

**Re-presenting Geopolitics: ethnography, social movement activism,
and nonviolent geographies**

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Abstract

This thesis starts from the premise that Geopolitics is performative, an iterative discourse “of visualising global space...reproduced in the governing principles of geographic thought and through the practices of statecraft” (Agnew 1998:11). During the last decade, two dominant discourses have shaped the contemporary geopolitical imagination – the ‘war on terror’ and ‘climate change’. These have steered conceptualisations of security and insecurity - performative iterations of who, where, and what poses a threat. The resulting geopolitical picture of the world has enabled the legitimisation of human and geographical domination – an acceptance of geographical norms that enable the continuation of uneven geographies.

The research is concerned with the performative spaces of alternative geopolitics; spaces that emerge where nonviolent social movement activism and geopolitics intersect and the sites through which these are practiced and mediated. The motivations are twofold. The first is a desire to intervene in a critical geopolitical discourse that remains biased toward engagement with violent geographies. The second is to take seriously ‘geopolitics from below’, alternative geographical imaginations. I address the first of these through research that is concerned primarily with the spacing of nonviolence – the performed and performative spaces of nonviolent geographies shaped through a politics of the act. The second is approached through substantial empirical engagement with social movement activists and sites of contention and creation in opposition to dominant environmental geopolitics.

‘Militant’ ethnographic research took place over six months in 2009. It traced the journeys of two groups as they organised for, and took part in, large counter-summit mobilisations. The first was a UK based social movement, the Camp for Climate Action (UK). The second was an intercontinental caravan, the Trade to Climate Caravan. Both groups shared a common aim – to converge on the 16th of December in a mass demonstration of nonviolent confrontation; the ‘People’s Assembly’, to contest dominant discourses being performed inside the intergovernmental United Nations Conference of the Parties 15. Social movement groups from around the world would present alternative narratives of insecurity and offer ‘alternative solutions’ garnered through non-hierarchical forms of decision-making. The research followed the route each group took to the People’s Assembly and the articulations (narrative and practices) of nonviolent action.

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Acronyