formation of a new band, Samba Sisters Collective; open to all self-identifying women, that is trans-inclusive. This all-women political samba band which set up in the last few years as response to patriarchy and male-domination in previous bands and to provide a safe space for women (self-identifying and trans-inclusive) to organise, play, protest and participate in community struggles.

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Fieldwork notes: Response to internal oppression: Samba Sisters Collective

Samba Sisters Collective is a new band open to all self-identifying women, that is trans-inclusive. This all-women political samba band which set up in the last few years as response to patriarchy and male domination in previous bands and to provide a safe space for women (self-identifying and Trans-inclusive) to organise, play, protest and participate in community struggles.

I joined them for a couple of practices in summer of 2018 and danced with them and another band at the massive Stop Trump demonstration and gig at Parliament Square (11 July 2018). The Stop Trump! Demonstration was epic! It was absolutely huge. We met outside the BBC headquarters to take our place in the march and the march was really diverse with huge coalitions of community groups, the mainstream Left trade unions, sisters against violence, LGBT communities, a massive samba band made up of Samba Sisters Collective, some former Rhythms of Resistance London players, Sambatallion another splinter band from East London University band all marched to Trafalgar Square where there was a huge rally. There were several thousand people at Trafalgar Square a huge stage and a microphone. There were speakers, poets, bands, and musicians and a crossover samba band performed on the stage with one of the Samba Sisters maestres directing the band. I danced on stage with the multi-samba band drummers, and this was a really successful intervention. The Samba Sisters Collective excelled at this multi-band demonstration against President Trump's visit to London.

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RoR International

In comparison to RoR London, I would argue that the international network of RoR was ahead of RoR London in some ways. With the following statement on their website, their stance is overt.

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RoR International wesite:

We actively criticize and confront any form of domination, exploitation, discrimination or oppression and choose tactical frivolity and/or other forms of creative protest, as a way to express our rage and indignation…

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Having the advantage of a density of bands close together on mainland Europe, within a few hours' drive (although St Petersburg, Madrid and Jerusalem also are very active), interconnectivity within the network is good and people are used to meeting with each other, discussing politics and organising direct action together. The direct democratic process has existed since Prague 2000, so has had many years of time to become an embedded

practice and functions well even when old people return or new people arrive and when people fall out, the structure of the network is strong enough to not be wobbled. With a shared history and regular attendance of many individuals and bands to No Borders Camps and Calais Jungle, before it was evicted, historically the anti-racist agenda is also very strong. And is continually reinforced at regional and national gatherings like TNM 2016, in this fieldwork, where there were workshops on cultural appropriation, the setting up of PoC group within the network and changing one of the signs of the songs as it felt to be racist. Similarly, the workshop group working on the question of 'Am I too old for this?' was really useful for me as an activist returning trying to engage with the networks in a slightly different way (as activist-researcher, as well as being activist), after several years of time away to raise my son and was feeling a bit excluded from decision-making processes in UK networks. The workshop discussed trauma from activism and from outside of activism.

Trauma is something that many activists suffer from – sometimes it is pre-existing and sometimes experienced through activism. At times I have felt that some of the newer and younger networks and activists were not that tuned into the issue compared obviously to networks that included veterans of the AGM. One survivor of Evian 2003, for example set up a strong activist trauma support within the Earth First network. As discussed above activists suffer trauma through eviction, high stress actions, police surveillance and infiltration or fear of infiltration. Trauma can create or exacerbate long-term mental health conditions and addiction often seems to be an easy escape. Death rates among political and former political activists, are really high. Most action camps do have healing and or medical / trauma support, but the realities of living with these risks and long-term difficulties are yet to be addressed within many networks. This was part of what influenced my next contribution to collective learning, for Rising Up! There is a trauma team working in London that is supportive, but maybe the scale of the support should be reconsidered.

## 6.4 Diversity, connectivity and decolonising movements – Wretched of the Earth

> Fieldwork notes: Diversity, connectivity and decolonising movements - Wretched of the Earth
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> During the London-based RTP Paris debrief, we were handed an open letter and an article written by Wretched of the Earth - a response to treatment of indigenous people in Paris COP21 proceedings and about the treatment of 'frontline communities and their supporters' around the London Climate March 29 November 2015 and an article entitled 'On Oppression: DeCO2olonising the environmental movement'. I had been at the march, before leaving for Paris, near the bloc as an RTP / WotE activist had raised the issue at previous meetings that some frontline communities would be doing direct action and might need a little support. But I was not aware of the severity of the incidents, the run-up to nor exactly what was going on that day because it was all quite confusing. It was when I read the open letter that what had happened the day made more sense.

The letter is Appendix 5.2, and a small article 'DeC02lonalism 101: We need to talk about oppression' by Tisha Brown, of Wretched of the Earth was published in the New Internationalist online a few days later (Appendix 5.3). Both were extremely influential to movement shifts, attempts to transcend and transform over the coming year.

The Open Letter is difficult to summarise because it is complex and multi-faceted, and very well written account that I would recommend anyone to read especially those interested in social transformation and environmental issues. It outlines the devastating outcomes of COP21 for indigenous and 'frontline' (of climate change) people, names oppressor, colonial nations responsible for ongoing profiteering capitalist exploitation and robbery of Indigenous peoples, land, food, water and air, as well as violently wrenching them from connection with

nature. It outlined how some frontline communities could not go to Paris, so came to the UK instead, to lead the Climate March, as they had been requested to do, only to find out in the weeks preceding the march that they were not required to lead the march at all, according to the organisers. On the day, 'frontline' and affected communities and their supporters were replaced by corporate NGO logos and animal heads. When the WotE took direct action and took back their position at the front, they were told their messaging about decolonisation and deaths from climate change, was not palatable or appropriate.

When WotE did a die-in at Shell, (climate criminal and world famous for their collaboration in deaths of Ken Saro-Wiwa and other Ogoni people in Nigeria), the march stewards pushed, shoved and verbally abused as well as calling the police to move them on because the march was running late.

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Decolonising: Media coverage of Climate March response from WoTE

Climate change provides us with the opportunity to build a just and equitable world where everyone is liberated. To achieve this, we need a diversity of tactics and voices. A climate movement that ignores those who are fighting on the front lines or re-creates the systems of oppression that created this mess needs to do some serious soul searching.

From 'DeC02lonalism 101: We need to talk about oppression'
Brown (2015, p15)
Appendix 5.3

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'DeC02lonalism 101: We need to talk about oppression' urges activists and organisers to consider how not to let that kind of silencing and blocking of frontline communities to happen again and outlines some crucial things to consider 'when trying to build a diverse and intersectional, environmental movement'. Firstly, decolonise your mind, as people on the frontlines in the global South have the solutions of the struggle, as with Ogoni fighting Shell for years. Secondly, engage in mutual solidarity, so support the struggles of black and brown people, describing a deafening silence from environmental movements around Black Lives Matter events and protests for those killed in police custody, do not just expect black and brown people to show up to environmental protests. 'However, be careful that the invite isn't just a tick-box exercise to fill a diversity quota. These groups should be involved in the planning and messaging of the day' (Brown 2015, p2). Thirdly, with intersectional organising it is essential so ensure our spaces are welcoming safe, accessible, and to 'look at power and privilege in groups and be serious about finding ways to address it' (Brown 2015, p2). And finally, be intersectional in our messaging because it is okay to care about renewables *and* indigenous rights – in fact that is the only way we can deal with the situation and find solutions. Listen when oppressed people speak so if someone tells you something is 'racist, sexist, ableist, homophobic or transphobic', please listen and do not invalidate their experience of oppression, we must be aware that we all are responsible for doing these things sometimes. This is not an exhaustive list, she states, rather a starting point.

Because I am personally interested in issues around oppression, I attended WoTE meetings as an ally or supporter of communities on the frontline of climate change. After a few months I asked for permission to write about the issues. As discussed in the Chapter 4, because of complex isues around representation and ethnography having a colonial history, it was decided by consensus rather that I could speak of the networks' activities using publicly released documents, not ethnography, as I am doing in this section.

Impact of WotE on horizontal movements organising in London

On reflection, I do think that WotE's critique of the London-based horizontal movements did have a huge impact for London-based movements over time, maybe not for all but for some, reimagining and learning how to movement-build collaboratively, for example the solidarity campaign around the Stansted15, which did not occur overnight but was part of a collective learning process….

Initially, some activists from RTP attempted to carry out an action in solidarity with Black Lives Matter, which was not well received by the press:

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Media coverage of RTP/Black Lives Matter Action – Daily Mail

Why were the Black Lives Matter protesters at London City Airport all WHITE? Group defends stunt which caused chaos for thousands - claiming white people are 'privileged' through racism. Cockroft, Glanfield and Wallis Simons For Mailonlien (2016)

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The first attempt was not that well received as it took an important issue but failed to do the collaborative movement building and solidarity work in the run up to create a really intersectional action. Collective radical imagining and transcending issues does take time.

Feeling somewhat distressed about intersectional oppression within our community and beyond, at a Rising Up! strategy day I circulated a document, highlighting some of the connections between mental health, addiction, state and police racial violence, decolonising critiques and some ideas around how to connect better with other networks horizontally. Rising Up is multi-network collaboration, post-Paris made up of activists from Compassionate Revolution, Earth First, RTP and former Occupiers. This strategy day was part of the organising process which post-Paris, became Extinction Rebellion and had stated that 'Intersectionality' was one of their Core values, so I wrote a one-page document (Burrell 2016 Appendix 6.1).

'On oppression, anarcha-feminist intersectionality, affected communities and bottom-up organising' (Burrell 2016) had been inspired by my contact with Defend the Right to Protest, and Wretched of the Earth' as well as the collective learning interventions that I was attempting to make as part of my research and ongoing project as an activist. The document stimulated a lot of interesting discussion and debate, and collective radical imagining at the strategy day. I think it also stimulated a wider conversation across the movement about what intersectional organising really is, alongside the strong critique from Wretched of the Earth about racism and colonialism within movements, which may have helped to contribute to Stansted15 airport action that was deeply intersectionally organised.

A learning process, of how to organise and work collaboratively with other movements, a few months later collectively radically transcending the issue. The Stansted15 action and solidarity campaign was much more intersectionally organised. A runway occupation against deportation prevented migrants from being sent to their death.

The action was successful, stopped the flight, and prevented LGBT people who had been refused asylum from returning to certain death in their mother countries. So successful that the Standsted15 were charged with terrorist charges and had to go through the massive ordeal of defending themselves. Solidarity actions outside the courts and Home Office brought together LGBTQ, anti-deportation and Black struggles and activist communities, for joyful and creative, musical and poetic, but also deeply political times. Appendix 6.3 is a solidarity statement for End Deportations multi-movement network.

The Stansted15 and solidarity actions were brilliant forms of movement-building, bringing together LGBTQ, black, anti-deportation and environmental struggles and representing some amazing collective radical transcending of complex issue of internal and external oppressions, as discussed in my analysis Chapters 7 and 8. The action and process represented a really strong shift from the ways that movements were mobilising say during and after Paris.

## 6.5 Chaos, order and radical imagination – Balcombe Camps

Fieldwork Reflections: Order, chaos and Radical Imagining at Balcombe's camps.

Balcombe Community Protection Camp

Balcombe Community Protection camp (BCPC) was less orderly than Balcombe RTP camp (BRTP). Whilst both had daily meetings allocating tasks, and a working group structure, the Protection camp was obviously a living space and space of diverse resistance community of people who came together, lived together, ate together, dreamed together, sang and danced and blockaded together. I met the first striking coal miner I have ever met at Balcombe, and 60 or more people who had been involved with Occupy came and stayed and lived and participated and organised. Straddled between two sides of quite a busy road, at weekends the gate to the drilling site became a meeting point for local villagers and activists from London, Brighton, Sussex and singers, and talkers, and poetry anti-frackers, and during the week we blockaded 7 – 8 trucks each day entering and leaving the site. A perfect training camp for direct action. From dancing to euro-anarchist-bloc human barricades we tried it all! With a massive kids' space, fields and forests to explore, kids were loved and welcomed into the community and had freedom to explore. I went there with my son in little 2-person tent as often as I could for a several month-long campaign, whilst writing my dissertation on G8. That summer (2013) it became like a politicised family-friendly festival absolutely rammed with people who wanted to explore new ways of living and relating in a resistance community whilst fighting against multi-national driller Cuadrilla Godzilla, against dangerous fossil fuel extraction and for brighter more sustainable and humane futures. With a strong non-violent ethos and feminist force of older women and daily yoga, the camp was calm as well as an exciting place to be and meet people and discuss about things that mattered with people who really cared around fire-pits into the early hours. It was an amazing resistance community. A perfect mixture of strategic and prefigurative politics being lived into existence.

Despite some initial cultural and political tensions, the chaotic BCPC and orderly RTP camp did thave fertile interactions and innovations did occur. As described in Chapter 5 a remarkably successful mass demo and spectacular day of action were organised for the weekend, as well as a 30-day pledge of direct action at Balcombe. Balcombe Community Protection camp benefitted from an injection of more experienced activists and tactics and a variety of ways of locking on to trucks and stopping them for a day. And RTPers benefitted from an injection of the energy, enthusiasm, magic of lived resistance at the site of Balcombe. Order met constructive chaos and created radical imagining of an escalated and more focused campaign within this beautiful prefigurative community.

## 6.6 Dealing with repression

### 6.6.1 Occupy London – police repression

As discussed above repression in the run up to Paris, created pressures on organisers to cancel, moderate and negotiate, but repression can also represent opportunities for movements to imaginatively transform and transcend in thinking, organising and praxes. Repression can create new movements and new collaborations, as is discussed in this section.

As previously described in this and earlier chapters:

Auto-ethnographic reflections on repression through eviction of prefigurative space:

Long term activists had become so used to losing battles, to protect, defend and keep buildings and pieces of nature, that they are trying to defend that it is sometimes a bit of a shock and a surprise to win the campaign.

From my own personal reflection, most of the anti-roads movements of the 90s, and occupations of land, defending trees and SSSIs, were generally lost. Land, trees, camps and prefigurative spaces around Solsbury Hill, Newbury, Honiton to Exeter, Dead Woman's Bottom, near Frome, and other contemporary campaigns of Manchester Airport, Kingston-upon-Thames (luxury flats), the battles over the land and prefigurative spaces of camps were generally lost. Nine Ladies, a protest camp sustained itself for nine years and did eventually win, but this was the exception rather than the rule.

Longer-term activists can usually see that the fight to save a space of social, ecological and /or political value, campaigns are lost, but the wider movements towards changes of policy, public opinion and awareness is happening. Although for newer activists, especially, losing strategic and prefigurative spaces that are also radical living, organising and home spaces can hit people hard, as with the evictions of Occupy St Pauls and Occupy Finsbury Square.

As touched upon in, 6.1 once the prefigurative living space has been evicted or lost, existing tensions and dilemmas over ownership of the campaign can exacerbate to an unmanageable scale, as was the case with Occupy London, described in these chapters. For some this was resolved by squatting the Barnet library and for others, by setting up Balcombe Community Protection Camp, or participating in mobilising with networks like Reclaim the Power, kick-starting and rejuvenating the Climate movement with a socio-economic critique, with links to anti-austerity groups like Students Uncut, and Fuel Poverty Action, and later Extinction Rebellion.

Thus repression, in the form of eviction of prefigurative spaces can have both negative and positive impacts on mobilisations. Furthermore, over time, when activists do make it to the next campaign, they become more resilient and philosophical about the losses of spaces, trees, natural surroundings and their communities and better equipped for the next struggle.

6.6.2. Defend the right to protest – uniting diverse struggles against repression - mainly UK response

Defend the Right to Protest network is another extremely positive response to repression. In the context of the death of young black men in the States and UK over the last few years, Defend the Right to protest was the UK-based response to increasing illegalisation of people, especially young people around the time of 2010-11 student occupations and protests against fees. Ranging from black families who had their loved ones killed in police custody, to the women whose lives were infiltrated by police spies, from humanitarian activities like Calais solidarity being made into 'terrorist' offences, to fighting police kettling tactics used in the streets, from supposedly gang-related charges being handed out to bystanders of violence if they are young and black, to PREVENT, the educational programme for schools and universities to identify potential radicals, DtRtP is an imaginatively put together network, fighting and uniting all these campaigns and people. What is more they take an overtly feminist, anti-racist, decolonising stance in their analyses of local, national and global events, and encourage people involved to make change happen within their own networks.

### 6.6.3 Stop Trump – dealing with global repression

One of the most recently started campaigns or movements, discussed in my thesis is Stop Trump, launched on 2 February 2017. Although the focus is directed at a US politician, this is a movement which resists repression on a global scale. From the root causes of migration, around US war mongering to secure oil, and Islamophobia, to the deportation centres in the UK, where people who have committed no crimes are locked up and often abused by the private security that run it. From anti-austerity, representatives of doctors, nurses to student and academic communities, to environmental campaigners and activists, over his pulling out of COP21 climate treaty, (which whilst not having gone far enough, was of course better than no agreement), many diverse people signed up to the pledge to take to the streets if or when Trump visited the UK. Whilst the politics of Trump which for the US has been like Brexit for the UK, organisers argued in an open meeting, is to do with mainstream politics. His reach as President of the US was global, and so there has been a global and globally aware response to repression which arguably has strengthened the broad, radical Left and horizontal or anarchist response.

### 6.7 Concluding thoughts

This chapter has been a discussion of the dilemmas of everyday organising of significant moments of organising for social transformation, described in the fieldnotes in Chapter 5 and relating to significant London-based and globally networked movements which are mobilising for social transformation.

As outlined in Chapter 3, moments and dilemmas of horizontal movement-organising are themed around certain issues, as this chapter has also illustrated horizontality and verticality, autonomy, co-optation and negotiation, dealing with internal oppression, decolonising movements, and dealing with repression. From the stance of activist-researcher, these dilemmas can be viewed as tensions between older and newer ways of organising, tensions between strategic and prefigurative politics, where strategic is about effective action, strategising, tactics, about analysing our actions and movements as a whole, and prefigurative is about the creation of new worlds in the here and now, living diverse futures today, in our processes, practices and actions.

The moments, commentary, and reflections in this chapter describe moments of crisis, stasis, ongoing tensions, quiet reflections and collective radical imagining. In some cases, the series of events described, represent movements crumbling under pressures of internal oppression or police repression.  In other cases, and over time, with the benefit of the lens of auto-ethnographic reflections of movements since the 1990s, combined with my militant ethnographic lens today and during fieldwork years, with this integrative approach, we can develop a more nuanced view.

We see the progression of organising and learning by individual activists, affinity groups, and entire networks around issues like anti-oppressive organising, and dealing with repression from a local to a global scale. As with the Stansted15 and solidarity, collaboration, radical imagining and deep listening within movements creates opportunities for movements to expand their praxes, actions and networks beyond that which was previously conceived to be possible.

In the next chapter, I explore the ways that the mobilisations explored in the fieldwork are exposing, undermining and seeking to replace dominant global systems of oppression and in Chapter 8, I explore how the movements are creating new forms of organising themselves and potentially society as a whole. In so doing, I ask to what extent these mobilisations are themselves living utopias, in Chapter 9.

# CHAPTER 7:

# Undermining, exposing and venturing beyond dominant systems of oppression?

CHAPTER 7: Undermining, exposing and venturing beyond dominant systems of oppression?

7.1 Introduction

Understanding the structures of oppression that were introduced in Chapter 3, and how they function, is crucial to protest movements that are mobilising for social transformation. Contemporary movements are arguably seeking to undermine, expose and venture beyond the current global sytems of global-capitalism, class, colonialism, racism, patriarchy, heteronormativity, (dis)ableism, in an attempt to strategically eliminate oppression of all kinds. On the other hand, horizontal movements are simultenously prefiguring new possible presents and futures through their imaginative, creative embodiment of new forms of being, relating, living and loving, as discussed throughout my thesis.

In this chapter, I focus on the ways that the mobilisations explored in Chapters 5 and 6, are exposing, undermining and moving beyond oppressive systems, using a variety of examples, from my fieldwork.

In section 7.2, I explore how Occupy London has exposed inequalities and crises within capitalism and democracy. In section 7.3, I explore the ways RTP, the anti-fracking and Climate movements are exposing issues within national and global approaches to energy and sustainability, like fracking and war, as solutions to securing energy resources. 7.4 explores the ways that Wretched of the Earth is exposing and undermining hypocrisies within the mainly white middle-class environmental movement and wider society, with decolonial critique and organising. In 7.5, I explore the ways that the Agora99 conference and European horizontal movements, are exposing hypocrisies within Northern European representations of the Eurozone crisis and attempting to build alternatives to liberal democracy, especially in the European South, with horizontally networked participatory assemblies like the Occupies, Indignados and the Greek assemblies. In 7.6, I explore the ways that autonomous networks of connectivity like RoR International, Defend the Right to Protest and Stop Trump are creating and recreating themselves as alternative sets of relations, arguably attempting to replace state, business and global capitalist networks strategically prefiguring alternative futures.

7.2 Exposing - Occupy

Occupy London, and the network, have exposed issues of inequalities within local, national and global capitalist systems. The network exposed and criticised corruption within domestic and global financial systems and the links between government and big business. Within the UK, especially there was criticism from Occupy surrounding the ways that banks were bailed out, whilst emergency austerity decrees were imposed on the rest of the population. Crisis of trust through mishandling the management of crisis and loss of trust in Government meant that the social contract failed, and the glue required to hold society together dissolved, as Castells described (2012). Financial crisis hit a different section of society, with job losses and mortgages failing, homes being repossessed, in the States especially, but also throughout the industrialised North, middle classes as well as those dependent on social security were being hit by cuts to public services and more people were living precariously. Protection of the elite, by the elite, gave Occupy the opportunity to create the term the 99% of people who were being hit by the crises, versus the 1% who were profiteering from crises, thus putting inequalities back on the discussion table (Graeber 2011, Schiffrin et al 2012). For Holloway and Picciotti (1977), who view the role of the state in maintenance and reproduction of capitalism as a relation of class domination which can be shifted, I argue that Occupy was certainly a lever for this shifting class oppression, though their astute, critiques and powerful social media memes as well as the occupations themselves.

Global capitalism was going through another cycle of crisis, creating as Harvey (2010) describes opportunities for movements to challenge the reproduction of class power. Lilley and Papadopoulos's (2014, p972) 'culture of valuation' was all too evident, and as Graeber describes (2011) Occupy was exposing capitalism as a system where all interaction had been reduced to a business deal. For some, like Harvey this was capitalism in a constant state of crisis (2010, 2014) whilst for Holloway, these crises represented 'cracks' in capitalism which was and is already in an advanced state of decay, so that crises are moments of extreme vulnerability of the entire system (2010). Occupy could also be related to the possible end of neoliberalism, the collapse of the current global economic order that Birch and Myckernho describe (2010). I would argue that the Occupy network certainly assisted in exposing the inextricable link between neoliberalism as state/class project and global financial capital, which Wong described in 2009.

For other academics and contemporary commentators, Occupy was exposing crises within neo-liberal and representative democracy. Occupy London's 'Bank of Ideas', the Free University argued that representative democracy emerged alongside institutional hierarchy so therefore it could never function for benefit of the people (2016). Although interestingly, former Occupiers did support Corbyn's labour party. I would argue furthermore that Occupy also exposed the neo-liberal consent industry, described by anarchist Gordon (2015) and loosened the grip of the carefully managed version of democracy, he describes, creating moments of collective radical imagining and the possibility for the unequal power structures to be analysed, shifted, exposed and opportunities for participatory democracy to become a prevalent organisational form within Occupies and other Left spaces like the 'movement of assemblies' and the London Assembly. I think that Occupy did genuinely create a moment where the promises of neo-liberalism, promises of freedom and autonomy could be exposed as false hopes, as Monbiot (2016) following Picketty, argues. The result, beyond their cutting critique described above, was the creation of a fecundity of sites and networks of experimentation, other ways of, being, doing and relating within Occupy, within social transformation-making mobilisations, which also penetrated workplaces, universities experimenting with non-hierarchical organisation, assemblies and horizontality. Movements supported movement-initiated parties and many former Occupiers as well as many other movements for social transformation did support Corbyn's Labour party, as well as parties like Podemos and Sryza, and were disappointed by his defeat.

Santos's (2005) critique of the state/citizen relationship of the politics of Western democracies as being so limited that it leaves out huge spheres of human experience, and domination, oppression and resistance potential, around the household-place, the work-place, community-place, market-place, citizen-place and world-place' (2005, p1xii). The state-citizen relationship, for Santos, as decribed in Chapter 2, does not consider issues around oppressions of 'patriarchy, exploitation, unequal differentiation of identity, fetishism of commodities, domination and unequal exchange' (2005, pxii) to name a few, thus it leaves huge gaps of resistance potential increasingly being taken up by womens, civil rights, anti-racist, peace, LGBTQI, environmental, anti-capitalist, decolonising social justice movements, as my thesis explores. Occupy, I argue, has played an important role within this trajectory, illustrating the limitations of liberal democracy, critiquing global capitalism's desired ways of organising society. Other movements from my fieldwork have played significant roles in exposing, undermining and venturing beyond these multiple interconnected arenas of oppression and liberation potential, as my analyses chapters and thesis conclusion explore.

## 7.3 Undermining – Reclaim the Power, Anti-Fracking and Climate Movements

Reclaim the Power's direct actions and camps, alongside the Anti-Fracking and the Climate movements, recently reinvigorated by Occupy, a similar mobilisation featuring on the streets

more recently as Extinction Rebellion, have been highly successful at bringing into question and undermining UK and global energy policies and strategies.

Reclaim The Power with hard-hitting and well-targeted actions alongside excellent social and broader media coverage, making diverse alliances across the social plane, connecting and empowering local people, at Balcombe, with Blackpool Nanas, campaign groups, like Frack Free, Coal Free, Plane Stupid, Stay Grounded and students, as well as bringing together new and experienced activists, connecting networks locally and globally, and has had immense movement dynamism and traction for social transformation. This crucial work has contributed significantly to undermining UK energy policy, highlighting the harmful pollutive and dangerous processes of hydraulic fracturing (fracking) and similar industries, bringing into question the coal industry, aviation and the idea that the future of the planet should depend on harmful extractive fossil fuel industries. This mobilisation has helped to undermine the idea that it is acceptable to bomb other countries to secure energy resources and they advocate working towards a fossil free future. Their work also aims to join the dots between social, economic and environmental justice issues. Reclaim the Power overtly supported Corbyn, many members participating in the election campaign.

RTP and their networks, actions and mobilisations undermine neo-liberalism's social and environmental devastation discussed by Monbiot (2016). Their struggle against the ecological and environmental damage of contemporary capitalism, climate change that ensues, linking the global climate change movement in Paris COP21 with mass climate actions like Ende Gelände in Germany has had significant change-making force, with a huge number of first time activists stepping up to take action and lead this change. They encourage diverse people to step 'out of the spectacle', the coming collapse, described by Monbiot (2016), empowering groups and networks to take action themselves, against environmental devastation and its human costs. Their arguments and the ways they organise are contracting new relationships between diverse people, new relationships between social, economic and environmental issues, that Weibel discusses (2016). The mobilisation is playing a significant role in the construction of new relationships between present and future generations, citizens and nature, which Weibel describes, simultaneously undermining existing contracts between citizens and the state.

This work of RTP, anti-fracking, Climate Justice mobilisation acknowledges global capitalism and role of corporations profiteering out of human and environmental suffering, as Harvey (2013) outlines, that a growth economy is causing a huge amount of suffering and daily violence, as well as having intrinsic ecological limits. Their networks among other networks, like Earth First, Occupy, social centres network, Compassionate Revolution, Plane Stupid, Stay Grounded have provided a hatching ground for Rising Up! and most recent emergence of Extinction Rebellion and actions like the Stansted15. As illustrated in my fieldwork chapters, the Stansted15 Action, collaboration between LGBTQ activists, anti-deportatation, black movements and Plane Stupid, was so successful that it prevented a group of LGBTQ people being deported from the UK to almost certain death. This action undermined Sloterdijk's, 'capitalist globalisation' turning upside down for a moment, global power relations, the divide between the privileged Inside separate, from the Outside, that radical class division which occurs across the globe. Actions like these, combining climate issues with refugee issues, address Žižek's (2016) 'crisis of humanity', the refugee crisis undermining global capitalism and its elites as the structure and individuals which decide which lives matter and which do not.

7.4 Exposing and undermining - Wretched of the Earth

Wretched of the Earth, with their strong decolonial critique, networks, solidarity actions with frontline communities and trainings on white privilege have been exposing and undermining the hypocrisies within the mainly white middle-class environmental movement. By taking

their place at the front of the climate march, doing a die-in outside Shell and refusing to be physically side-lined as well as their anti-oppression statements to the wider environmental movements and the public, illustrate their understanding of the 'power and peril of discourse', discussed by Welch, 'engaging in a battle for truth with a conscious preference for the oppressed' (1998, pxix).

Their network of 'frontline' communities, in this case defined as those already suffering the devastating impact of climate change in their countries or people in the UK who are environmental refugees and their 'black and brown supporters', formed and built a 'multiplicity' of 'political subjectivities'. Their network and praxes worked to, what Motta and Seppala (2016) refer to as 'provincializ(ing) the European activist' (2016, p6). By combining critical agency, with entwined multiple forms of 'doing, undoing, being undone and becoming, as well as multiple forms of giving and giving up' they shifted the present regimes, in this case within the corporate environmental Left, also impacting the mainstream debate within the UK through solidarity with global frontline environmental activists (2013, p193). Their meetings involved 'sensing, imagining, envisaging and forming alternatives to the present' as Butler and Athanasiou advocate (2013, p193).

WotE's work is hyper-sensitive to the conditions under which the 'I' within resistance can become a 'we', in their radical insistence that it is frontline communities that lead and create actions and resistance agendas, and supporters of frontline communities are welcome to support. Through this their network 'renders visible how new political languages, logics and literacies are emerging from those places rendered mute, monstrous and malignant by patriarchal capitalist-coloniality' (Motta and Seppala 2016, p5). Their network challenges dominant representations of racialized and feminised subaltern subject as the 'absent other…victims without voice…identity politics unable to challenge macro-levels of power (Motta and Seppala 2016, p6).

Furthermore, the Wretched of the Earth network embraced 'blackness', which in Moten and Harney's (2013) accounts describe 'as the willingness to be in the space that is abandoned by colonialism, by rule, by order' (Halberstam 2013, p8). They are, and are in solidarity with, the Undercommons - black, indigenous, queer and poor people, there are also women, exercising the 'first right', a 'game-changing kind of refusal of the choices as offered' (Moten and Harney citing Spivak (2013, p7). Their name is taken from Franz Fanon's 1961 book, which Wikipedia (the peoples dictionary) describes as a

> psychiatric and psychologic analysis of the dehumanizing effects of colonization upon the individual and the nation, and discusses the broader social, cultural, and political implications inherent to establishing a social movement for the decolonization of a person and of a people.

> (Wikipedia 2018)

I would argue that their work following Fanon is wanting 'not the end of colonialism, but the end of the standpoint from which colonialism makes sense' (Halberstam 2013, p8). Their work has thus made a significant contribution to exposing and undermining colonialism and racism within the environmental movement and society as a whole.


7.5 Exposing and venturing beyond – Agora99 and the European Horizontalists

At Agora99, the European meeting of horizontal movements, in Rome, participants critiqued mainstream accounts of the Eurozone crisis and discussed how contemporary social movements are starting to replace the structures of liberal democracy in some Southern countries, like Spain and Greece, with parties like Podemos and Syriza emerging out of the Assembly movements. Horizontally-networked participatory assemblies of the Occupies, Indignados and Greek assemblies in some parts of Europe were becoming so strong and

so prevalent that direct democratic processes were having more influence and participation than traditional politics of the Left, the unions and parties. Furthermore, coalitions of activists were forming political parties with mixed success. This follows Weibel's argument that the crisis of liberal representative democracy coincides with people calling for rights of participation that go well beyond what it can offer (2016).

Agora99 participants were exposing the way that Northern European governments and media were portraying the financial crisis, using the stereotypical identity of the Southern European as being backward, lazy and not advanced in democratic or economic thinking, which was done to shift the blame of crisis away from the Northern European leaders. According to Yaroufakis, the Eurozone crisis occurred because of a pyramid scheme of debt which emerged post-WWII and was propped up by the banking boom, creating inevitable catastrophe for Southern European countries (2016). Then debt and harsh austerity for those suffering the most, created recessions and fertile ground for the far Right to flourish. It also created fertile ground for anti-austerity movement-embedded political parties to form like Podemos and Syriza.

Horizontally-networked collectives and assemblies are replacing liberal democratic structures in some countries as more and more people are creating and participating in them, in preference to or, in addition to, Trade Unions and political parties. As mentioned above, in some cases, parties and political alliances have grown out of movements like the Indignadoes and the Greek Assemblies, gaining substantial success at elections at least for a time. At Agora99, activists were using the network to try to expand and strengthen networks elsewhere, increase constituency and to eventually replace capitalist cycles of production and reproduction. For Hardt and Negri, in 'Empire', the governance of economic and cultural flows is removed from the people (Hardt and Negri 2000) so for them mobilising for transformation is about reclamation of these social institutions, as is occurring across Europe but especially in Southern European countries which are creating and recreating better forms of democracy, than the current Northern European and American forms of 'liberal democracy', whose failings were critiqued so vehemently by movements like Occupies, as discussed in section 7.2.


7.6 Venturing beyond – Rhythms of Resistance International, Defend the Right to Protest and Stop Trump

Autonomous horizontal networks of connectivity are creating and recreating themselves as alternative forms of self-creation, out of collectivities with carefully considered ethical relationality, creating new and different sets of relations, arguably attempting to and starting to replace state, business and global capitalist networks. As outlined in Chapter 3, movements of the last twenty years are also combining strategic and prefigurative politics in new and different ways, creating networks of prefigurative groups and alliances, where horizontality, connectivity and diversity are key principles and practices. In my dissertation, I broadly defined a successful horizontal movement as one which is 'resilient, focused, diverse, connected, expanding and capable of bringing about radical social transformation' Burrell 2013b, p3-4).  Horizontality, I will discuss in greater depth in the next chapter. In this final section of Chapter 7, I explore issues around 'connectivity' and 'resilience' of the Rhythms of Resistance International network and the joining together of diverse people in resistance, within the platforms of Defend the Right to Protest and Stop Trump.

As discussed in the literature, during the Global Justice Movement (GJM), and the birth and prevalence of carnival anti-capitalism, Maeckelbergh (2011) describes 'strategic prefiguration' where 'process' builds new democratic global networks, with open multiple goals, multiple actors concerned with horizontality, diversity and connectivity (2011, p1-3). Within Occupy movements, Brissette at Occupy Oakland (2013) explores the 'intertwining' of strategic and prefigurative politics, the refusal of non-violence and to cooperate with

authorities and creation of prefigurative spaces – the open, loving, inclusive communities welcoming the dispossessed and 'instantiating' new social relationships based on free association and the voluntary division of labour (Brissette 2013, p225-227). By 2016, following recent movement wave, of the Squares, Maeckelbergh describes movements as having 'prefigurative strategy'. 'Horizontal' prefiguration where people 'embody (egalitarianism) in daily movement practices' (Maeckelbergh 2014, p1), of consensus, horizontal networks constantly challenging gender, race, class and ability to express oneselves differences, as will be explored in more depth in the next chapter.

'Prefiguration is ultimately about transcending the "parameters of legibility" imposed or made visible by the capitalist, patriarchal and colonial demarcations of reality', according to Dinerstein (2015, p19), reading and extending the Latin and American context (2015). For her, this necessitates multiple forms of struggle that simultaneously 'negate, create, contradict and move beyond' what exists (2015, p19). Arguably, all the mobilisations for social transformation mentioned in my fieldwork are achieving this in their own ways, through strategically critiquing and attempting to eliminate structures of oppression, whilst simultaneously embodying new worlds through their anti-oppressive praxes and collective radical imaginings. Thus, they are creating the 'excess' of preguration (Dinerstein 2015), which cannot be co-opted, as will be explored in further depth in Chapters 8 and 9.

As discussed in fieldwork Chapter 6, Rhythms of Resistance International is an example of the GJM, or Anti-Corporate Globalisation Movement whose connectivity is well thought-out and deeply embedded. A well-established movement formed around the time of the Prague IMF-WTO summit as a creative carnivalesque response to Eastern bloc policing, the UK terrorism Bill and to counter new police strategies to seize the music sound-systems since 'Stop the City' J18 action the previous year. The large 12V mobile soundsystems that had been used at London street parties by Reclaim the Streets were being seized. Mobile music, instruments like drums, that can be carried as crowds disperse and regroup had significant advantages for summit protests which were usually moving blocs of people from the camp or convergence centre to the summit, in order to shut down a conference, as happened in Prague, blockade delegates or cause mayhem on the streets so that the conferences were disrupted. Carnival anti-capitalism had the added advantage of creating community on the streets, prefigurative spaces, Temporary Autonomous Zones (Bey), turning the established order upside down, creating party in protest and the actions themselves creating a hive of activity, a meeting ground for global activists.

As discussed in my fieldwork chapters, soon after Prague, London, Amsterdam and Ghent bands formed, meeting at summits, and other protests and for direct action musical and, choreographic jamming and training. Next bands formed in Paris, Cologne, Oxford, and Germany. For a few years, every city seemed to sprout a Rhythms of Resistance or affiliated band. Bands met at No Borders in Strasburg 2002, G8 Evian 2003, COPs, and European summits and continued to be useful tools for confusing the police with 'Tactical Frivolity'. After Carlo Giuliano was shot dead at Genoa, a group of UK and Dutch sambistas were invited by Disobediente to tour 5 social centres in Italy which resulted in the formation of the Turin band. Although the London band has now folded, the International network is thriving with Adelaide, Spanish, Polish and Palestinian bands and meetings at annual Trans-National Meetings and more frequent regional gatherings, as well as at No Borders camps. The network was supporting Calais for many years and has good links with other networks. These factors ensure excellent connectivity of European carnival anti-capitalism, a crucial element of a successful, long-lasting and resilient network for social transformation.

Defend the Right to Protest and Stop Trump are both extremely diverse movements which emerged triumphantly out of repression. In the first case of students, Muslims, black people killed in police custody and their families, and women whose lives have been infiltrated by spies, anti-deportation activists, students and lawyers through UK-state and police repression and in the second case through Trump's domestic and global repression of

women, LGBT communities, migrants, his neo-liberal austerity, warmongering and climate change denial. Both networks, as a result bring together an enormous diversity of people with radical, feminist, anti-racist, anti-Islamophobia agenda, but with an audience and participants that reach far beyond, across the spectrum of 'revolutionaries' and 'reformists', to use Rosa Luxemburg's terminology. These mobilisations thus are perfect examples of movement dynamism being created through reformists and radicals coming together to exacerbate their social transformation making impact, as Rowe and Carroll advocate, in their (2014) analyses, as well as embodying Rancière's 'democratic politics' (May 2009, p16).

May argues that Rancière's 'democratic politics arises where there are 'specific resistances to the police order in the name of equality of those who are resisting' (May 2009, p16), in the first case DtRtP was a response to repression of students and deaths of black people in police custody. The second Stop Trump a response to repression of diverse people by Trump. Both movements therefore represent the emergence of democratic politics as described by May, responses to a supposedly democratic politics which tolerates and reproduces the unacceptable. The coming together of these diversities of communities has the presupposition of equality. Demands, such as investigations into the police, may exist but they are secondary. For May, this is fundamentally anarchist as democracy is lived out within the means and the ends of struggle.

Rather than taking the 'self-defeating political position' of identity politics (May 2009, p16), Rancière's democratic politics and mobilisations like DtRtP and Stop Trump form resistance platforms with a 'multiplicity of subjectivities' (Motta and Seppala 2016), forming the 'we'. These networks follow Day's (2005, p17) 'logic of affinity' as being guided by *groundless solidarity* and *infinite responsibility,* described in Chapter 2, so that anyone affected by these huge range of domestic and global repressions and anyone who supports those people is welcome to participate. For May, this type of social transformation mobilising, however difficult to achieve in daily practices, is anarchist because means and ends are the same. The desired result and our processes towards achieving them are aligned, thus mutually beneficial and anti-oppressive in structure.

'Making of the self' and 'reflexive ethical relationality' (Butler and Athanasiou 2013) are crucial to the ways that movements like DtRtP and Stop Trump come together and operate collectively in global struggle. As individuals, people arguably struggle against social norms dictated by a patriarchal, colonial, and racist society, and their critiques and demands risk becoming unintelligible. However, within collectivies, resistance networks struggle in similar or convergent ways…. So that '"my struggle" and "your struggle" are not the same, (however) there is some bond that can be established for either of us to take the kinds of risks we do in the face of norms that threaten us either with unintelligibility or with an overload of intelligibility' (Butler 2013, p67-68).  DtRtP and Stop Trump networks are bringing together extremely articulate and intelligible people with those who have less social, political and economic gravitas within this country and beyond so that the voices of those being silenced by Rancière's *'police'* (Rancière 1999), people without papers, young black men and their families, women, LGBTQ communities, Muslims and those experiencing intersectional oppression of other kinds are having their voices amplified by students, activists and lawyers. These platforms are thus providing opportunities for people to move forward with others that does not allow them to 'settle into the regime', the oppressive systems that attempt to invalidate and/or annihilate them, which Butler argues is crucial to resistance and collective mobilisation for social transformation (2013, p69).

Connecting DtRtP and Stop Trump with Rowe and Carroll's (2014) exploration and comparison of Seattle and Occupy Wall Street, two of the most 'impactful' moments in recent US political history, Rowe and Carroll's opinion is with the 'radical flank effect', an exponential shift in transformatory potential occurs when radicals and reformists within movements work together. They emphasise the importance of different elements of the

mobilisation not denouncing each other when attempting to galvanise social transformation, which occurred to some extent at Seattle and less so in Wall Street as outlined in Chapter 3. In the 'uncertainty surrounding transformational politics in advanced capitalist society' they advocate making diverse alliances with all those who 'make structurally manifest the basic dignity of all beings' (Rowe and Caroll 2014, p22-23). I would argue that this is how the networks of DtRtP and Stop Trump have been organising. Rowe and Carroll see politics as an 'oppositional struggle'. They argue that being open and flexible does not require consensus with all parties and recommend against abstract antipathy between 'tepid reform' and 'unrealistic radicalism' (Rowe and Caroll 2014, p22-23). DtRtP and Stop Trump are fantastic examples, having held on to radical, feminist, anti-racist, anti-Islamaphobic ideals of the most articulate, whilst developing a very broad support base.

This section has firstly explored the embodying of strategic and prefigurative politics of mobilisations discussed in this thesis and issues of connectivity creating network resilience within Rhythms of Resistance International. Secondly, I have explored how DtRtP and Stop Trump, as Ranciere's democratic politics, anarchist in means-end alignment, are creating 'multiplicities of subjectivities' (Motta and Seppala 2016), forming the 'we' of mobilisations. The networks are living examples of Day's (2005, p17) 'logic of affinity' as being guided by 'groundless solidarity' and 'infinite responsibility', bringing together reform and radical elements of movements for impactful social transformation mobilisations.


## 7.7 Concluding thoughts

Chapter 7 has explored how the structures of oppression, introduced in Chapters 2 and 3, are being critiqued, undermined and ventured beyond through their experimental horizontal, anti-oppressive movements' praxes. Exploring understandings around when networks, communities and affinities can and do act together in resistance, in theory and in praxis, critiquing, undermining and venturing beyond global systems of oppression in order to embody and build mobilisations for social transformation.

From Occupy critiquing global capitalism, the 1% and liberal democracy to Agora99 building parcticipatory assembly alternatives and discussing movement-embedded political parties. From Reclaim the Power, anti-fracking and Climate Movements collective learning around decolonisation, to create the Stansted15, intersectionally organised turning global privilege on its head for a moment to save LGBTQ lives already condemned by the Home Office. From Wretched of the Earth moving beyond the standpoint from which colonialism makes sense, to the conditions under which the 'I' of resistance can become a 'we'. From RoR International combining strategic and prefigurative politics to create a connected and resilient movement, to RtP and Stop Trump, bringing together 'multiplicities of subjectivities' (Motta and Seppala 2016), living by Day's (2005, p17) 'logic of affinity' as being guided by ''groundless solidarity' and 'infinite responsibility', bringing together reform and radical elements of movements for impactful social transformation mobilisations. This chapter has explored some of these mobilisation-building movement ways of critiquing and undermining whilst simultaneously starting to embody the alternatives, the strategic prefiguration.

Understanding how movements are critiquing, undermining, exposing and venturing beyond the current global sytems of global-capitalism, class, colonialism, racism, patriarchy, heteronormativity, (dis)ableism in an attempt to strategically eliminate oppression of all kinds is crucial to my research, and important for these and other mobilisations seeking to improve or replicate their praxis, resilience, dynamisim or effectiveness. For society, academics and politicians who are asking what these mobilisations are trying to achieve and how, this thesis and this chapter is a valuable contribution.

Chapter 8 explores in more depth into the other ways of being, doing and relating which also serve to expose, undermine and replace the dominant systems of oppression, through

direct democratic processes, direct action, autonomy, decolonial critique, anti-oppression practices, radical imagining, overcoming repression and institutions. In Chapter 9, I explore the ways the mobilisations in my research are, to some extent living utopias.

# CHAPTER 8:

# Understanding other ways of being, doing, relating

# A discussion

CHAPTER 8: Understanding other ways of being, doing, relating. A discussion

8.1 Introduction

Another crucial question for mobilisations organising for social transformation in my research, for humanity, global society, nature or *nature-culture* (Zunino 2016) and planetary sustainability, is around what might exist were the dominant systems of oppression removed. What forms of social organisation could possibly exist to replace or venture beyond systems of global capitalism, neo-liberal democracy, colonialism, racism, patriarchy, gender oppression, (dis)ableism, age oppression and so on. Furthermore, in this thesis, and in this chapter specifically, I explore how movements mobilising for social transformation are theoretically and practically imagining, realising, embodying and moving towards those alternative futures.

This chapter explores the ways contemporary movements are creating, embodying and living out new ways of being, doing and relating. Today's movements represent a multiplicity of experimental sites for creating and working new forms of democracy and direct action. Autonomy is crucial to horizontal movements which are on the one hand, strategic in their refusal of the dominant systems of oppression and on the other hand, prefigurative in the production of an excess which cannot be co-opted. Horizontal movements are also learning spaces for new ways of thinking, and new processes of overcoming difference and stumbling blocks. They create diverse affinity and try to collectively, radically explore issues like decolonial critiques and internal as well as external oppression. Balancing order, chaos and radical imagining, at best they are optimising inclusion and difference but with the minimum of order required to create safer spaces to live and organise. They respond increasingly creatively to repression, using it as a potential to widen and deepen their possibility and social transformation-making traction.

As with the previous chapter, some sections show how crises within movements-organising for social change can create shifts within movement-praxes galvanising traction for radical social transformation making to shift exponentially within and between mobilisations and networks, Rowe and Carroll's 'radical flank effect' (2014). Later sections of the chapter address my second research question exploring how strategic and prefigurative political contention, lived-out in daily organising of mobilisations can impact movement dynamism, that is the mobilisation potential to bring about social transformation.

The relationship between networked living utopias and institutional forms, like those of Podemos Syriza and Corbyn are of particular interest The last section of this chapter explores how the movements are engaging with mainstream political parties and the ways the movements have been co-opted and dampened by entering this arena. This chapter is thus attempting to shed further light on the ways we think about how strategic and prefigurative politics clash, combine and coalesce within contemporary movement-based organising.

8.2 Direct democratic process

Direct democratic process is and has been highly contentious within many movements, as it is the experimental process by which people are trying to create better forms of democracy. For horizontalists, it is quite literally, the means and the end of prefigurative politics. As such it represents new ways of being, doing and relating through creative and controversial means, finding ways to avoid the dominant systems of oppression from replicating themselves within our daily organising. This section starts with exploring the literature on social movements around experiences of oppression within social movements, especially Occupies and moves onto my experiences of collective learning over issues of oppression in the field.

As mentioned in Chapter 7, the horizontal mobilisations - the Occupy GAs and working groups are creating internationally networked horizontal modes of organising and online platforms for radical collective imagining within London and across Occupies, Canada, European counterparts, some Arab Spring countries, Tunisia, Turkey and Egypt, in Argentina and Latin America. In my methodology pilot (Burrell 2013b), I explored power relations within Occupy London and Global Square, an Occupy International Collaboration to build a horizontal platform within the WSF, to connect with Tunisian activists and create assemblies on the streets. The previous chapter explores ways in which conferences/platforms like Agora99 are highlighting some of the best democratic processes coming from Southern European cities and countries – Greece, Rome and Spain. This wave of horizontal movements has created thousands of fertile sites of experimentation within different global contexts, offering rich data for activist-researchers to investigate and compare. In some places, movements have themselves become political parties, like the Indignados forming Podemos, the Greek Assemblies forming Syrizia and in this country many movements mentioned in this thesis backed Corbyn's electoral campaign.

As discussed in Chapter 3.1 and in my fieldwork chapters, Occupy London had a tough time, being one of the longest running camps, but what my pilot illustrated interestingly, was that despite different cultural contexts, many of the issues that collectives and networks encountered were in fact remarkably similar. Examples of these being firstly issues around the time it took to participate in assemblies excluding those with working commitments and caring responsibilities (Sitrin 2012a at OWS and Argentina, Smith and Glidden 2012 at Occupy Pittsburgh). Secondly, they revolved around personal aptitudes and education, the fact that some people felt less comfortable to speak in a public setting because of lack of confidence, university education or cultural familiarity within that setting, as with Occupy Boston (Juris et al. 2012). Thirdly, there existed differences between the homeless Occupier with complex needs and the experienced or high-speed internet activists, as in El Paso (Smith et al. 2013). Fourth, they included issues around how to interact with local communities that were not involved in the organising of the protest. Finally, they included direct democratic processes not being able to deal with the complexity of sexual assault (Anonymous 2012). Crucially to some extent, at least, all of these examples outlined in the literature were functioning on some level around the reproduction of the power relations of mainstream society within activist groups (Juris et al 2012, Burrell 2013a).

As my fieldwork chapters have illustrated many of these issues are common to all movements, and possibly, in some cases, horizontal organising has more challenges, as Freeman claimed in 1972 through her involvement with the women's movement. Starhawk has written books and created trainings around how different types of power operate in collaborative groups and Gordon's thesis, later, book 'Anarchy Alive' (2008) highlight friendship groups, celebrity, privilege affecting power relations within all prefigurative movements as discussed in depth in Chapter 3. All the mobilisations discussed in this thesis have been affected by internal power relations issues, it is inevitable, but arguably my research has shown that Occupy, RTP and RoR networks have struggled the most around these issues.

Thankfully, activists and their communities attempt to be hyper-aware and reflexive around their practices and praxes, although sadly this is not always the case, as the need for the emergence of platforms like Wretched of the Earth illustrated all too well. WotE as described in fieldwork chapters, emerging around the time of the London Climate March 2015, has illustrated that environmental movements themselves also need to be held accountable for the silencing of marginalised voices, especially those on the frontline of climate change, today their communities and supporters. In the last chapter, I explored their strong decolonial critique, solidarity actions with frontline communities and trainings on white privilege have been exposing and undermining the hypocrisies within the mainly white middle-class environmental movement.

One part of of my fieldwork interventions as discussed in Chapters 5 and 6, involved collective learning interventions, to draw attention to particular issues within movements, or difficulties in how to enact certain principles. Complex recurring themes were around how power can operate in horizontal movements, and issues around intersecting oppressions and organising from the bottom up. Trainings, conversations and documents that I wrote, issues raised at meetings and conversations that I, or others, started with activists and organisers, as part of interventions for collective learning within networks were thoughtfully received, whether the people that I spoke with knew how to organise differently varied from issue to issue, collective and network. And in some cases, even once a group or network has been made aware of its shortcomings, the issues around rebalancing different types of power within movements are extremely complex.

As mentioned in my pilot and in Chapter 3, global Occupies experimented with different ways of organising their democracy – some shortened General Assembly time to increase participation, with more time for breakout groups, some introduced the positive stack, so those who have spoken less are prioritised, some developed outreach groups for different communities and some created groups for those experiencing similar oppressions. Lessons of the GJM and WSFs about how capitalism affects everyone differently, according to intersectional oppression have resulted in some developing 'solidarity' funds for those who could not afford to travel. Some communities became hyper-reflexive around Western capitalist values of competition and individualism and started practising 'active-listening' and focus on collectivity of indigenous people rather than individualised cultural context of Western activists.

The way power operates within horizontal and anarchist groups and networks is complex. Drawing on issues raised in my literature, Chapter 2 can help shed light on its complexity. Foucault as discussed has revolutionised our understanding of how power operates through governmentality in neo-liberalism and argues for the right not to be governed (Gordon 1994). For anarchist May, Foucault's analysis means that oppression can exist, with no oppressor, and power relations can thus exist that are not oppressive (2009). 'Domination' for another anarchist, Gordon (2008), is a more useful term than 'hierarchy' because power operates also in horizontal movements as 'an insidious dynamic, reproduced through performative disciplinary acts in which the protagonists may not be conscious of their roles' (Gordon 2008, p 52). To extend and deepen this understanding through gender critique and intersectional approaches, as outlined in my literature, Foucault has, famously been accused of glossing over both gender configurations of power by second generation feminists and of silencing and marginalising women and those affected by colonialism, by post-colonial feminists like Spivak (1988).

Anarchist Day argues that Spivak's critique can be generalised so that those with structural privilege 'must strive to identify and work against this privilege if they hope to establish relations of solidarity with those who do not share it' (Day 2005, p11), (Spivak 1988). My fieldwork and literatures outlined above illustrate that although power relations may occur in horizontal or anarchist groups, there exist extensive methods to work against this privilege, identify common themes and issues to redress imbalances and counter privileges.

That is that within the movements mobilising for social transformation discussed in this thesis, individuals, affinity groups, collectives and networks employ a diversity of ways of sharing around horizontal organising issues and best practice, at conferences like Agora99, online platforms like RoR's crabgrass, online discussions and movement journals. The militant and auto-ethnographies mentioned above, including my own research create an ongoing conversation about issues like how to work against privilege, incorporate anti-oppressive practice into organising, decolonise movements, creatively respond to repression and so on. There could however, as mentioned elsewhere also exist issues of privilege around who has the time and rescources to get to the summits, conferences and engage in these reflections as discussed below.

For Holloway, as outlined in literature Chapter 2, the core oppression and problematic power relation is in the 'doing' – and the separation of the 'doers' from the 'done', the workers from the capitalists or property-owners. Gordon (2008) critiques Holloway's understanding of power for two reasons. Firstly, it takes place on the level of society as a whole and it exists within capitalist social relations, thus cannot explain situations of power within for example anarchist groups. Secondly, he discusses two sole elements as a 'binary antagonism' and does nothing to explain the wielding of power-to in human relations, as opposed to material labour. As previously mentioned above, Gordon, drawing on Starhawk's work 'power-with as non-coercive influence', a cooperative form of power, where individuals influence each other's behaviours, with no conflict of interests *but* can still be wielded in a way that is unequal or abusive (Gordon 2008, p55). Furthermore, anarchism is a struggle against representation, defined by May (2010) as *'all forms of power exercised by one group over another'* (May 2010, p27) and thus it in this sense, intrinsic to movements-organising, the struggle against this form of representation.

What Gordon's (2008) 'Anarchy Alive' highlights, however, is that some forms of power are more easily redistributed than others within anarchist organising. Personal attributes and personality traits like self-confidence, strong convictions, charisma and style are difficult to redistribute and affect friendships, as are the energy someone has to commit and how this varies over a lifetime, with work and caring commitments. Friendships, as Sitrin (2012a) and Freeman (1972) also draw attention to, do affect organising, in complex ways, as they are not monolithic, with different types of friendship, some working together without particular friendship and people also fall out. From my twenty years of involvement, I would argue that within movements the bonds formed between people can be really strong through building affinity, travelling, organising and carrying out action, socialising, and some people for example told me that they found friendship groups within networks within my fieldwork were difficult to penetrate. And conversely people can really fall-out in very deep and personal, as well as political, ways as occurred within Occupy London at one stage and at various moments in RoR London Collective. At its worst, Gordon described actions being organised behind closed doors and steered to decisions by influential members during assemblies, which I have experienced in various movements, which as Gordon describes is really disempowering and removes autonomy from those involved, which I have seen creating disillusionment and disengagement from network or organising altogether. At its worst, Gordon argues that power relations within movements can replicate those within capitalism 'what is distressing about (the impact of personality traits on friendships, and then power relations within anarchist organising) is that it evokes the approach to such qualities in the world of business and state politics' (Gordon 2008, p59).

Drawing on Juris' (2007) anthropological account of PGA networks in and around Barcelona, Gordon (2008) highlights this work as exploring 'social relayers' as activists who process and distribute information in particular networks and 'social switchers' as individuals who occupy key positions within multiple networks are positions of enormous power as they are facilitators of communication between different movement sectors and can significantly influence the flow, direction and intensity of network activity.

Examples of these roles within the mobilisations discussed in my fieldwork could include a 'social relayer' for example an individual from an Occupy working group relaying information to the assembly or wider movement. Within the COP21 Paris organising process, 'relayers' might be, for example people who had access to the Paris organising process for a time controlled the flow of information between Paris, London and the UK network as 'relayers' of information between networks. Within RTP, examples of a 'social switcher' could be an individual who has an important role within the RTP network, as well as being part of another, or various other networks UKuncut, Plane Stupid, Frack Free, or Fossil Free, thus influencing the flow, direction and intensity of network activity. The activists in these key positions, as Juris and Gordon argue, hold a lot of power over the flow of information, and intensity of activity.

From auto-ethnographic reflections, over the last twenty years, I would argue that some activists, those with language skills find it easier to navigate the terrain of international meetings and conferences, whilst others are excluded from the terrain of international meetings altogether through lack of UK passports and documentation, whilst others are excluded through lack of funds. In the 2000s, for example, a couple of key players within RoR London were unable to participate in international mobilisations, although there usually was, some kind of funding or very inexpensive travel for those on low incomes.

'Social relayers' and 'social switchers' within the GJM networks, did have power within carnival anti-capitalism, in my experience within the carnival anti-capitalist movements, not only in these terms but I thought of some people as 'bottlenecks'. These were individuals that had so many people trying to communicate through them and that person simply did not have the capacity. Frequently this would cause burn out and loss of contacts within and between networks. In other cases, someone who was placed or who placed themselves within the Rhythms of Resistance network, Rising Tide and Peoples Global Action, or within No Borders, international squatting and the anarchist networks was more replaceable.

In the 1990s road protest movements, I remember that nomadic activists, held special place even within these communities, as 'relayers' of news at a time when mobile phones and email were much less prevalent as a means of communicating and organising, although this was less influenced by socio-economic issues because protest sites were run on a shared donations basis and the main form of transport from site to site was hitch-hiking. During these times, there ware sometimes power struggles between the campaign offices and the sites, over access to equipment, phones, climbing harnesses, funds, phone lines and media messaging and distribution.

More recently, Occupy London had similar issues to the 1990s camp-based protest, over access to information and resource distribution infrastructure. Recent dispute occurred over access to a password for the Occupy London website, in the last few years, illustrating that 'relayers of information' like social media pages and holders of email lists are also sites of possible power and control of flow of information. Many issues also arose out of access to funds which at times amounted to some thousands and a process developed around how they could be accessed. As mentioned in my pilot, a request for funds to resist eviction at the Finsbury Square camp were turned down by the General Assembly that felt it was inappropriate to resist an eviction on land which was not on the Corporation of London's Square mile, which caused some frustration from the 'occupying' Occupiers.

Additional elements that I noticed in my fieldwork that are not overtly mentioned in the literature, from my anarcha-feminist perspective, informal hierarchies around youth and beauty in many networks, replicating capitalist and mainstream ideals around looks, which I view as functioning in similar ways as Gordon's critique around personality, difficult to unpack, hold people to account and redistribute and functioning in a similar way to the global corporate or advertising world. Although RoR International network workshop called 'Am I too old for this?' was really enlightening as will be discussed in more detail, later in this chapter. Gordon (2008) does mention that the energy someone has to commit, varies over a lifetime, with work and caring commitments. What I have found in the field is that for younger and newer activists, it is easier, I would argue to falsely assume that the amount of time an individual puts into organising has a direct correlation with how much you care about that network and how committed you are to planetary or social justice. As activists get older, they often become a bit more forgiving around other people having commitment to multiple networks, children, work or a life outside of political organising.

Although the literature and people within movements do describe 'experience' as another factor of power within mobilising social transformation as Starhawk (1989) describes there can also be backlash against those with 'experience', with newer activists really not being interested about what more experienced activists had learnt at a previous campaign, or over years of organising. This was on numerous occasions problematic for me within my PAR

fieldwork intervention, making it more difficult for me, personally to engage. Furthermore, it can be problematic for movement-based collective learning when newer activists facilitating meetings refuse to give voice to more experienced activists and also a block to movement-based collective learning in general, in cases where younger or newer activists refuse to try to incorporate collective learning into their practice.

As mentioned in my Methodology, Chapter 4, movement-based scholars recommend using anthropological research methods to explore issues around power relations in social movements and how to sustain activists as well as how activists sustain themselves, over their life course. For me personally, returning to activism after six years break to have my son and work a bit, was really challenging, because although I am an experienced activist in many networks I had to start from scratch in building affinity and trust in a world of activism where there exists a really high turnover, rapid fallout community where people can be involved for an action, a season, a year, during their student years and up to a lifetime, which is rare because of the changing demands of life, having kids, needing to earn, burn-out, trauma, injury, suffering from emotional or psychological trauma from police violence and repression and/or addiction. Activists and former activists often die young as a result of some combination of these experiences. All of these factors, movements are starting to address with trauma support at actions, healing spaces, kids' spaces, anti-oppression spaces and processes. However, in my opinion, these activist support structures are still in the early stages of learning how to facilitate participation in our activist communities for decades rather than weeks.

Another external factor affecting participation, some older anarchists told me about the impact of austerity on participation in organising. Cuts in benefits for the sick, back to work schemes for the unemployed, as well as huge fees and debt involved in studying at university meaning people just do not have the time and resources to participate as they did ten or fifteen years ago. Tragically, the London estates which used to be hives of political radicalism, are suffering violence with young blacks killing young blacks, and those intervening in fights often tragically dying as well, leaving communities in devastation.

The final factor of oppression discussed in my fieldwork, that I found problematic for my fieldwork intervention was around mental health. Frequently within direct action organising networks, people were having their views discounted, being excluded from networks if they were considered mentally or emotionally unstable. Since trauma is a byproduct of being a long-term activist this represents a threat to movement longeveity if those who have suffered trauma through organising, are then excluded from the networks and communities in which they suffered trauma, through arrest or risking arrest, police violence to themselves or to their comrades. Taboos and prejudiced attitudes within networks are common-place and difficult to impact, because frequently the very people trying to change these poisonous attitudes have suffered from trauma and are silenced or dismissed by activists who have not experienced this. Whilst I was struggling around how to create a useful collective learning intervention around this issue, I heard some of my male contemporaries saying I was mad and younger activists should not listen to me.

Intersectionality is crucial here because middle-aged, white men who had taken over movements since I left to have a child were refusing me access back into movements-organising after this. Did they feel threatened because I had been an extremely dynamic organiser years before and they did not want to give power of running their network for those reasons? At times, I have been at a loss regarding how to counter this poisonous and patriarchal attitude.

As mentioned in my fieldwork, one person did criticize the term 'frackmania', at the final assembly of the Blackpool camp. RTP made a special tent where you could go and sit at talk about your oppression if you felt you were being excluded at Didcot, and I did. They said that ideas would be fed back to the main group but am not sure if they were and in what format….

Eventually the best I could do was when I was invited to a pre-ER strategy meeting, RisingUp! 2016 which claimed to have intersectionality as a core principle, which I felt that they had not considered enough, was to write the small document, which I emailed around and took copies with me (See Appendix 6.1). It was thoughtfully and gratefully received and stimulated conversation about intersectionality and the other issues I raised. And I think the document had an impact on collective learning over time.

I mentioned mental health as a specific oppression in my thoughts to the Rising Up! strategy meeting about how to organise intersectionally. I also stated in that document about intersectional oppression of young black men, with mental health, sometimes with addiction issues, as well, being killed in police custody in UK, the States and beyond. One workshop at Defend the Right to Protest Conference was also given by families of young black people who had witnessed or tried to stop fights in their community getting arrested on gang violence charges by the police just because they had been in the area when a fight broke out.

Section 8.2 has explored how horizontal movements of the last 20 years, but most particularly the most recent wave since the 2008 financial crisis – the Arab Spring, Indignadoes, Spanish movements and Occupies as well as the recent Latino wave of horizontalidad have created thousands of sites of creative experimentation in a wealth of different socio-economic, politico-cultural contexts. Direct democracy and consensus decision-making as well as Occupy movements-own form of General Assembly and working group structure have been put to the test. Through collective radical imagining, these horizontal communities have been providing their own solutions to issues they encountered, then sharing these solutions with other Occupies, through word of mouth, email, social media, conferences, platforms and activist-academic papers and books. The anti-oppression work within these movements, their commitment to collective action and open ears of the radical mobilisation to better praxes and practices are setting movements in good stead to replacing the dominant systems of oppression with other ways of doing, being and relating. That is not to say, as this section, regarding issues of say age, mental health, gender, decolonising issues there are not persisting oppressions that are difficult to tackle, and as this section explores, within collaborative groups with no formal leadership structures it can be harder to to address accountability where there are issues, as Freeman (1972) originally suggested. As has been illustrated in this section, issues do exist around power which operates in several quite nuanced ways within collaborative groups, but that is to say that with the prefigurative practice of process being consensual, commensurate with results that movements are attempting to address these issues, through collective experimentation and learning.

8.3 Direct and collective action

The camps, campaigns, squares and networks discussed in this thesis, as well as being experimenting ground for other forms of structure and means of working towards horizontal futures, discussed in the previous section, 8.2, are also experimenting with forms of direct action. Direct action is arguably another form of doing which creates other ways of relating and being, which within contemporary movements mobilising for social transformation, are crucial to creation of new worlds in the present. The cases discussed in my fieldwork are predominantly direct action movements, using direct action as a preferred means to an end in which the end itself is a world of collective action. Thus, direct action within contemporary movements represents another form of prefiguration towards new worlds, as well as being strategic refusal of the current oppressive systems.

'Practical anarchism' as mentioned by Franks (2010) in my literature Chapter 3, describes direct action as anti-hierarchical, constantly challenging the inequalities of power. Section 8.2 explores at length the way the movements discussed in my fieldwork are attempting to

do this through processes of horizontality, consensus and rigorous collective reflection over how these are being used, lived and acted out, with lessons being drawn from a diversity of movements, civil rights, women's, GJM, World Social Forums, anarchist groups and Occupies around how to organise in ways which are anti-hierarchical and constantly challenging inequalities of power. Furthermore, revolutionary action, according to Graeber is 'any collective action which rejects, and therefore confronts, some form of power or domination and in so doing, reconstitutes social relations – even within the collectivity…' (Graeber 2004, p29), so even forms of anti-hierarchical process would count as collective action, especially within the Occupies and horizontal wave as described in the last section.

My fieldwork cases include a wide range of collective forms which are experimenting with direct action as a principle and practice, as Pouget (1907) describes 'syndicalism in action' and against capital, choosing to use direct action as the 'preferred way of doing things' as advocated by the 1996 RTS flyer. The week-long direct action camps, which grew out of Climate Camps, organised by Reclaim the Power, at Balcombe and Blackpool, targeting the fracking or coal industry exist alongside 'living' direct action camps like Balcombe Community Protection camp and more recently, Preston New Road, which grew out of anti-roads protest camp format. These camps whether week-long mass educational and action camps for thousands or long-term living spaces for sustained action over time, are experimenting with different ways of creating activist communities and different forms of direct action, as Feigenbaum et al (2013), discussed.

Campaigns against fracking, coal, aviation and climate change, can involve a diversity of networks coming together, taking simultaneous, and independent direct action, at times massing in a place and at times, as with COP actions and at other times, with networks working and organising more locally, engaging with local communities, more traditional forms of protest using flyering and the Courts to protect land and communities against new energy or aviation developments, be they mines, fracking sites or runways, like Heathrow. In this way, networks are taking full advantage of a diversity of people and skills involved and experimenting with using strategic politics – the vertical system as well as the prefigurative realm of creating new types of relationship between activists and local communities, people and their ecological landscape, like those discussed by Weibel (2016). Following Young and Schwartz (2012) in my literature Chapter 3, they are using 'all the tools in the box' from micro to macro-organising, simultaneously 'using institutions' and 'against institutions', for urgent issues like tackling climate change.

As discussed in the literature, the networks of the GJM, like People's Global Action, learnt as they organised that denouncing different elements of the movement, as described by Rowe and Caroll (2014) in relation to Seattle, worked against the mobilisation, reducing potential of bringing real transformation, causing division, argument and upset and reducing the radical flank impact of social transformation-making. So, tactically, movements were learning. From earlier moments of the GJM, like Seattle, and the denouncing of black block tactics by the mainstream environmental movements, to the success of Prague samba bloc 2000, and Evian G8 2003 where Black and Pink and Silver formed one bloc together on the streets. Activists and networks were collectively learning on their feet, that a 'diversity of tactics' was desirable on many fronts. People's Global Action Network an umbrella for many organising globally at this time, listed this in their very brief set of principles. Discussions over whether movements should be violent or non-violent, symbolic or direct (John Jordan 1995) were so diverse that no consensus was sought rather difference of opinion and action were celebrated. Feigenbaum et al in their book 'Protest Camps' described this as 'protest ecology' with different movements' tactics and strategies reinforcing each other's work not undermining it (Feigenbaum et al 2013, p). This approach, however, as mentioned in my fieldwork chapters contrasts strongly with that of Red Lines action at Paris COP 21, in 2015, where an action 'consensus' or code was passed down from the organising sub-network which included NGOs and Trade Unions, stating that police violence should not be escalated, police lines should not be broken and so on. Thus, removing autonomy from

different networks to decide which tactics they should use on the day, which caused frustration and discontent from various networks involved, the RoR International and the German autonomists.

More recent forms of network action discussed in my fieldwork, include the ways that Reclaim the Power supported the Balcombe Community Protection Camp by changing the location of their planned camp to support the new living community, through mutual learning and direct action skills exchange which happened with diverse people inspiring and acting together and through the 30 days of NVDA, against Cuadrilla. This supported the camp and allowed information and resistance techniques to dissipate. Similar support was given by individuals from RTP to Preston New Road anti-fracking camp - activists to visit or live, legal support for those arrested and imprisoned, publicity infrastructure through social media and mainstream sources. These types of network and the way they function represent new forms of voluntary associations, working horizontally, with a direct action and community empowerment as well as sustainability goals and agenda.

As discussed in Chapter 7 and in 8.2 of my analysis the Movement of the Squares - the Occupies, Indignados and other horizontalists are also experimenting with using the Assembly as a form of Direct Action. The first meeting of Occupy London, arguably an action, occurred on the steps of St Pauls as an Assembly of 2000 people for 24 hours, discussed the impact of the financial crisis on their lives, local and global inequalities and how these relate to sustainability issues like climate change. One Occupy London action that I described in my dissertation (Burrell 2013c), their contribution to the 2013 G8 protest, in London, was an Assembly intervention. In the heart of the Docklands, Occupiers held an assembly on debt, with music, radical spoken word and workshops on politics, on inequalities, in Tower Hamlets and the Isle of Dogs, forming an action in itself.

Similarly, as described in my MRes fieldwork pilot and in 8.2, Occupiers, Tunisian activists and the public created assemblies on the streets of Tunisia, during the 2013 WSF. These assemblies, huddles on the streets, were safe spaces for voicing concerns about the clampdown and state repression since the start of the Arab Spring, which had begun there three years previously following Mohamed Bouazizi's self-immolation.

Some commentators like Cornell (2012), as outlined in Chapter 3, and MRes pilot, view Occupy as having taken consensus too far describing a 'fetishization of consensus' using the form in irrelevant situations or with Occupiers imagining that an Assembly in itself was enough to bring about lasting social transformation. For him, direct action and a different organisational form from the Consensus Assembly would be needed to bring about that kind of wider social transformation.

Another critique of direct action and prefigurative movements, mentioned in Chapter 3 is that prefiguration is easy to crush. For Giri, 'acting as if you are free' is hugely insufficient to counter the severe repression which Wall Street and other Occupies encountered (Giri 2012, p1). And for Kliman (2012), following Marx, argues that we cannot choose our conditions of resistance and direct action is refusing to recognise the legitimacy and necessity of structures of power. He prefers Leftist sit-down strikes of the 30s (old Left) to anarchist communes of the 60s (prefigurative) as effective action arguing 'the capitalist class and its agents won't allow us to hollow out their state until it collapses' (2012, p4). For me it is the sheer diversity of different creative and experimental forms of direct democracy and direct action that these contemporary movements employ which makes their role in the seeding of new ways of being, doing and relating hugely significant as mobilisations of social transformation.

The direct action camps, campaigns, networks and squares are definitely creating new forms of social relationships, new 'cultures of resistance', multiple sites of reflection and collective learning and as Deep Green movement advocates, helping people break 'psychological identification with oppressive system and create new identity based on self-

respect and solidarity' on a local and transnational scale (Deep Green Movement 2014, p1). These radical direct action communities offer 'emotional support of a functioning community', create 'intellectual vibrancy through analysis, discussion of development of political consciousness' through the same forms of communication mentioned in 8.2, face-to-face interaction at camps and gatherings (Deep Green Movement 2014, p1). Collective self analysis and communication to raise political conciousness of the general public occurs through articles, activist-academic journals, books, e-mail discussion lists, online social media platforms sharing ideas and best practice, philosophies and priorities, tools and methods for collaboration. These new radical relationships between people near and far are arguably forming 'new institutions as the old ones come down' (Deep Green Movement 2014, p1).

Supporting 'frontline resisters and political prisoners' (Deep Green Movement 2014, p1) as part of community, life and an ethos of responsibility to those who have lost their freedom within many direct action networks. Solidarity has been particularly strong around the court case of the Stansted15, firstly because of the severity of the charges (potentially life sentences for terrorist charges), secondly because the direct action was so successful, preventing five LGBTQ refugees from returning to certain death, and thirdly in an attempt to build an intersectional resistance community around climate, deportation, black and LGBTQ communities. Solidarity actions were held outside the Court, in front of the Home Office, across Europe, with solidarity banners hung off bridges on the continent. These actions, as well as being an opportunity for the friends and family to come together, became creative spaces for radical poetry, spoken word, resistance music and song have been visually stunning and intersectionally rich and diverse crowds.

To conclude this section 8.3, I have illustrated that a fecundity of direct action communities which has arisen over the last twenty years, from the road protest, Reclaim the Streets parties going global, the GJM's Prague and Seattle, through Climate Camps and Reclaim the Powers, anti-fracking, Movements of the Squares and anti-deportations prison solidarity. These radical communities within mobilisations range from the most local campaign to the most globally co-ordinated struggle, creating communities of solidarity and action affiliation which transcend the geopoliticality of the state. Both strategic and prefigurative, calling on all peoples to act at whatever level of interaction they feel comfortable with, from flyering and court-case protection to simultaneous and mass actions like COPS and Ende Geländes - German anti-nuclear mass coal actions. Direct action communites are simultaneously refusals of the dominant oppressive structures and creations of new ways of being, doing and relating. The 'doing' is through collective critical action and reflection constantly challenging inequalities of power both within movements in the UK and across the global plane, whilst undermining Žižek's radical class division across the globe (2016, p6) separating its 'privileged Inside' from the 'exterior' where life, health, land and nature are vulnerable. In so doing, contemporary movements are creating new forms of voluntary association and defying the regime of Empire which says that some lives matter and other do not. Critiques of these movements argue that horizontal movements are not capable of bringing about structural change, and that they are insufficient to deal with repression. However, the movements discussed in my fieldwork illustrate that every act of repression forms an opportunity for new richly intersectional communities to challenge the white, patriarchal, (neo) colonial, racist powers and people that are dictating through borders and deportation, war and climatic change, that some lives matter and others do not.

## 8.4 Autonomy

In this section, I am exploring autonomy within contemporary movements and in particular, the case study from my fieldwork of Reclaim the Power UK and the international mobilisation for COP21. Firstly, using Ana Dinerstein's (2015) analysis of autonomy as a 'tool of prefiguration', I will show how the model that she developed to explore Latin American

movements fits well with the challenges and practices of autonomy within a European context. Secondly, I examine the implications of 'autonomy' for the state, as movements mobilise 'through, despite and against the state' (Santos 2010), and as within the last section, I suggest that contemporary movements are transcending the geopoliticality of the state. Furthermore, how cases in my fieldwork illustrate and suggest that the state is a social construction which people can choose whether or, not to participate in, as argued by Brissette (2016). For her, as I am arguing throughout my analysis, but particularly within this chapter, that part of the success of contemporary horizontal movements is around the way they shift relationships, creating new worlds in the present, other ways of being, doing and relating within and beyond mobilisation communities.

The COP21 mobilisation experienced contention around the issue of autonomy, as discussed in Chapter 6. On the one hand, it was successful in negating the power of the world leaders and the legitimacy of their decision-making process around climate change, creating organisation and powerful collective action which pointed to capitalism as the main driver of climate change. The Red Line on the street pointing to the financial district as the cause of climate change, the loss of lives of indigenous or frontline communities, was illustrated with the two minutes silence and names written on the banner of those already killed by climatic shifts. The mobilisation organising which occurred over a period of two years preparation and activists 'relaying' (Juris 2008) information and to some extent decision-making to a huge number of activists, organisers, NGOs and TU participants, certainly strengthened the European climate movement, as did the coming together of thousands of European and some international activists in Paris. The 'Climate Games', autonomous actions, mapped online invited affinity group actions from those who could not or did not want to go to Paris itself. Part of the success of the mobilisation was to create a more connected movement.

However, as Dinerstein describes in Latin America, autonomy as a 'tool of prefiguration' also involves contradiction and contested relationships, 'with, against and beyond the state, law and policy' (2015, p27). In the COP21 Paris mobilisation context, this became apparent through police/state pressure on the organising core collective to cancel the day of actions, the house arrests of 27 French activists and nightly eviction of new and established squats, through the pressure put on the core by police to negotiate, which some autonomists were distressed about. This state repression also stimulated indigenous and refugee networks to pull out because of fear of repercussions for their communities. Because of the broad base of involvement within the core, NGOs and trade unions and people of all ages and experiences of protest, the day of action was decided to be as non-violent as possible – as dictated by the 'action consensus' not to damage property, break police lines or 'escalate police violence'. As described in my fieldwork, there existed contention around use of state symbols like La Defense and the Eiffel Tower, and missed opportunities to connect with migrant communities experiencing intense repression post-Paris shootings and with indigenous and frontline affected communities. In addition, critiques around the level of personal and collective creative input and access to decision-making for those who had not arrived in Paris two months before and the contested top-down organising justified by organisers as being due to state repression.

Despite the contradictions within the organising, overall, the mobilisation created 'excess', as Dinerstein describes a 'surplus' which cannot be sub-ordinated to power, powerful imagery (350 degree film) showing the world that the leaders at COP21 were not going far enough to tackle the social, economic and environmental causes and consequences of climate change, a reinvigorated climate movement with a post-crisis socio-economic stance, newly experienced 'veteran activists' who took forward movements like ongoing RTP, climate, coal, aviation, anti-fracking and eventually anti-deportation mobilisations. Some of the initial conversations that lead to Extinction Rebellion were in and soon after Paris COP21. Simultaneously, critique around lack of centring of migrant communities and frontline indigenous peoples in the UK and Paris, were stimulators for the Wretched of the

Earth network which brought together those communities with the desire and practice of dealing with oppression, white privilege and decolonising environmental movements and beyond, as will be discussed in more depth in section 8.5.  As Dinerstein claims, this excess, sheds new light on 'the untranslatability of autonomous organising and the nature of the surplus that cannot be appropriated by the state' (2015, p27) thus creating 'territories of hope' or 'concrete utopias' (Dinerstein 2015, p27). Extinction Rebellion and Wretched of the Earth in a sense are the concrete utopian byproducts, of the 'excess' that could not be appropriated by the state.

De Souza (2010), in relation to autonomy, recommends that each movement should decide on a case-by-case basis whether to work 'together with the state', 'despite the state' and, or essentially 'against the state' (2010, p330). With recent movements from around Europe supporting and forming political parties, movements decide on a case-by-case basis whether to form and support parties as has happened with Greek Syriza, Spanish Podemos and Corbyn's labour, with mixed success. As mentioned in 8.3's discussion of new ways of being, doing and relating created through new direct action collaborations from the most local, to the most global, I argued that movements are in fact transcending the geopolitcality of the state, transcending its relevance through seeds of action and multitudes of new relationships, mutual associations, and affiliations through and beyond the mobilisations in this thesis. This argument fits well with Brissette's understanding of the state as a social construction and as such, we can choose not to participate, rendering it obsolete. Therefore, from her movement-embedded perspective, the non-participation with the state is crucial.

This section has explored issues around autonomy within mobilisations in the fieldwork. In particular, I have explored issues around the RTP COP21 2015 Paris mobilisation, its issues and prefiguarive 'excess', the 'utopian hope' that could not be co-opted by the state, as Dinerstein would argue (2015, 2017). The emergence of new networks like Wretched of the Earth and Extinction Rebellion were in a sense 'concrete utopias', the 'unrealised materiality' of the 'not-yet' become (Dinerstein 2015, p27), that were seeded through the dilemmas, contention and repression faced in Paris. More generally as discussed, Souza (2010) recommends that mobilisations and movements decide on a case-by-case basis how to engage with the state, whether to work together with, despite or against the state whereas for Brisette (2016), non-participation with the state is key to eliminating its relevance. At times, the collaborative co-construction of values, priorities and ways to act together in synchrony with others - individuals, collectives, assemblies, squares, networks and movements creating a multiplicity of new autonomous relationships, which can arguably transcend the relevance of the state, its borders and policing.


8.5 Decolonialism

In this section, I am exploring the decolonial critique of the environmental movement waged by Wretched of The Earth in their response to being marginalised and side-lined at the London Climate March in the run up to Paris COP21, 2015. Analysing this through recent decolonial feminist and decolonial anarchist lenses sheds light on how contemporary movements are creating new ways of relating which seek to replace the dominant capitalist, racist, patriarchal structures and discourse, both within wider society and movements themselves. As contribution to collective learning, I hope that these insights might serve to facilitate other movements-for-transformation to take up and share a better understanding around anti-colonial, anti-oppressive thinking and practices within mobilisations and radical discources.

> The silencing and erasure of indigenous people, and of the vulnerable peoples from the global south (the treaty also features a weakening of the human rights clause), at the climate talks is part of a long history of violent colonialism and racism that is at the heart of climate change.

Wretched of the Earth, as discussed in my fieldwork chapters, with its decolonising agenda, emerged post London Climate March in November 2015, critiquing the silencing and marginalisation of frontline communities, those who are currently suffering the impact of climate change today. The group is made up of indigenous people, environmental refugees, black and brown people and their allies. Powerful articles were released challenging colonialism and white supremacy within the Paris talks and the environmental movement, see Appendices 5.2 and 5.3. And their work involved organising their own actions in solidarity with for example environmental activists of the global South who were being arrested, killed or harassed by governments and corporations. Wretched of the Earth were also creating and delivering workshops on power and privilege within the environmental movement. In this way their work was combatting structural oppression by demanding that those with more privilege 'strive to identify and work against this privilege if they hope to establish relations of solidarity with those who do not share it', as Day advocates (2005, p11) (Spivak 1988), thus working to Day's 'logic of affinity'. This means forming solidarity relationships guided by 'groundless solidarity' and 'infinite responsibility', which as mentioned in Chapter 3 is means-ends aligned thus arguably anarchist in praxis.

> This form of silencing is not limited to state and corporate powers – it runs rampant as well within the climate movement of the global north…. Signs that proclaimed indigenous and global south communities as the 'Wretched of the Earth' and charged 'British Imperialism causes climate injustice' were to be removed in favour of a more positive message.

(WotE open letter on the Black Dissidents' website - December 2015 Appendix 5.2.)

As discussed in Chapter 3, Athanasiou, argues that it is worth rethinking 'democracy, citizenship and collective agency' by the development of new political strategies that engage the dispossession of indebtedness as a crucial moment in the histories of Western liberal democracies and part of the work of Wretched of the Earth, was to trace colonial oppression and explore what this meant to movements today. Their work was all too aware of Žižek's radical class division across the entire globe – separating 'privileged inside from outside' (Žižek 2016, p6).

From a decolonial feminist perspective (Motta and Seppala 2016), the articles WotE wrote like Tisha Brown's anti-oppression article, and their organising served to provincialize the Euro-centric revolutionary who denies and dehumanises the raced, feminised other (2015). Their network's work follows similar themes, trajectories and methods as Motta and Seppala's (2016) special issue editorial for the Journal of Resistance Studies creating multiple subjectivities of resistance through collaborative story-building, deep listening and collective unlearning of colonial and current trauma. Wretched of the Earth certainly fought against the heteronormative, patriarchal, capitalist coloniality, an emancipatory politics that 'subverts and dislocates domination of any kind…nurtures autonomous subjectivities, alternative communities, as well as oppositional ways of thinking, being, doing and loving' (Motta and Seppala 2016, p7-8).

As discussed in fieldwork Chapter 6, Tisha Brown's (2015) article 'DeC02lonalism 101: We need to talk about oppression', published in the New Internationalist (Appendix 5.3) amplifies the ways that environmental movements could function and organise in a way that is anti-oppressive by individuals and collectives, decolonising their minds – recognising solutions coming from the global South, engaging in mutual solidarity, organising intersectionally and listening when oppressed people speak. Brown's critique is certainly from a decolonial feminist perspective, but her practical application within DIY political organising, I would argue is also decolonising anarchism. It works well with Ramnath's (2011) account which argues that decolonial anarchism helps move beyond a statist view

of oppression and explores *how* we engage in anti-colonial project in a contemporary context, like Palestine is crucial.

Ramnath (2011) also argues about the importance of fighting racism in the global North to further the project of decolonisation.

> Listen when oppressed people speak
>
> If someone tells you that something is racist, sexist, ableist, homophobic or transphobic towards them, please listen. They are the ones who endure their oppression on a daily basis. Doubting them invalidates their experience and inevitably adds to their oppression.
>
> (Tisha Brown DeC02lonalism 101: We need to talk about oppression Appendix 5.3)

Tisha Brown's guidance on listening when oppressed people speak, echoes the 'safer spaces' statement that Ramnath's and APOC (Anarchist People of Colour) advocate:

> There is no manifest racism, sexism, ableism, ageism, homophobia or other oppressive behaviour within any anarchist space, project, collective or community…. Nor is there any hegemonic orthodoxy about cultural practices and attitudes. That would be against our principles.
>
> (Ramnath 2011, p257).

The safer spaces statement, as discussed in my fieldwork, is a statement used by an autonomous space or network agreed by consensus. The responsibility to adhere to it is a shared and enforced responsibility. This statement differs to the Peoples Global Hallmarks of the Global Justice Movement started in 1998, after contact and collaboration between Zapatistas and Spanish activists and developed into global networks of resistance. With the following hallmarks:

> 1. A very clear rejection of capitalism, imperialism and feudalism, all trade agreements, institutions and governments that promote destructive globalisation.
>
> 2. We reject all systems of domination and discrimination including but not limited to patriarchy, racism and religious fundamentalism of all creeds. We embrace the full dignity of all human beings.
>
> (Cox and Wood 2017, p357).

I would argue that there is a subtle difference between the decolonising movements not denouncing any 'hegemonic orthodoxy about practices and principles' especially within contemporary context of UK-and global Islamophobia. DtRtP and Stop Trump with their anti-Islamaphobic stances and powerful responses to local and global repression through creating diverse and connected movements, discussed in previous chapters, illustrate the importance of anti-Islamophia in the current UK context.

Another pertinent concern of decolonial anarchists is around developing new relationships between peoples and between people and nature. As Wretched of the Earth argue:

> The securing of indigenous rights over land and resources is not only crucial to preventing the key causes of climate change, but also is about doing justice to those peoples most impacted.
>
> (WotE open letter on the Black Dissidents' website - December 2015 Appendix 5.2.)

Walia's contribution arguing that bell hooks' notion of solidarity is not enough when it comes to centring indigenous people within our struggles, rather we should use the term 'Relationship Framework' from Black/Cherokee activist Amahady, (2010) where 'we don't see ourselves, our communities, or our species as inherently superior to any other', so that

'our differing identities do not prevent us from walking together toward transformation and mutual respect' (Walia 2012, p252).

'Relationship Framework' thus offers social movements some potentially decolonising principles, understanding and praxis of anti-hierarchical relationships with ourselves, our communities, other species, as ways of moving towards social transformation. This is arguably important for society and political organisation and the ways that we can collectively and with nature move towards change. So that also within contemporary movements, differing identities do not prevent us manifesting mutual respect and mobilising for transformation.

In a similar decolonising context, Zunino (2016) calls for a holistic rethink of the nature/culture divide that presents an unsustainable separation between the two. She offers 'an integrated framework, the nature-culture paradigm as a theoretical and practical tool for transdisciplinary understanding of the planet's social, cultural and environmental intricacy' (Dinerstein 2016, p24-25). Drawing on eco-anarchism, eco-feminism and more she attempts to undo the coloniality of nature (Escobar 2008) to create a 'wider sense of human belonging' (Dinerstein 2016, p25).

This section has explored Wretched of the Earth's strong decolonial critique of the global summit Paris COP21 2015 Climate talks as well as the environmental movement as a whole. Their work has exposed colonial legacy, racism and hypocrisies within social movements organising and the environmental Left more generally. The WotE network has created useful tools around addressing power and privilege and provided recommendations of ways of thinking, acting and organising from the micro-political to dismantling structures of oppression like global capitalism and colonial legacies. Their work as such is anti-oppressive, echoing and reinforcing the work and discourses of decolonial feminism and decolonial anarchism. Through centring indigenous people and paradigms, advocating new relationships between peoples and between peoples and nature. These combined projects practically combat racism within movements and beyond, outdating the patriarchal, colonialist, capitalist orthodoxy, with new ways of thinking, being, doing, living and loving in new and different ways.


8.6 Oppression and anti-oppression

In this section I am comparing the oppression and anti-oppressive practices within social transformation-making networks Reclaim the Power and Rhythms of Resistance International network, analysing them through the lenses of current evolving literature around intersectional 'practical anarchism', around forms of domination within collaborative organising and the literature on micro-politics.

Reclaim the Power attempted to include anti-oppressive practices into their organising – certainly, the workshops by Routes Collective as part of the training for organisers of camps, were amazing and the networks attempts to link environmental, social and political issues, post-crisis and following that wave of horizontal movements – the Occupies, Indignadoes and Assembly movements with well considered collaboration with UKUncut, Fuel Poverty Action and local community networks. As mentioned in fieldwork chapters, at the Blackpool camp, the local community composition contained more working-class people than say Balcombe. However, the reality of camps was the organisational structure and speakers were still predomininantly white, middle class people, with a lot of talking time within assembies done by a handful of media personalities within the network. As mentioned in my fieldwork and last chapter of my analysis, there has been criticism over attitudes towards children, compared to say Rhineland Klima Camp. Others critiqued the term 'frackmania' for being insensitive to those with mental health issues. As mentioned in 8.2, the next camp, at Didcot did respond by having a space for people who were feeling excluded to discuss

why, but those issues were not seen as fundamental to the camps and networks functioning and appeared to be more a venting space, rather than an avenue for change-making within the network.

A gradual progressive shift did occur within the RTP movement, as described in Chapter 6.5, however, in response to the London Climate March 2015, Paris COP21 and critique from WotE which they published on their website. As mentioned previously, the action with the banner of 'Black Lives Matter', was criticised for being made up predominantly of white faces! Another more successful action, as discussed in my thesis was more deeply intersectionally organised, the Stansed15 runway action, bringing together LGBT, anti-deportation, black activists and environmentalists. This action was organised by some individuals from the RTP network in collaboration with some individuals from other networks rather than being RTP-own action, a network.

Stansted15 action thus included members of the campaigning groups Lesbians and Gays Support the Migrants and End Deportations and their action successfully prevented the departure of a deportation flight from Stansted Airport, on the 28 March 2018, that had been chartered by the UK Home Office to forcibly deport 60 migrants to Ghana, Nigeria and Sierra Leone. Eleven of the sixty passengers who were to be forcibly deported on the aircraft now legally live in the UK. Amongst the passengers to be deported were several victims of human trafficking. The group of activists were arrested, endured a ten-week trial and later prosecuted in December 2018 under the 1990 Aviation and Maritime Security Act and convicted of terrorism related charges. During February 2019, they received suspended sentences or community orders after the presiding judge decided not to imprison them stating he believed the group had been motivated by 'genuine reasons' (Wikipedia 2019).

Rhythms of Resistance network, as previously discussed in this thesis is an older and more established network within the range of social transformation-making mobilisations discussed in my research. They have excellent anti-oppression practices, a statement on their website, see Chapter 5 Introducing the networks and below: Rhythms of Resistance International website:

> A network of action samba bands, playing for all kinds of socio-political and ecological causes. We actively criticize and confront any form of domination, exploitation, discrimination or oppression and choose tactical frivolity and/or other forms of creative protest as a way to express our rage and indignation… You can hear us on the streets, just come and look for us!

> Rhythms of Resistance International

Historically the network has strong connections with No Borders through the European camps and Calais jungle, through frequent visits, playing there and offering support. The Trans-National Meeting had workshops on 'cultural appropriation', created a PoC group within the international network. Linguistically, they had multiple translation devices and translators into many different languages at the network assemblies, people were always encouraged to facilitate in their own language rather than English. Discussion over whether symbols for songs were appropriate and some were changed to represent more positive resistance icons like with Angela Davis' – 'breaking the bars', discussed in my fieldwork. There was a workshop on how to engage as an older activist and a strong network of support if a band is having trouble, establishing itself, with repression as with the Polish and Russian bands, and with internal oppression issues within the different collectives. The direct democracy is more deeply embedded in this older network, started about twenty years ago at Prague and No Borders camps and the different European actions like Berlin bank bloc summits that evolved since then. And the individuals and collectives are deeply connected with each other, meet regularly and often take collaborative action. There is simply more support around issues that individuals, bands, and network regions face, and this of course includes issues around internal oppression as this section has illustrated.

As discussed in Chapter 3, the recent anarchist explosion in the academy is 'articulating a very practical and contemporary anarchism intersecting with feminist, anti-racist, queer and ecological movements', according to Eisenstadt (2010, p14). Similar to contemporary anarcha-feminism, as it focuses on bringing an end to all forms of domination and oppression and on the 'hows' rather than the 'whats?' and 'whys?' of organising resistance (AK Press, p3).

Some of the contentions and complexities within horizontal movements power relations have been discussed earlier in this chapter, in section 8.2. Furthermore, May argues that anarchism is being concerned with resistance to domination, that is 'to oppressive power relations' (May 2009, p12). There can be no experts in domination; it is elastic so that different appearances are 'irreducible' to a specific form of domination. So, for example gender domination may be related to exploitation, but is not reducible to it. They may well intersect but, May argues, that each particular form of domination, has its own history, means of operating, ways of 'relat(ing) to, reinforce(ing) and is reinforced by other forms', which must be explored (May 2009, p12). Thus, contemporary anarchism offers a useful approach to intersectionality, similar to that of Rogue and Volcano and their trans-feminist account of how power and oppression operate.

Arguably as time and discourses and social movements-organising progress, movements and networks that survive become more aware of their shortcomings and more able to challenge internal oppression and devise anti-oppressive practices, as has been illustrated by the cases of RTP and RoR International above. This also is indicative of the shifting anti-oppression discussed in the anarchist literature, for example Amster et al's (2009) 'Contemporary Anarchist Studies' includes issues on class, race, disability, anarcha-feminist, faith, identity and how we can live possible futures today. And the more recent and practical guide 'Organise!' written in 2011 adds mental health, decolonisation and working with indigenous people, and community-arts organising as mobilising possibilities and practices. Decolonisation, as discussed in the previous section 8.5 adds a new dimension to discourses, praxes and everyday practices of anti-oppression within todays movements expanding their possibilities to achieve wider and more radical social transformation.

As discussed in literature Chapter 2, for Rosi Braidotti (2002) it is crucial to commit to minimising domination in one's own individual and group practice. This is 'micro-politics', 'a politics of minority, not majority, of affinity rather than hegemony; a politics that remains political despite its fundamental rejection of (neo)liberal and (neo)Marxist theories of social transformation. Dispersing and realising this politics, however, is a 'non-trivial problem' as Day and my research illustrate (2005, p17). Contemporary movements are arguably striving to prefigure these intersectionally, anti-oppressive aspirations through organisational movement form (Eisenstadt 2010), through their collective critical reflection, through anti-oppressive organising processes and practices, at gatherings, online, and in activist/academic publications and debate.


8.7 Order, chaos and radical imagining

This section explores how order, chaos and radical imagining within mobilisations can create fecundity and exponential potential for movements to shift and radically transform themselves into something with an exponential potential to bring about radical social transformation. I draw on the cases of Balcombe Community Protection and Reclaim The Power camps, Rhythms of Resistance London's processes, and the direct action environmental movement response, transcending with the decolonial critique discussed in the fieldwork and especially 8.5 of this chapter. I place these examples in the context of anarcha-feminist insights on understanding and organising around intersectional oppression and radical imagining literature from the dilemmas section of Chapter 3. Following my dissertation (Burrell 2013c), I argue that horizontal movements can maximise

their dynamic social transformation-making potential by maximising chaos, whilst holding the minimum order necessary to order create safer spaces discussed in the last sections 8.5 and 8.6. As well as creating new ways of thinking and embodying social transformation, strategic and prefigurative dilemmas of daily organising are arguably creating a 'radical flank effect' within movements themselves, as Rowe and Carroll (2012) argued had existed in Seattle and Occupy Wall Street. This section thus explores how movements use chaos, order and radical imagining maximising their social transformation-making traction.

Balcombe Community Protection and Reclaim the Power camps, as discussed in fieldwork Chapters 5 and 6 represented the coming together of the order of RTP camp and the chaos of Balcombe living camp creating fertile ground for a week of campaigning and direct action with huge participation from local people, march, rally, holding hands and more full-on day of direct action attacking multiple targets across the country. In addition, the thirty days of blockading at Balcombe using more experienced techniques of Direct Action like lock-ons to trucks, represented the expertise and learning from more experienced activists from RTP sharing knowledge and people from their movement. All in all, the result was a highly successful week bringing together local, camp-based and campaign-based activists and networks of affinity and networks for social transformation-making that lasted well beyond the Balcombe anti-fracking camp itself.

RoR London, in comparison with its international network, discussed in previous section 8.6, had no online anti-oppressive statement, and there was no safer spaces statement in place. As discussed in fieldwork chapters, because political discussion and debate had been side-lined onto an email discussion list and occasional 'talking days', rather than occurring at meetings and in the pub afterwards, anti-oppression process and practice had been minimised and ceased to be a part of the everyday organising of the collective. In addition, gentrification necessitated a move away from a refugee arts centre, which had sustained diversity and political agenda. Long-term members being burnt out, traumatised or moving on to other movements or bands, was another factor which allowed the collective to shut down when having to deal with the horizontal movements' nightmare of sexual assault. Although many people and strategies did try to help resolve the issue, the collective eventually folded. What I am arguing here is that horizontal movements require, to maximise their chances at survival and potential, will be a huge diversity of people to maximise chaotic radical collective imagining potential of the collective but also require a minimum of ongoing discussion and process, the 'order' to protect them from internal oppression.

As discussed in the fieldwork and 8.5, the strong and pressing decolonial critique offered and waged at the Climate Change movement, created radical imagining transcending issues, thus eventually moving beyond the decolonial critique to collaborative intersectional direct action. After the RTP Black Lives Matter airport action, a Rising Up strategy day which discussed intersectionality among other issues of organising as discussed in fieldwork Chapter 6.5, (see Appendix 6.1 for my 2016 contribution) and there was the even more intersectionally organised and practiced action the Stansted15 Runway Occupation with coming together of LGBT, deportation centre survivors, and black movements with Plane Stupid. Not only was a deportation flight prevented from taking off, lives saved but a new movement developed from the creative and well-networked solidarity actions and demonstrations across Europe but especially those outside the Court Case and Home Office which created another new intersectional community of political and community activists and supporters (See Appendix 6.3 for their statement).

This idea of intersectional organising, in this case, developed by the Stansted15 and their allies is similar to the anarcha-trans-feminist accounts in the literature discussed by Rogue and Volcano (2012). They describe an intervention supporting women of colour having forced sterilisations, which requires an understanding of 'hetero-patriarchy, capitalism, the state, and white supremacy have worked together to create a situation where women of

colour are targeted bodily through social programmes such as welfare, medical experiments and eugenics' (Rogue and Volcano 2012, p46).

> Once the multiple intersecting oppressions are understood, they argue, it becomes more possible to do social and political activism to support and liberate communities.
>
> (Rogue and Volcano 2012, p46).

As discussed in my dissertation (2013), and literature Chapter 3, 'radical imagining' is key to social transformation because it creates common understandings and 'imaginaries' and understandings of solidarity, as with Seattle (Khasnabish and Haiven 2013). As discussed in the case of the Stansted15 campaign, it helps project the world as it could otherwise be and motivates resistance, as Khasnabish and Haiven (2013) argue. And as highlighted by Rogue and Volcano (2012), in their trans-feminist accounts as well as Stoeztler and Yuval-Davis (2002), the way we experience being in a racist, sexist oppressive society helps us to expect, anticipate and hope for better ways of relating.

In summary, the balancing of order, chaos and radical imagining within activist spaces, communities and networks is crucial. Failure to do so can result in collectives folding and at best carefully convoked radical imagaining can stimulate collective imagination to raise and transcend extremely complex issues within horizontal movements organising as well as building new intersectional networks for social transformation-making.


## 8.8 Repression

Repression of movements can be an extremely powerful force, an external factor that can cause movements to fold, splinter or reseed with a fecundity of transformative potential. In this section I explore how repression has affected movements locally, at a national and global scale, with movements of Occupy London, Defend the Right to Protest and Stop Trump, through the lense of autonomy and anarchist understandings of resistance.

Repression can place a huge amount of pressure on individual activists, collectives and networks.  As discussed, in literature Chapter 3, Giri (2012) asks how once the prefigurative space is removed, can movements sustain themselves. I would argue that especially following the 'Police Spies in Lives' infiltration a wave of paranoia hit movements in the UK, with activists becoming ill from paranoia, as discussed in my fieldwork, and some collectives going underground or stifling their activities. Occupy London, as discussed in fieldwork Chapters 5 and 6, suffered from repression, in the form of eviction of their spaces at St Pauls, Finsbury Square, Bank of Ideas and prevention from taking spaces in the run up to the Hackney Olympics summer. This forced Occupy squatters out of the city centre. Some disassociated with the name Occupy and others turned their hands to fighting against austerity as with Occupy Barnet Library, which was eventually handed back to the people of Barnet. Some Occupiers went to Balcombe, in summer 2013 and camped against fracking, whilst others re-invigorated the environmental movement with a socio-economic social justice stance, as Reclaim the Power. Following Sitrin's (2017) understanding of autonomy, the network of Occupy was never actually destroyed by repression as splintering created new nodes, the working groups and new networks of affinity and action. For Dinerstein (2017), this is the 'excess' of autonomy within prefigurative movements which cannot be co-opted.

Defend the Right to Protest network provides a perfect example of movements having to confront power structures as well as prefigure, because of the increased surveillance and repression, as argued by Maeckelbergh (2014), in literature Chapter 3. At the national scale, Defend the Right to Protest was a network which was formed with the intentional purpose of resisting the clampdown on activism and dissent in the UK. Police infiltration of peace and environmental activists as well as the Stephen Lawrence family, deaths of young black

men by police on the streets and in custody, racist stop and search policies were stimulating factors and vital community components that created this fertile network. The Islamophobia involved in 'Prevent', the 'educational' monitoring of potential radicalism and contempt from the British authorities around policing Muslim leaders and communities post 9-11 and 7-7 also were crucial motivators and mobilisers for the network, as was the clampdown on all student protest after the 2010-11 student riots. Black Lives Matter and Calais solidarity activists also contributed, with their unique insights on oppression. This network of affected families, communities, students, activists and lawyers met at conferences with a radical feminist, anti-racist stance asking that people take what they had learnt about privilege and oppression back into their own networks to manifest change in multiple dimensions of UK society.

Kliman (2012), following Marx, as discussed in literature Chapter 3, argues that we cannot choose our conditions of resistance and direct action is refusing to recognise the legitimacy and necessity of structures of power. Stop Trump is an example of a global collective refusal of the structures of power. Although the campaign focused its target at an individual leader, the movement, as discussed in the fieldwork and Analysis section 7.6, formed in response to the neoliberal clampdown on difference, dissent, creating new network of anti-cuts, anti-war, environmentalist, anti-deportation, anti-racist, women and queer activists. As such the movement is broad-based but with a radical transformative agenda. As discussed in Literature Chapter 3, Graeber argues that even in situations of extreme repression, revolutionary collective action can and does occur (Graeber 2013b), like the carnivalesque anti-summit protests of the 2000s.

To summarise this section on repression, Graeber (2013b) argues that global capitalist society crushes anything which captures the human imagination. (Graeber 2013b). Repression of movements occurs at a local level with eviction of prefigurative spaces and clampdowns on individuals and collectives, at a national level with racist policing and policies and at a global level with clampdown on networks, states, peoples and can have a huge impact. The flip-side, however, is that today's collectives, affinities, networks and movements are at times consciously and other times subconsciously collectively radically transforming and transcending around and beyond repression, using it as an opportunity to bounce back, involve more people, at deeper level, with a more radical agenda and thus greater social transformation-making possibility and traction.


8.9 Engaging with mainstream political parties

The relationship between networked living utopias and institutional forms, like those of Podemos, Syriza and Corbyn are of particular interest. The energies of social movements organising fed into the more traditionally recognised institutional forms like the political parties and the unions. Movements like Podemos became parties, as the political expression of the movements of the Squares. Syriza was already a political party, but the Greek movements got involved in the mainstream political game. These movements with their anti-austerity, anti-corruption and in some cases, anti-European agendas influenced mainstream politics. This section explores how prefigurative politics relates to the more institututional politics.

Rather than taking up armed confrontation, or insurrection, the 'Movements of the Assemblies' entered political parties, and for a few years influenced the programme, the policies and the financing of the parties. Ultimately, they became co-opted by mainstream politics. Syriza and to some extent Podemos harnessed the power of the movements and co-opted the energy of the movements. This is similar to the way Biden harnessed Bernie Sander's youth following in order to take power in the States. They influenced the programme, the policies and the party form. The UK Labour party had become a managerialist  machine, but after Corbyn took over, even the way the party was financed

changed. In the UK movements like Occupy and Reclaim the Power supported Corbyn's Labour and even canvassed for Corbyn's Labour in the run up to the election, but after Corbyn's defeat most of them went back to more grassroots organising. By entering the political game, for a few years, parties like Podemos, Syriza and Corbyn's Left changed the game. But all of these movements through entering mainstream politics became co-opted and their movements became dampened through this engagement.

For Southern European countries these developments took place within the context of the rise of ordoliberalism (the German version of market state) in EU governance. A clear manifestation of this was the signing of the Treaty on Stability, Coordination and Governance in the Economic and Monetary Union on 2 March 2012. As Papadopoulos and Roumpakis (2018) argued:

> Under the treaty, member states can exercise control over fiscal or wage policy as long as the latter conform to the disciplinary 'boundaries' (e.g. limits of public budget deficits or competitiveness targets) set by the new rules. Thus, for countries facing severe economic difficulties, like Spain and Greece, adopting anti-cyclical fiscal policies is prohibited. The only remaining option is internal devaluation by means of wage reductions, welfare cuts and continuous undermining of employment protection.

> (Papadopoulos T. and Roumpakis A. 2018, p1)

Papadopoulos and Roumpakis continue:

> So far, reversing austerity policies by electoral means, has failed. The new mode of (ordoliberal) economic governance in the EU has effectively precluded democratically elected governments in Southern Europe from changing their economic policies, thus putting the very purpose of having national democratic elections in doubt (Guardian, 2016). Still, although the prospects of challenging austerity through formal politics appears hapless and hopeless, grassroots action may offer a glimpse of hope.

> (Papadopoulos T. and Roumpakis A. 2018, p1)

According to the same authors, Syriza co-opted anti-austerity campaigns in Greece. Further, Davanellos (2019) argued:

> The shift to the right was accelerated by the huge electoral and political victory in January 2015. The group of leaders around Tsipras managed the critical period following the elections […to avoid] a conflict with the Greek ruling class. So the "unilateral action" that Syriza had promised to implement (including a minimum wage increase, retirement benefits for low-income workers, the restoration of collective bargaining, and tax cuts for the working class) was put off indefinitely.

> (Davanellos, A. 2019, p1)

Finally, reflecting on the role of the Momentum movement in the UK's Labour Party, Leo Panitch (2020) highlighted the challenges that were facing Corbyn's Left in avoiding the dangers of co-option:

As for Momentum, we need an organisation that goes beyond just supporting Corbyn in elections. Or winning reselection and other democratic reforms inside the party. It needs to be permanently engaged in teaching people how to be organisers and in developing its members' own political education, so they can work at the base to engage in what needs to be seen as class re-formation today. Organisers need to facilitate the process whereby the rider for Uber Eats, the call centre worker, the worker in a warehouse, and erstwhile professionals like teachers, who are being proletarianised, all recognise themselves as part of the new working-class.

(Panitch, L. 2020, p1)

8.10 Concluding thoughts

Chapter 8 has explored the ways contemporary movements are creating, embodying and living out new ways of being, doing and relating. Today's movements represent a multiplicity of experimental sites for creating and working out new forms of democracy and direct action. Autonomy is crucial to horizontal movements which are on the one hand strategic in their refusal of the dominant systems of oppression and on the other hand prefigurative in the production of an excess which cannot be co-opted. Movements deciding on a case-by case basis whether to work with the state in the formation and supporting of political parties, where appropriate. Horizontal movements are also learning spaces for new ways of thinking, and new processes for overcoming difference and stumbling blocks. They create diverse affinity and try to collectively, radically explore issues like decolonial critiques and internal as well as external oppression. Balancing order, chaos and radical imagining, at best they are optimising inclusion and difference but with the minimum of order required to create safer spaces to live and organise. They respond increasingly creatively to repression, using it as a potential to widen and deepen possibility and transformation-making traction. Finally, 'Movements of the Squares' are being co-opted through involvement with political parties.

In the next (final) chapter I explore how prefigurative and strategic dilemmas are blocking, transcending or reseeding in the movements discussed and explore the ways contemporary movements are utopian in process and practice.

# CHAPTER 9: Concluding remarks:
## Contemporary movements as living utopias?
## Confronting oppressions and prefiguring possible futures

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Confronting oppressions and prefiguring possible futures

## 9.1 Introduction

This thesis has explored how strategic and prefigurative dilemmas within the everyday organising of social movements can create social transformation-making traction. Using PAR, auto-ethnography and militant ethnography, an anarcha-feminist approach to collective learning in an integrative methodology, I have drawn together poetic and reportage accounts of a variety of movements – London-based but globally networked to show the complexity of dilemmas as they are lived out in daily organising. These dilemmas, I have argued are strategically exposing, undermining and in some cases starting to replace the dominant systems of oppression of global capitalism, patriarchy, racism, heteronormativity, (neo)colonialism, dis(ableism), ageism. Simultaneously, the dilemmas and movements are prefigurative, creating new ways of being, doing, relating, living and loving which transcend oppressive relationships of the contemporary setting. The recent explosion of experimentation with forms of participatory democracy, collective and direct action, autonomy, decolonial critiques, anti-oppressive processes and practices, the balancing of order, chaos and radical imagining and strategies for repression are creating a multiplicity of new social relations and relationships with nature. In some cases, the complexity of dealing with multiple oppressions within a horizontal plane of organising cause's collectives or networks to collapse, which often creates a reseeding of potential from those organisers and affinities. In other cases, movements are radically transcending extremely complex issues around multiple oppressions, collectively learning through collective radical imagining, face-to-face, online or in print. Movements themselves are collectively learning, shifting and transcending to incorporate anti-oppression of multiple oppressions into their own practice. My argument furthermore is that it is the tension between strategic and prefigurative dilemmas within movements that creates and galvanises potential and actual social transformation and change.

My research questions were:

1. Firstly how do strategic and political dilemmas of everyday organising relate to the ways contemporary movements are exposing, undermining and replacing dominant oppressive systems with other ways of being, doing and relating? The dominant oppressive systems are global capitalism, (neo)colonialism, racism, patriarchy, heteronormativity, (dis)ableism, age. The other ways of being, doing and relating, are direct democratic process, collective and direct action, autonomy, solidarity, decolonisation, anti-oppression, and voluntary associations.

2. Secondly, I am exploring how strategic and prefigurative political contention, lived out in daily organising can impact movement dynamism, and potential to bring about social transformation.

This thesis has been a very 'practical form' of anarchism where means and ends are in alignment so that horizontal, non-oppressive future relationships and societies are forming prefiguratively, 'in the shell of the old'. New relationships are being forged between individuals, collectives, networks and Peoples, nature and species, in contemporary society across the globe, as well as with future generations through questioning the mainstream understanding of sustainability, the critique of COP processes as not going far enough and marginalising those most affected by climate change. Theoretically grounded, movement-based attempts to re-centre indigenous and 'affected communities' at the centre of the climate change debate is also shifting contemporary movement understandings of colonialism, racism, anti-oppression and has the potential to open new forms of relationship where there exists no hierarchy between Peoples nor species. Indigenous people and communities, like Wretched of the Earth already being affected by climate change,

grounded in decolonising discourses are taking centre stage and redefining relationships, placing their bodies, knowledges, priorities and understandings at the centre of the struggle. This coming together in new ways across intersectionalities of oppression occurred also around the organisation and solidarity campaign of the Stansted15 action, linking gender oppression, colonialism, global capitalist violence and destruction of living, home and sacred spaces.

Rhythms of Resistance International, an older network with more deeply-embedded direct democratic process and good connectivity between collectives, has been working anti-oppressive processes and practices into its functioning since 2000, with debates on 'cultural appropriation', creation of a People of Colour group, discussion of age, frequent meetings, network support, and continued discussion online. Occupy and its global networks are forming a multiplicity of experimentation in forms of direct democracy honing the model through network-wide communication to address multiple oppressions through sharing of best practice in different locations. Defend the Right to Protest and Stop Trump, formed in response to repression at the national and global level are engaging new and different agendas with a wider transection of society, with a radical stance - feminist, anti-racist, anti-Islamophobia agenda and broad support base. Furthermore, movement-based responses to repression are improving, using these difficult times, as opportunities to reach out and connect, to radicalise and inform, empower and involve.

The movements in this thesis are also influencing the mainstream Left with Corbyn's Labour, Greek Syriza and Spanish Podemos being born out of the movements for transformation, with anti-austerity, anti-corruption and sometimes anti-Europe agendas. In Europe, the building of alliances between radical Left groups has gained representation in Parliament, and in the UK, movements like RTP and former Occupiers joined in the canvasing for Corbyn's election campaign. The recent loss of seats by Labour at the last general election has led to renewed disillusionment with mainstream politics among some activists and a recommitment to grassroots organising. The movements were, in general co-opted by entering into mainstream politics as was discussed in Chapter 8.

Chapter 9 concludes this thesis with an exploration of how well movements are existing as and creating some kind of living utopias as envisioned by radical academics from Marxist, anarchist, anarcha-feminist, trans-feminist, decolonising and Black perspectives. Secondly, it outlines my contribution to academic-activist praxis, as empirical, methodological, as a contribution to collective learning within movements and to enhancing understandings of how movement-initiated social transformation is galvanised. Fourth, I outline possible avenues for further research and dissemination as activism in practice. And finally, some concluding thoughts on movement galvanised social transformation.

9.2 Contemporary movements as *living utopias*?

In my methodology, Chapter 4, I drew on Motta's urge that activist researchers 'transform epistemology into prefigurative practice of everyday life (so as to co-produce work that) seeks to *develop…utopias as part of the process of creating alternative logics of being and doing'* (Motta 2011, p179). In this section, I explore how well contemporary movements in my fieldwork are living utopias described by radical/movement-embedded academics, from a variety of perspectives, Marxist, autonomous, anarchist, anarcha-feminist, trans-feminist, decolonising and Black studies.

Contemporary movements discussed in my fieldwork, certainly hold a 'sense of possibility for emancipatory social change by investigating the kind of radical institutions and social relations that could advance the democratic egalitarian goals historically associated with…socialism', as Wright argued (2010, p1). I would argue that the movements in my fieldwork are creating new kinds of radical institution and social relations, as discussed

throughout my thesis, but especially in Chapter 8. Democratic and egalitarian, as Wright agues for but, whether they are socialist or not are another question. As mentioned above, movements in this thesis supported recent radical Left party politics like Corbyn's Labour, Podemos and Syriza, however the movements are living utopias of a different kind to party politics as this thesis has shown. This support of the mainstream Left has been on a case-by-case basis as Souza (2010) advocates. In Chapter 3, I explored the ways movements since the anarchist turn, of the 1960s are more horizontal and prefigurative, rather than socialist or communist. However, even anarchist movement-embedded horizontalist David Graeber (2013b) argues for a revaluing of the Communist principle 'from each according their ability, to each according to their need' (p291), in his utopian suggestions of how to create a society where individuals are free from the violent coercion of the state and global capitalism. His other suggestions for a better future are around ending all debt, which as discussed in Chapter 5 of fieldwork, the Occupy Movement, did have assemblies and actions specifically around debt. Certainly, I would argue that movements are starting to 'replace the productivist work bargain with a caring planet-focused economy' (Graeber 2013b, p285) through their multiplicity of voluntary associations existing outside or rather alongside capitalism, the Occupy working groups, Assemblies and global networks being a good example of these kinds of voluntary care-focused and planetary-focused voluntary associations.

Exploring what 'Another world is possible!' might actually mean, Spannos' (2008) argued for the necessity of a 'convincing vision and strategy that reaches into the roots of today's problems (capitalism, patriarchy, racism, imperialism, un-sustainability) and seeks to replace them with emancipatory alternatives' (p3). This is an intersectional approach to lived utopias, which as discussed in Chapters 7 and 8 of this thesis, movements, Rhythms of Resistance London and International network, as well as other movements discussed, are building and or stumbling and encountering learning blocks for social transformation building. This occurs through their strategic refusal of oppressive systems alongside their prefiguration of new forms of democracy, direct and collective action, embodying autonomy, their anti-oppressive practices and decolonial critique, which create new alliances between Peoples and nature, present and future generations, across the planet. These form the seeds I argue, for possible and potential futures.

In this thesis I have shown that the movements themselves, are spaces for revolutionary thought and collective action, as Shukaitis (2010) argued was important in creating lived utopias. Movements today are 'concrete demonstrations', rather than 'grand claims', that other forms of human organisation exist and present a real alternative (p311). RTP, anti-fracking and Climate Change campaigns for example, discussed throughout this thesis and most recently Extinction Rebellion, have been really effective at involving all people at multiple levels, from micro to macro, fighting against local planning and global institutions like COP21, with grassroots to institutional-level action. This included actively canvassing for Corbyn's labour, as mentioned above. This collective action is empowering people to act out lived alternatives 'creating space for revolutionary thought and action in our communities now', creating lived utopias, the resistance communities, camps, affinities and networks, and, bringing what Durruti calls 'the new world in our hearts' into existence in tangible reality even if this is piecemeal' (Shukaitis 2010, p311).

Harney, in Shukaitis's 2013 interview with him and Moten, argues that there is currently a 'deepening of autonomy' – a 'deepening of scale and potential of scales' (2013, p146). He does not believe you need to build an 'autonomist institution' (2013, p146).

> You need to elaborate the principle of autonomy in a way in which you become even less of yourself; or you overflow yourself more than what you're doing right now. You just need to do more of the shit you are doing right now and that will produce the scale.

(Harney 2013, p146)

This argument is similar to that of Shukaitis (2010), about expanding current communities of resistance to gain traction for radical social transformation. The movements in this thesis are illustrating a 'deepening' of autonomy of scales and potential scales. The Occupy movement with its hundreds of experimental sites across that globe is a good example from my research of this deepening of autonomy, a multiplication of autonomous sites across America, Europe and beyond. These represent living utopias, automomous building blocks, a network and a deepening and scaling up of autonomy.

As discussed in depth in section 8.3, Deep Green movement website endorses embedded 'cultures of resistance' that are being convoked by educating ourselves and others about what this might look like (2014). This is a kind of movement-embedded collective-self-reflexive prefiguration where activist communities through the collective self-conscious 'encourage and promote resistance and the will to fight' (Deep Green movement 2014, p1). Movements like Defend the Right to Protest and Stop Trump help people break 'psychological identification with oppressive systems' mentioned in Chapter 7, and create new identities based on self-respect and solidarity', discussed in Chapter 8 (Deep Green movement 2014, p1). Movements also offer 'emotional support of a functioning community', an example being Occupy Welfare, emotionally and practically supporting Occupiers, years after the end of the occupation, through informal affinity and friendship (Deep Green movement 2014, p1). Contemporary movements discussed in this thesis create 'intellectual vibrancy through analysis, discussion of development of political consciousness', (Deep Green movement 2014, p1), face to face in Assemblies, working groups and affinities, friendships and comradeships, at gatherings and conferences like Agora99, or RoR TNM and through online project planning and discussion like mumble and crabgrass, and through activist and activist-academic published reflection, like the vast movement-embedded literature discussed in this thesis, of which this thesis is also a contribution. Contemporary movements discussed in my research are building 'new institutions as the old ones come down', as discussed in the first section of this exploration of lived utopias, with multiplicity of experimentations in autonomy, participatory democracy and collective action, as discussed in Chapter 8 (Deep Green movement 2014, p1). With Stansted15 Solidarity, the movements support 'frontline resisters and political prisoners' creating new intersectional communities of resistance (Deep Green movement 2014, p1). Artists and musicians build resistance culture through 'poems, art and song', (Deep Green movement 2014, p1) like those at all the demos and actions and camps discussed in this thesis, the Occupy, anti-fracking, No Borders, anti-capitalist and End Deportations songs, chants, poetry, 'rhythms of resistance', art and banners make a rich contribution of collective culture taken, from one campaign to the next giving visual richness and sound, a visual, oral, aural living history to our movements.

This thesis has argued, in line with some anarcha-feminisms, like Rogue and Volcano (2012) that it is the exposing and dismantling of systems of oppression which is and will create a fecundity of other possible ways of living, being, doing and relating to 'construct more liberatory, more desirable and more sustainable relations with which to begin fashioning our futures' (Rogue and Volcano 2012, p44). My argument, furthermore, in this thesis, is that it is the movement-embedded *combining* of strategic politics of identifying and tearing down the systems of oppression, with the prefigurative politics of creating multiplicities of lived experiments in democracy, collective action, autonomy, anti-oppression which creates dynamism for social transformation. Furthermore, I have shown from the minutae through nation state to global level how these dilemmas are being lived out in the micro- and macro-politics of the daily organising of contemporary and recent movements.

The emphasis on *combining* strategic and prefigurative politics in order for movements to gain social-change-making traction, sits well with Dinerstein's (2016) critique of Maeckelbergh (2009), arguing that she does not sufficiently problematize the concept of prefiguration, when Maeckelbergh, in 2009, states that prefiguration is not enough to create

change, rather a confrontation with those powers is also necessary. Dinerstein (2016) 'problematizes, expands and contextualises the notion of prefiguration by proposing a more complex understanding of the dynamics that intervene in the anticipation of a better world in the present' (Dinerstein 2016, p18). Her argument is firstly that in order to be prefigurative, collective action must involve negation of power, secondly prefiguration is necessarily a decolonising process and thirdly that prefiguration is deeply rooted in the valorisation of capital (Dinerstein 2016, p18). Referring to 'concrete utopias', Dinerstein argues that 'prefigurative critique of political economy uncovers the process of shaping concrete utopia, in against and beyond the open veins of capital' (Dinerstein 2016, p22). Or rather, that what Marxist critique should do is to 'elaborate on the reality of the not-yet that movements are anticipating through collective action' (Dinerstein 2016, p22). How contemporary movements are interacting with structures of oppression like global capitalism and colonialism, through their exposure, undermining and starting to replace these and other intersecting oppressions is clearly argued in this thesis. My argument, furthermore, is that it is the combining of strategic refusal and prefigurative alternatives which creates dynamic potential, the dynamism for social transformation.

Autonomous utopias from an anarcha-feminist perspective (Gaarder 2009) involve utopian action, which she views as collective action in the workplace or community which stimulates people to build their 'own sense of compassion, competency and capacity' (Gaarder 2009, p54). For her, in a similar way to Brissette (2016) the state is a condition, a set relationships, that can be discontinued or, following Gustave Klimt, destroyed, 'we destroy it by contracting other relationships' (Gustave Klimt, German anarchist, quoted in Ward 1973, p19). For Gaarder exploring issues of gender-based violence in anarchist or horizontal movements, it is necessary to form a 'multitude of voluntary associations' to replace the state (Gaarder 2009, p54). Furthermore, as discussed in Chapter 3 of this thesis, she explores using 'restorative justice' as one form that could be useful in movements as it is in some societies, like post-apartheid South Africa. Possible futures for contemporary horizontal movements, when they encounter these issues, as did Occupy and ROR London, could be that they could start using concepts and models like 'restorative justice' to find compassionate solutions to dealing with issues like sexual assault within activist communities.

Brissette (2016) views movements as 'resting in a community-in-freedom beyond the state' (Dinerstein 2016, p26). For her, similarly to Gaarder (2009), the state, 'is not a social actor separate from society, but...a social construction, brought into being through a set of discourses (which require ongoing participation) to maintain the state's materiality' (Dinerstein 2016, p27). Therefore, from her movement-embedded perspective, this non-participation with the state is crucial. De Souza (2010) as discussed in Chapter 3 literature, argues that movements must constantly reinvent themselves sometimes 'together with the state' (for tactical reasons in a very cautious and limited way), but above all 'despite the state' and essentially 'against the state' (De Souza 2010, p330) to avoid recuperation. And this has been reinforced by Corbyn's losing the recent election, and the disillusionment that followed in movements for transformation. RTP and former occupiers, worked together with the state whilst Corbyn was leader of the Labour Party with his movements-based approach, but generally the movements have been dampened by co-optation. Parties in Greece and Spain have had more traction winning seats in Parliament, but I would argue that the anarchist ideal de Souza (2010) advocates to work essentially very cautiously with the state, despite and against the state still holds.

Maeckelbergh's (2014) argument is that organisers and activists are tied by communication in 'network nodes' rather than by 'ideology'. So, if there is disagreement and polarisation as I discussed in fieldwork Chapter 6, in movements like Occupy and RoR London, new network nodes may form. Occupy London created a similar explosion of other occupations, networks, think-tanks, working groups and a revitalisation of the environmental movement with a socio-economic critique, like RTP. And at the time as RoR London was in a state of

polarised crisis, a number of different bands were forming in London, like Sambatallion and Samba Sisters Collective with its radical inclusive, feminist political stance.

In the indigenous organising networks in Canada, Walia (2012) argues that movements should move 'beyond solidarity to decolonisation'. As discussed in literature Chapter 3, she draws on 'relationship framework' from black / Cherokee activist (Amahady 2010) where we do not see ourselves, our communities or our species as superior to any other. Rather we build new relationships with ourselves, our communities and with nature (Walia 2012). In a similar decolonising context, Zunino (2016) calls for a holistic rethink of the 'nature/culture' divide that presents an unsustainable separation between the two. She offers 'an integrated framework, the nature-culture paradigm as a theoretical and practical tool for transdisciplinary understanding of the planet's social, cultural and environmental intricacy' (Dinerstein 2016, p24-25). Drawing on eco-anarchism, eco-feminism and more she attempts to undo the coloniality of nature (Escobar 2008) to create a 'wider sense of human belonging' (Dinerstein 2016, p25), in itself a living utopia.

My research sits alongside decolonial feminists, using a variety of epistemological perspectives to 'decolonise representation', 'queering boundaries', undermining the 'disciplinarily of masculinist forms' (Motta and Seppala, 2016, p7-8). I hope that this thesis is a contribution to the collective project of feminised resistance and emancipatory politics that Motta and Seppala celebrate (2016). As such, that my research, will 'subvert and dislocate domination of any kind…nurture autonomous subjectivities, alternative communities, as well as oppositional ways of thinking, being, doing and loving' (Motta and Seppala 2016, p7-8). Echoing Graeber's (2012a, 2012b, 2013a, 2013b) ideas of new forms of revolutionary action discussed in Chapter 3, Moten and Harney, with black decolonial perspective, argue that change cannot come in the form of what we think as revolutionary – a 'masculinist surge or armed confrontation' rather it will come in a form we cannot yet imagine (Halberstam 2013, p11). Rather we must forego the hold they have on us, learn how to 'be with and for and on the way to a place we are already making', 'reshape desire, reorient hope, reimagine possibility', 'preferring instead to touch, to be with to love' (Halberstam 2013, p11).

## 9.3 My contribution

This section outlines my contribution to academic-activist praxis, as empirical, methodological, as a contribution to collective learning within movements and to enhancing understandings of how movement-initiated social transformation is galvanised.

### 9.3.1 Empirical

Firstly, my empirical contribution to academic–activist praxis through this thesis has been the exploration of a range of London-based, globally networked movements, exploring how everyday dilemmas of organising are played out in minutiae. I have connected these micro-politics within movements to larger issues, like how movements undermine dominant systems of oppression by creating multiplicities of lived democracy, collective action, autonomy, how they build anti-oppression into their thinking, use decolonial critiques and practice and how they are responding to repression.

This research is as such an empirical contribution to exploring how strategic and prefigurative dilemmas are lived out in daily organising and how these relate to macro-politics of movements shifting structural oppressions with their other ways of being, doing and relating, living and loving. Finally, how contemporary movements are working towards a shift away from a planet dominated by global capitalism and neo-liberal reasoning towards more humane, equitable, people and planet-centred modes of existence.

### 9.3.2 Methodological

With an integrative approach, an anti-oppressive prefigurative epistemology (following Motta 2011), PAR design anarcha-feminist approach combining auto-ethnography and militant ethnography (Juris 2007), I have created my own integrative methodology to explore how the strategic and prefigurative dilemmas within movements operate and how movements are undermining systems of oppression whilst creating lived alternatives.

The anarcha-feminist approach to research that I have taken is rare. Very few anarcha-feminists are carrying out research and there are very few self-defining anarcha-feminist writers. Trans-feminist discourses are also new and ground-breaking in their contributions to anarcha-feminism. Anarcha-feminism and transfeminism both are creating nuanced and complex understandings, focusing on combining understandings of the structures of oppression, using personal stories, collective reflection and action to collaboratively dismantle them. I hope this thesis is a methodological contribution to this praxis.

This research, in line with my methodology pilot (Burrell 2013b) and dissertation (2013c) is also experimental and synthetic in carrying out research which reflects the movements themselves. As such I have attempted to integratively, create methodology and research practice that is open, horizontal, collaborative, participative, anti-oppressive, diverse and connected, and capable of bringing about radical transformation, as such, the research is a contribution to movement integrity as well as being a contribution to social transformation-making, in itself.

With regard to the PAR, I have attempted to engage with 'pre-figurative, post-representational, politics…which is intellectual, affective, subjective and collective' as Motta advocates (2011, p179). Motta urges that activist researchers 'unlearn…academic privilege and transform epistemology into prefigurative practice of everyday life (so as to co-produce work that) seeks to develop…utopias as part of the process of creating alternative logics of being and doing' (2011, p179, p192).  My work departs from Motta over academic privilege, as described in my pilot (Burrell 2013b) and methodology Chapter 4. Rather than 'unlearn' it, I have attempted to re-appropriate 'academic rigour and reflection to benefit social change-making' (Burrell 2013b, p15). Using a very practical form of anarchism, in this thesis, I utilise the principle and practice of means and ends alignment to explore and collaborate within a wider project of anarchist academic-activist praxis, to work on the integrity of movement principles and practice.

I have done this through exploring the integrity within *how* movements are undermining, exposing and starting to replace oppressive systems and within direct democratic processes, *how* we mobilise collective action, *how* our movements are autonomous, *how* they respond to decolonising critique*, how* they incorporate anti-oppressive practices and *how* they creatively respond to repression.

### 9.3.3 Contribution to collective learning

As discussed in Chapter 4 methodology, Motta also advocates a 'co-construction of knowledge within movements, 'collective reflection of communities in struggle', open potential for horizontal relationships of mutual collective learning, so epistemology becomes an everyday life practice (2011, p196).

Following Khasnabish and Haiven and as discussed in methodology Chapter 4, I have attempted to 'convoke' 'radical imagining'. Radical imagining is crucial to movements as it allows people to imagine and feel solidarity with distant strangers, enabling organising in solidarity and in tandem with those who have different life experiences from our own, or who live on the other side of the planet. Furthermore, within movements and beyond it enables us to empathise and act with those who experience different oppressions from our own. Khasnabish and Haiven therefore attempt to 'convoke' the radical imagination – that

is through their methodology, to create an environment conducive and stimulating for radical imagining – so that it can be better understood.

Part of my contribution to collective learning in movements, has been experimenting with convoking 'radical imagining'. I have carried out research deeply embedded in movements, with some collective learning interventions as concrete as a workshop or my 'On oppression, anarcha-feminist intersectionality, affected communities and bottom-up organising' sfor Rising up! Strategy' (2016), Appendix 6.1 but more often through informal conversations with other activists at actions, camps, meetings, conferences or other interventions.

I have also followed closely, both personally and for this research the contributions to collective learning interventions made by other individuals and collectives, like Tisha Brown and Wretched of the Earth (Appendices 5.3 and 5.2), and even though I did not carry out ethnographic research in those networks, because of issues around representation and the 'white gaze', I observed with interest and also attempted to make my own intervention into how those decolonising discourses were received and acted upon within other movements, like the RTP-Black Lives Matter, less successful action, and the Stansted15 which worked better at collaborative movement building, as discussed in my fieldwork and Analysis Chapters 7 and 8.

My contribution to collective learning also involves analysing the ways movements themselves are learning. What movements are learning about processes of direct democracy and how to be more inclusive or intersectionally aware, how they are finding and using types of action that fit as many different types of people as possible. How they are applying critiques from other activists, collectives and networks about decolonisation and anti-oppression, how they are responding to critiques from mainstream debate and the radical literature about their relationship with the state or the impossibility of horizontal, anarchist futures. How they are applying lessons from other movements from the past, women's and GJM, Civil Rights movements so as not to repeat the mistakes of previous movements with issues of non-hierarchal organising and living and using for example, repression as a stimulus for movement building and radicalising. How they are experimenting with party political politics like Corbyn, Greek Syrizia and the Indignadoes born Podemos is another issue I consider.

I hope other activists, collectives and movements will also learn about collective-self-reflexivity from my contribution. That movements can collectively explore their strategies and tactics, improving process, access, connectivity, challenges of the state and repression, of internal oppression and how to creatively bounce back after movement challenges and troughs. I hope activists and affinities learn something also about sustaining activism over the life course and something about personal and collective resilience and about the ways collectives and networks rebound and bounce back. I hope this thesis will help other movements to examine and explore their own social transformation making traction and use disagreement – the dissensus rather than to being overwhelmed by it, to their advantage to grow, amplify exponentially their transformatory potential and outcomes. This thesis is utopian in praxis, attempting to contribute to radical transformation.

9.3.4 Enhancing understanding over how movements galvanise social transformation

My final contribution to activist-academic praxis is shedding light on the way movements galvanise social transformation. Through exploring the strategic and prefigurative dilemmas of daily organising within movements and how they relate to movement based social-transformation traction, my argument is that it is the nuanced combining of strategic refusal of multiple systems of oppression with the prefiguration of new ways of being, doing, relating living and loving which creates movement-initiated social transformation-making traction.

This thesis has explored transformation-making from a variety of perspectives Autonomous Marxists, Open Marxist, socialist, horizontalist, anarchist, anarcha-feminist, trans-feminist, decolonising feminist, decolonising anarchist and Black understandings around lived and desired futures and how to galvanise change. From Harvey (2010) and Giri's (2013) 'rebirth of Communism', through Hardt's (2010) 'institutionalising of revolutionary structures' to Holloway's 'changing the world without taking power' (2002, 2010). From Young and Schwartz's (2012) 'using all the tools in the box', to tackle climate change, through Dinerstein's prefigurative 'excess' (2015) to de Souza's 'despite and essentially against the state' (2010). From Foucauldian understandings of the 'right not to be governed' to, second, third generation intersectional feminists and movement-embedded critiques, like Butler and Athanasiou (2013). From Rogue and Volcano's (2012) strategic tearing down of the structures of oppression to horizontalist prefiguration of new worlds, 'revolutions as non-violent' as feminism (Graeber 2013a). From intersectional oppression to Braidotti's 'micro-politics' of affinity to 'boundless solidarity' with 'infinite responsibility' (Day 2005, p17). Multiplicities of new voluntary association (Gaarder 2009), moving beyond solidarities to 'relationship frameworks' between Peoples and species (Amahady 2010, Walia 2012) and Weibel's new relationships between present and future generations (2016). Centring of indigenous bodies, critiques and understandings into movements praxis with 'nature-culture' (Zunino 2016) and multiple feminised epistemologies disrupting patriarchal, colonial discourse (Motta and Seppala 2016) and Fanon's refusal of the choices offered preferring 'to be instead with love…' (Halberstam 2013, Moten and Harney 2013). All of these ideas around transformation-making, I argue are feeding into the complexity and potential of contemporary movements to galvanise social transformation.

This thesis thus is a contribution not only to better understanding how movements are contributing to and can galvanise more social transformation-making traction, but also is an exploration and celebration of some of the best radical thinkers and radical communities and how they understand the world and the complexity of diverse social transformation making relationships and associations that exist within it. This thesis is both describing the world and trying to change it and as such is utopian in praxis in its attempt to shift forward the movement-embedded praxes of transformation.


9.4 Further research and contribution to movement-embedded collective research

Further research could lengthen, broaden, or focus in on particular issues. It could follow the same or similar movements along a longer time frame to study how the dilemmas of everyday organising galvanise social transformation, over time. It could explore different dilemmas of organising, or it could go into more depth around the issues of one particular dilemma, like direct action, autonomy or the decolonising critique. Decolonisation is particularly relevant and pertinent in the contemporary context particularly around the centring of indigenous voices and 'affected communities' within climate change debates and mobilisations, as has been discussed throughout this thesis.

Further research for this praxis-based thesis could also focus around dissemination or more deeply embedding these collective learning experiences within movements. I will continue to share the collective learning embedded in this thesis at activist gatherings and conferences formally through workshops and informally through conversation. I also hope to publish a version of this work as a book or set of pamphlets with an anarchist press and/or online, so that it is accessible to the general public, activists, organisers as well as movement-embedded academics.

9.5 Concluding thoughts

This thesis has explored how strategic and prefigurative dilemmas within the everyday organising of social movements can create social transformation-making traction. Using PAR, auto-ethnography and militant ethnography, an anarcha-feminist approach to collective learning I have drawn together poetic fieldwork and reportage accounts of a variety of movements – London-based but globally networked to show the complexity of dilemmas as they are lived out in daily organising. These dilemmas, I have argued are strategically exposing, undermining and in some cases starting to replace the dominant systems of oppression of global capitalism, patriarchy, racism, heteronormativity, (neo)colonialism, dis(ableism), ageism. Simultaneously, the dilemmas and movements are prefigurative, creating new ways of being, doing, relating, living and loving which transcend oppressive relationships of the contemporary setting. The recent explosion of experimentation with forms of participatory democracy, collective and direct action, autonomy, decolonial critiques, anti-oppressive processes and practices the balancing of order, chaos and radical imagining and strategies for repression are creating a multiplicity of new social relations and relationships between peoples and with nature. In some cases, the complexity of dealing with multiple oppressions within a horizontal plane of organising cause's collectives or networks to collapse, which often creates a reseeding of potential from those organisers and affinities. In other cases, movements are radically transcending extremely complex issues around multiple oppressions, collectively learning through collective radical imagining, face-to-face, online or in print. Movements themselves are collectively learning, shifting and transcending to incorporate anti-oppression of multiple oppressions into their own practice. My argument furthermore is that it is the tension between strategic and prefigurative dilemmas within movements that creates and galvanises potential and actual social transformation and change.

As discussed in my methodology and throughout the thesis, the idea behind this research, it that within our activist communities we hold the seeds for future worlds, then our micro-politics – the ways we organise - could have huge impact on the ways that society transforms in the future. If we dream and desire and live out hugely different futures – of equality, sustainability, real democracy, alternatives to global capitalism, then new forms of organising society can be born out of movements, becoming more numerous and more prevalent as the existing oppressive systems become obsolete and fall. This means that our seeds of change need to be well-thought out, living the futures we desire so that as transformation occurs, we do not replicate the old ways of being, doing and thinking, rather create new worlds and new ways of interacting with peace, harmony and respect between all peoples and new relationships with the living world and care for our planet, thus 'chang(ing) the world without taking power' (Holloway 2002).

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# APPENDICES

**Appendix 5.1: Occupy LSX Initial Statements**


**From Occupy LSX (2011) 'A Toolkit for Occupy Everywhere', p.9-10.**

# INITIAL STATEMENT

**1** **The** current system is unsustainable. It is undemocratic and unjust. We need alternatives; this is where we work towards them.

**2** **We** are of all ethnicities, backgrounds, genders, generations, sexualities dis/abilities and faiths. We stand together with occupations all over the world.

**3** **We** refuse to pay for the banks' crisis.

**4** **We** do not accept the cuts as either necessary or inevitable. We demand an end to global tax injustice and our democracy representing corporations instead of the people.

**5** **We** want regulators to be genuinely independent of the industries they regulate.

**6** **We** support the strike on the 30th November and the student action on the 9th November, and actions to defend our health services, welfare, education and employment, and to stop wars and arms dealing.

**7** **We** want structural change towards authentic global equality. The world's resources must go towards caring for people and the planet, not the military, corporate profits or the rich.

**8** **The** present economic system pollutes land, sea and air, is causing massive loss of natural species and environments, and is accelerating humanity towards irreversible climate change. We call for a positive, sustainable economic system that benefits present and future generations". [1]

**9** **We** stand in solidarity with the global oppressed and we call for an end to the actions of our government and others in causing this oppression.

**10** THIS IS WHAT DEMOCRACY LOOKS LIKE.
# COME & JOIN US!

[1] **This** point was added to the statement following a proposal being passed by the Occupy London General Assembly on 19 November 2011.

# OCCUPY LSX STATEMENT TO CREATE GLOBAL DIALOGUE

**1**    **Our** global system is unsustainable. It is undemocratic and unjust, driven by profit in the interest of the few.

**2**    **An** economic system based on infinite growth, but which relies on finite resources, is leading humanity and the environment to destruction. As long as this system remains in place, people of the world continue to suffer from an increasingly unfair share of income and wealth.

**3**    **We** seek a global system that is democratic, just and sustainable. The world's resources must not go to the military or corporate profit, but instead go towards caring for people's needs: water, food, housing, education, health, community.

**4**    **An** international, global collaboration has started, and is working on a statement that will unite the occupy movements across the world in their struggle for an alternative that is focused on and originates from people and their environment.

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Available from: http://issuu.com/occupylondon/docs/occupyeverywhere/1

[Accessed 13 July 2013].

**Appendix 5.2: Wretched of the Earth**

**OPEN LETTER FROM THE WRETCHED OF THE EARTH BLOC TO THE ORGANISERS OF THE PEOPLE'S CLIMATE MARCH OF JUSTICE AND JOBS**



*Originally published on Black Dissidents website on 16 December 2016*

On Dec. 7th, indigenous activists from across the world kayaked down the river Seine to protest the removal of the protection of indigenous rights as a crucial aspect of the climate treaty being negotiated in Paris. The push back against indigenous rights was led by the U.S., EU, Australia – all states with a rich past and present of colonial exploitation of people and land – who feared that the protection of indigenous rights might create legal liabilities.

The securing of indigenous rights over land and resources is not only crucial to preventing the key causes of climate change, but also is about doing justice to those peoples most impacted. The protest on the Seine was a clear message of the kinds of devastation already under way due to state-sponsored corporate greed.

The silencing and erasure of indigenous people, and of the vulnerable peoples from the global south (the treaty also features a weakening of the human rights clause), at the climate talks is part of a long history of violent colonialism and racism that is at the heart of climate change.

This form of silencing is not limited to state and corporate powers – it runs rampant as well within the climate movement of the global north. So, before you can begin to claim some empty support for indigenous and global south peoples, we would like to remind you of your treatment of these very people at the People's Climate March for Justice and Jobs that happened two weeks ago in London.

The climate march in London was led by the Wretched of the Earth, a bloc made up of Indigenous people and people descended from communities from the Global South.

Indigenous delegates who had travelled from the Pacific Islands and from the Sami Nation in Sweden were invited to join the London Climate March after the attacks in Paris meant they could not attend there. Our communities, in both the global south and the global north, bear the heaviest burden of climate change and environmental degradation. This is through

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the deprivation of water and food, and the destruction of culture and life itself. The impacts of climate change are continuous with, and a consequence of, colonial and imperial violence that sees these lands and lives as expendable. *Our place at the front of the march was therefore rightful, because we are from and of frontline communities.*

However, like the history of any just cause, our place at the front of the march was not bestowed upon us. It was fought for, behind the scenes, for months, and after much pushback, it was agreed that we would lead the march. However, the agreement it seems was contingent upon us merely acting out our ethnicities – through attire, song and dance, perhaps – to provide a good photo-op, so that you might tick your narrow diversity box. The fact that we spoke for our own cause in our own words resulted in great consternation: you did not think that our decolonial and anti-imperialist message was consistent with the spirit of the march. In order to secure our place at the front, you asked us to dilute our message and make it 'palatable'.

On Sunday, our bloc arrived at the march only to find that you had organised a most colourful form of sabotage. Our place had been given to a group of people dressed in animal headgear. After having invited the Pacific Island and Sami people to lead the bloc, you then took away the main banner of the march and asked them to hold signs instead. The banners made by indigenous communities were covered up. Signs that proclaimed indigenous and global south communities as the 'Wretched of the Earth' and charged 'British Imperialism causes climate injustice' were to be removed in favor of those that projected a more 'positive message'.

*To repeat: the place of indigenous, black and brown people was stolen and given away to people dressed as animals. Let's say it again: so long as indigenous, black, and brown people were unwilling to merely add decorative value they were replaceable by animals.*



This is colonialism at its most basic and obvious. The history of conquest, genocide, and slavery is the foundation of our modern economic system – the very system responsible for the global disaster that is climate change. This is the same history that compares indigenous, black and brown people to animals and treats them as such. The history of colonialism is the ensuing legitimisation of theft, occupation, and erasure.

Your decision to overshadow the indigenous communities' banner and to replace our bloc with animals indicates at best your historical amnesia, and at worst your own colonial

mentality. It also highlights the wilful hypocrisy of the climate movement in the global north: well before you started caring about polar bears and recycling, colonised and postcolonial peoples were already fighting to reclaim and heal their connection with the earth and all its life forms that were so brutally violated by European colonialism and extractive industries.

So, in response to your own colonial tactics, we changed ours. As some of us in the UK say, 'If they don't give us justice, then we won't give them peace'. And so we didn't. We charged forward to hold our place at the front, we had a sit-in and a die-in, and each time you tried to by-pass us, we ran again. We acted in full solidarity to hold the space for people who had travelled long distances to be present with us at this time of great change. We can therefore proudly claim that the UK's biggest climate march was indeed led by representatives of the Sami peoples in Scandinavia and of Islander peoples of Melanesia, Micronesia, and Polynesia, as well as black and brown communities living in the UK.

At various points during the march you called the police on us: first by complaining that the coffins we carried to commemorate the victims of environmental and climate genocide were a health hazard. Later, you called on them to kettle us during a brief die-in near BP's headquarters so that the rest of the march could continue uninterrupted.

*In case you missed it: you, the organisers of the climate march, called on the official agents of colonial and capitalist power to separate indigenous, black, and brown people from the march, portraying us as protesters against the march rather than frontline community members and soldiers for climate justice.*



Our peoples bear a long history of resisting colonial domination and erasure in all its forms. The banner that we held while leading the march read 'Still fighting Co2onialism', bearing testament not only to this long history but also to our treatment by the organisers of the march. The chants that were heard first as the march headed through the streets of the city were those charging genocide, and demanding decolonialisation as the only viable solution to climate change, ending with the traditional songs of the Sami people.
Your strategy of trying to erase us was continued well by the mainstream media, whose coverage made it appear as though we weren't even there. You have since made no reference to your numerous and deliberate efforts to sabotage the bloc and deny our message. In fact, you have been trying to ignore us in the hope that our message will simply fizzle out, unworthy of mainstream attention.

All of this is just one of the many ways in which our communities are consistently erased as frontline fighters against climate change. Your attempts to replace the reality of the genocidal impacts of climate change on indigenous communities with bobbing animal-heads adds insult to injury – not because the protection of animals among all life forms is

insignificant but because who other than frontline communities can better speak to the utter devastation of flora and fauna on their own lands.

We face an uphill battle in fighting climate change as part of the wider system that has created and enables it – capitalism and colonialism. But what happened at the London climate march is also a clear confirmation that the climate movement itself perpetuates these very oppressions.

The climate movement, in the UK and globally, will be decolonial or it will be nothing. That Sunday in London, the Indigenous communities and Wretched of the Earth bloc proved this: the first to die, the first to fight, the first to march.



A movement that erases, silences and calls the police on frontline communities, those who do most of the dying and most of the resisting, is doomed to fail.
Those who seek to silence us must be held accountable – both, the executives at the top who tell their employees that the clash 'never happened', and their foot soldiers who pulled away the banner and tried to take down our placards.

We are angry, but we are not hopeless. We do not want saviours, we know how to fight. Accountability, therefore, does not imply an apology. Accountability is redress and just action. For too long we have been speaking, shouting and chanting, often to no avail. Your active silencing of dissenting indigenous and global south voices has contributed to yet another failed COP. But now, as one of our comrades has noted, we demand: 'Listen when oppressed people speak'. In the lead-up to COP22 in Morocco, indigenous rights and human rights, as collective rights, must be at the forefront of any climate movement.

To paraphrase Utah Phillips: The climate movement is not white, but it is being white-washed. Indigenous rights and racial justice are not a distraction. They are the heart of climate justice. There is no more time for your dirty games. The clock is ticking.

*The Wretched of the Earth are: Algeria Solidarity Campaign, Argentina Solidarity Campaign, Black Dissidents, Colombia Solidarity Campaign, Environmental Justice North Africa, Global Afrikan People's Parliament, Global Justice Forum, Indigenous Environmental Network, Kilombo U.K, London Mexico Solidarity, Movimiento Ecuador Reino Unido (MERU), Movimiento Jaguar Despierto, PARCOE, The London Latinxs, South Asia Solidarity Group, This Changes Everything UK. In solidarity: UK Tar Sands Network.*

Available from: https://reclaimthepower.org.uk/news/open-letter-from-wretched-of-the-earth-bloc-to-organisers-of-peoples-climate-march/

[Accessed 15 January 2016].

**Appendix 5.3:**

**DeC02lonalism 101: We need to talk about oppression**

By <u>Tisha Brown</u> | <u>3</u>

*Quick read: 3 minutes*



by Wretched of The Earth Collective

*Following NGO attempts to silence communities of colour at the London climate march, **Tisha Brown** lays out some advice for building a truly inclusive climate movement.*
'

I know that Indigenous rights are important. But we really need to focus on renewables.' That was one of the less offensive things shouted to me as I was shoved and verbally abused whilst marching with the Wretched of the Earth bloc during last Sunday's climate march in London.

What took place on Sunday is shameful. <u>You can read more about it here</u>. But I'm not going to re-hash the events of the day. I'm here to talk about what we can do to ensure that it doesn't happen again. Below are some things to consider when trying to build a diverse and intersectional environmental movement.

**Decolonise your mind**

Suzanne Dhaliwal, Director of UK Tar Sands Network said, 'People on the frontlines of this struggle are the people who hold the deep solutions.' The people she is referring to are the Global South. They are the first to fight and the first to die. We should be looking to them for solutions to the climate crisis. The fight to stop the Keystone XL pipeline was led by Indigenous groups and people of colour. The Ogoni in Nigeria have successfully been fighting Shell for years. We need to remind ourselves that sometimes the people with the solutions are not Western or of European descent.

This also feeds into the messaging around the environmental movement. We want to save the polar bear. We are doing this for the love of coffee or chocolate. But we fail to acknowledge that the people most affected by climate change are black and brown people. They are also poor people. They deserve our support and we should be just a willing to save them as we are the Arctic. Black lives matter.

## Engage in mutual solidarity

This means not just asking black and brown people to show up at your demonstrations but to also support us in our struggles. Last year at the height of the Black Lives Matter protests in the US and at solidarity events here in Britain, I was struck by the silence coming from the climate movement. On one hand, we are all agreed that the police represent state oppression and are guilty of disgusting acts of violence. But when groups were holding demonstrations, like a march for those killed in police custody, the environmental movement was silent. If we are serious about building a mass movement, then we have to become more intersectional in our politics. We have to reach out to black and brown organizations and ask how we can help and maintain that relationship if we want them to build a mass movement.

However, be careful that the invite isn't just a tick-box exercise to fill a diversity quota. These groups should be involved in the planning and messaging of the day. Ask them what they think and take their concerns and ideas on board.

## Intersectional organizing is essential

Intersectional organizing needs to be at the heart of what we do. For us to fight off the worst effects from climate change and help support the people in the Global South fighting on the frontlines, we are going to need the help of everyone. That means we need to ensure that our spaces are not only welcoming and safe but also accessible. We have to look at power and privilege in groups and be serious about finding ways to address it.

We also need to be intersectional in our messaging. You can care about renewables and still care about Indigenous rights. In fact, this is the only way that we can bring about the revolutionary change needed to secure a liveable climate. Covering the Sahara desert with solar panels to supply energy to the West is not a just solution. Our liberation is your liberation.

## Listen when oppressed people speak

If someone tells you that something is racist, sexist, ableist, homophobic or transphobic towards them, please listen. They are the ones who endure their oppression on a daily basis. Doubting them invalidates their experience and inevitably adds to their oppression. It also upholds oppressive behaviour. If we want to seriously address problems that we have in the movement, we need to be willing to listen to those who feel oppressed, even if it makes us feel uncomfortable.

We also have to realise that we are all guilty of these behaviours. It doesn't matter how radical your politics are. We all live and take part in a social and economic system that is heteronormative, able-ist, patriarchal, racist and cis-gendered. Whether we want to admit it or not, we have all internalised these behaviours. Occasionally we will make a mistake. While it's never easy to be called out, we have to avoid going into a default defensive mode. Listening is the most important thing that we can do. It's also vital to sit with that feeling of discomfort and figure out where it's coming from. It's not easy but anti-oppression and power and privilege workshops can help.

Whilst the points named above are by no means exhaustive, they are very important first steps to creating a broad and diverse movement that can help tackle the climate crisis. Climate change provides us with the opportunity to build a just and equitable world where

everyone is liberated. To achieve this, we need a diversity of tactics and voices. A climate movement that ignores those who are fighting on the front lines or re-creates the systems of oppression that created this mess needs to do some serious soul searching. Let's work together to ensure that the events of Sunday never happen again.

Permalink | Published on December 2, 2015 by Tisha Brown | 3

Available from: https://newint.org/blog/guests/2015/12/02/we-need-to-talk-about-oppression/

[Accessed 13 July 2017].
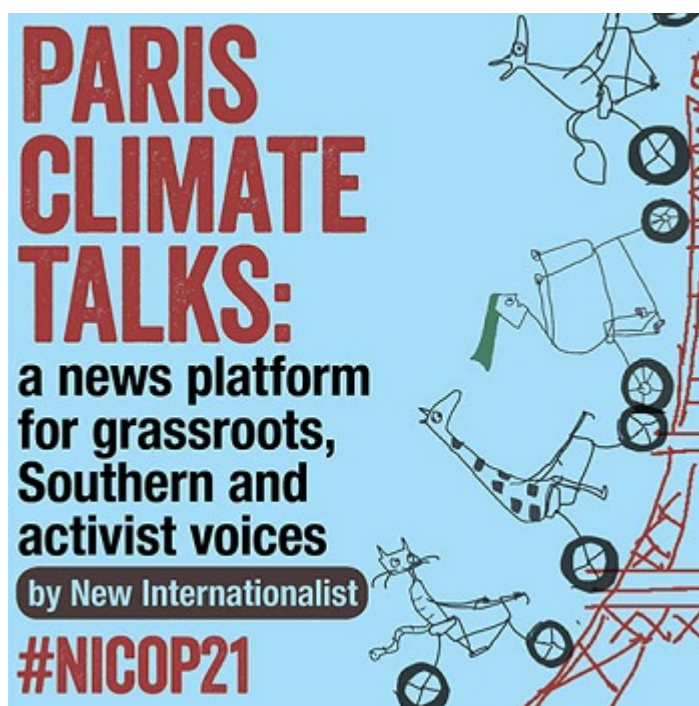
**Appendix 5.4:**

**WE DO NOT CONSENT: Defend the Right to Protest Conference Programme**

**2014**

 **Sunday November 16th, 11am till late**

SOAS, Thornhaugh Street, WC1H 0XG London

A one day conference to discuss how we tackle state violence and injustice in a climate of austerity, rising racism and inequality.

**11am – 12noon: OPENING PLENARY:** *Injustice Everywhere is a Threat to Justice Everywhere:*

**HELEN STEEL** McLibel defendant & Spies out of Our Lives, **CAROLE DUGGAN** Mark Duggan's Aunt, **JULES CAREY** lawyer to Ian Tomlinson's family, **HAMJA AHSAN** Free Talha Ahsan, **JOHN MCDONNELL MP** and **NINA POWER** Defend the Right to Protest

**12noon-2pm Workshops**

 **\*Undercover cops and the secret state** with **Rob Evans** *author Undercover –the True story of Britain's secret police* **Jenny Jones** *GLA*, **Dave Smith** *Blacklist Support Group*, **Merrick Badger** *Campaign Opposing Police Surveillance*

**\*Policing the neoliberal university** with **Areeb Ulah** *KCL VP Education,* **Jelena Timotijevic** Defend the Right to Protest & *UCU*, **Alexis Wearmouth** SOAS UCU executive & fractional rep fighting victimisation, **Simon Behrman** *Acquitted protester* **Malia Bouattia** NUS Black Students

**\*Deaths in custody – is justice possible?** with **Susan Alexander** *mother of Azelle Rodney*, **Marcia Rigg** *sister Sean Rigg*, **Matt Bolton** author of *Hillsborough: Deadly Fiction?*, **Deborah Coles** *INQUEST* and **Liberty Louise** Justice for Leon

**\*Protest, surveillance, stop and search – know your rights/get organized** with **Kevin Blowe** *Coordinator NETPOL*, **Rachel Harger** *DtRtP*, **Taher Gulamhussein** *StopWatch*

**2pm-3pm Lunch Break**

**3-4.30pm Workshops**

**\*Global movements, policing and the state- building international solidarity** with **Sameh Naguib** revolutionary socialist Egypt, **Wing-yi Kan & Jun Yip** Hong Kong Overseas Alliance, **Karine Daudicourt** EELV (French Green Party) – solidarity with Remi Fraisse

**\*Still the Enemy Within – strikes, solidarity and the law with Mike Jackson** Lebian and Gays Support the Miners**, John Booth** Orgeave Truth and Justice Campaign, **Owen Jones** *author The Establishment* and **Nia Hughes** Ritzy Worker & BECTU Rep

**\*Fracking: the future face of protest policing?** with **Simon Pook** lawyer representing fracking cases, **Helen Monk & Will Jackson, Lindsey Bessell** *Justice 4 Barton Moss*, **Ewa Jasiewicz** *Fuel Poverty Action* **Raj Chada** lawyer representing Fortnum Mason, Critical Mass & Dale Farm cases

**\*Justice for all – not just the rich: resisting the assault on civil liberties** with **Matt Foot** Justice Alliance and **Danny Dorling** *Inequality & the 1%* and **Cerie Bullivant** CAGE

**4.30-5.30 – CLOSING PLENARY  NOT A MOMENT, BUT A MOVEMENT**:     Rev **Osagyefo Sekou** Ferguson protests, **Alife Meadows** and **Hannah Dee** DtRtP

**5.30-11pm Social** (food served, pay what you can, £2-£5 recommended donation)

**6.30-7.30pm Film Screening of** *BURN* (30minutes/UK/2014/Migrant Media) followed by Q and A with Director **Ken Fero** & **Fidel Santigi**

8.30-9.30 **Jason Nwansi** and others

**Appendix 6.1:**

**On oppression, anarcha-feminist intersectionality, affected communities and bottom-up organising**

**A response to Rising Up! Strategy**

**Kate Burrell 2016**

Thanks for putting together this document. There are a lot of great ideas and exciting possibilities within it! Here are some reflections based on my experience within and outside of movements but also influenced by global anarcha-feminist accounts of how to use personal understandings of power to collectively dismantle oppressive structures. Some thoughts:

On intersectionality: Intersectionality is a really useful term and can be applied to a multitude of forms of oppression in order to create a more inclusive movement. Through working with homeless people in my early twenties and living alongside vulnerable people in protest, traveler and party scene since, I don't think lack of material wealth is the only devastating and compassion-building factor in people's lives. In our society in neoliberal capitalist global north and beyond, people suffer from a 'wealth' of other things. Family breakdown, isolation within and from communities, forced and voluntary displacement, mental and emotional distress, physical and sexual violence and abuse and addiction all create a suffering which is very difficult to recover from. People who experience these issues often already exist within a somewhat radicalized and politicized communities as a result.  These communities are also considered disposable by those in power. And I think we could as a movement also consider these issues to build into a broader more compassionate understanding of intersectionality. Maybe mental health should be specifically mentioned because we are suffering an epidemic of mental distress of many varieties within the global north. And mental health intersects with class and race. In fact many of the black people seen as disposable to the police in the UK and in the US (as globally), also have mental health and addiction issues and we could be more explicit in this kind of solidarity (deaths in police custody or deaths on the streets).

On affected communities and globalizing our resistance: Through small contact with Wretched of the Earth, whose remit is to decolonialise the environmental movement, I also think it is crucial that we put the voices of communities affected by climate change at the forefront of the struggle. People from affected communities living in the UK have great links in this country and the global south with communities actually being devastated by the impact of climate change now. 'Environmental refugees' is a term the Wretched of the Earth are considering reclaiming as a political term to describe these affected communities. Global networking is still a vital part of putting pressure on states and corporate rule and I think on this island, it is easy to isolate ourselves from global struggles which are very relevant and ongoing.

On gathering and creating collective knowledge: Top-down training of people is crucial, but so is understanding that each of the people that we train and each collective we have contact with, already has a complex and nuanced understanding of structures of power and oppression as they affect their lives. I think we also need to create fora for people to discuss. So for example training could have open assembly time where people can raise their issues, discuss how they see the world, how they want to organize and I think there needs to be a way of these ideas, information and knowledges coming back to the people pushing forward this movement. Otherwise by training, we can easily be assuming a hierarchy of knowledge where 'we' are the experts and 'they' are the receivers. Trainers could be very sensitive listeners and communicators and gatherers of ideas and knowledges, as well as transmitters of information.

On being inclusive with other values, principles: When working with a huge diversity of people, we must understand that individuals, collectives and communities have their own values and principles which people pushing for Rising Up! also need to take into account, otherwise we may risk recreating some kind of cultural colonialization by believing that our values and principles are more important than those of other people. What we need, I suggest, is a process of empowerment and encouragement and listening, so that we understand and recognize that people differ in their priorities and understandings of what is wrong with the world yet can unite in direct action against the structures that are oppressing all of us. Plus to create collective knowledge of how the structures of oppression differentially affect individuals and communities in order to collectively dismantle those structures (global capitalism, class, race, ableism, disability both mental and physical, visible and invisible, patriarchy, heteronormativity, age and so on...).

Thanks for taking the time to read and reflect on these thoughts.

Further reading:

Dark Star Collective (Editor) Quiet Rumors: An Anarcha-Feminist Reader 2008 (especially transfeminist critique of liberal intersectionality (Volcano?)

Butler and Athanasiou Dispossession : The performative in the political 2013

> Butler and Athanasiou, movement-embedded global feminist scholars, in a similar way to Graeber, but with a more intersectionally thrashed-out argument, argue that dispossession is 'materialized and de-materialized  through histories of slavery, colonialism, apartheid, capitalist alienation, immigration and asylum politics, post-colonial multi-culturalism, gender and sexual normativity, sectarian governmentality and humanitarian reason' (2013 p10), so that in a world where 'having' is 'being' and 'being' is 'having', land and property ownership has been decided by 'western, white, male, colonizing, property-owning, sovereign human subject' (2013 p13) so that certain bodies (those of slaves) are paradigmatically excluded.

Further discussion contact ▓▓▓▓▓▓▓▓▓▓▓▓▓

# Safer Spaces Policy

Sisters Uncut aims to create a respectful, understanding and kind space where people feel able to express themselves and ask questions without fear of reprisal or humiliation.

This document is a guideline, it should change as we learn and grow. It should tell you what you can expect from Sisters Uncut and what you commit to as part of the Sisters community.

**We have high expectations of how we behave towards each other in our meetings, actions and social spaces.** We will not wait for issues of harm to happen but will proactively challenge oppression & hierarchy in everything we do.

Our meetings should be inclusive and supportive spaces for all women (trans, intersex and cis) and all nonbinary, agender and gender variant people. Self-definition is at the sole discretion of that individual. We do not police gender in our spaces. If you are here it is because you feel that you are included by our gender inclusion policy, and therefore you are welcome. Our meetings and spaces are not open to people who identify solely or primarily as men. If you have any queries regarding our gender inclusion policy, please don't hesitate to ask questions.

Sisters Uncut is a diverse group, and some of us experience different kinds of oppression & violence at the same time, including racism, disableism, poverty, transphobia, transmisogyny, homophobia, islamophobia and antisemitism, as well as others. These oppressions are not separate from each other which can be exhausting & painful. We want to create a community that recognises and challenges the oppression & exploitation that some of us are harmed by and some of us benefit from.

Some people are survivors of domestic, sexual and state violence. Our organising & our community aims to be survivor-centred. We all respond to harmful experiences differently, so take care of yourself in meetings and actions however feels comfortable for you.

1. **Consent**; before you touch anyone or discuss sensitive topics ask if they are comfortable with that. Don't assume your physical & emotional boundaries are the same as other people's.

2. **Be aware of your privileges**; including less obvious or invisible hierarchies. Think about how your words, opinions and feelings are influenced and who they might exclude or harm.

3. **Calling out**; if you have acted or spoken harmfully, even if unintentionally, someone will bring this up with you. If this happens, listen and reflect on what they are saying even if you think they may be wrong. Don't try to absolve yourself of responsibility.

4. **Learning**; if you don't understand something, just ask. You may be directed to a book, website or skillshare to learn more. We are each responsible for our own learning and if we feel able, for sharing it with others.

5. **Labour**; please contribute whatever you can; this will be different for everyone and that's fine. It's ok to make mistakes. Please show appreciation for the hard work of others and be considerate when you offer criticism.

6. **Social**; Like other communities we build social relationships outside of meetings and actions. We commit to this Safer Spaces policy wherever we are together, this includes ensuring that ALL spaces are accessible to disabled people and we create opportunities to socialise without alcohol. You are not expected to participate in social events, this shouldn't make you feel less included.

7. **Security**; please don't use the names/details of people who have been involved in organising and carrying out our actions. This makes sure that journalists, Police or other unknown people don't hold information that could put sisters at risk of harm.

8. **Community Accountability**; When a sister(s) is harmed, we use the principles of transformative justice to hold ourselves to account and find ways to heal, learn and move forward together. You can speak to any other sister if you would like information or support to work through an issue you have experienced or observed. Our Accountability Toolbox is a useful starting point to learn about transformative justice and accountability in Sisters Uncut.

When we work together in this radical and transformative way, we are creating the change we wish to see in the world.

Available from: http://www.sistersuncut.org/saferspaces/

[Accessed 28 February 2017].

## Appendix 6.3: STANSTED15 SOLIDARITY STATEMENT – END DEPORTATIONS NOW

## Statement of support from Rising Tide

"In line with our Rising Tide International Political Statement and also as Members of Stay Grounded, Rising Tide UK stands in solidarity with the Stansted 15. The 15 are nearing the end of a gruelling 8-week trial in Chelmsford, having taken nonviolent direct action to stop a deportation charter flight to Nigeria from taking off in March 2017. For this action, which highlighted a brutal and little-known aspect of the UK's border regime, they are facing charges of terrorism which could result in life imprisonment.

Deportation charter flights are a particularly horrific aspect of the UK's hostile environment for migrants, which also includes immigration detention centres, raids, signing at the police station and keeping people in a limbo of uncertainty over their future – often for years. People deported on these flights are snatched from their communities and families - without due process and without time to challenge the deportation through legal means. According to Corporate Watch: "Up to 2,000 people a year are loaded onto these secretive night flights, often shackled in "waist restraint belts" or "leg restraints". Deportees are manhandled by private security "escorts" (working for Mitie) onto aircraft hired from charter companies.".

The Home Office wants to get its money's worth out of each charter flight, so people are racially targetted to fill a flight; and more people are booked onto a flight than can fit, in case anyone manages to secure a last-minute injunction on their deportation, adding to the uncertainty and trauma people are already experiencing at the hands of the UK border regime.

The Stansted 15 were acting to prevent this form of state terrorism. Their Action has brought much-needed attention to the border regime and has resulted in at least one person who was on that flight receiving "leave to remain" in the UK. Eleven more people are still here and waiting for their claims to be processed – a chance that would have been taken away from them had this Action not happened. Some of the people on this flight were facing persecution and death if deported, some were victims of trafficking and many had ongoing asylum claims in the UK.

We see the impacts of the UK's hostile environment in our communities every day and it is only when people come together to challenge it that we feel the cracks opening in this unjust system. The Stansted 15's action was incredibly important, not only for the people on the 'plane, who were able continue with their asylum claims but also for what it represented and the ideas and conversations that have come out of it. People can stop charter flights from taking off; we can dismantle the hostile environment and treat refugees and asylum seekers with the respect and dignity they deserve. This wasn't terrorism, it was a practical display of solidarity with people going through the immigration process and a reminder to us all that we can and should be building a fairer world.".

They are still short in their crowdfunder appeal
Available from: https://chuffed.org/project/end-deportations-charter-flight-action-trial-related-costs
https://www.facebook.com/events/1818956471520835/?notif_t=plan_user_associated&notif_id=1536227692799175 (acces

[Accessed 15 July 2019].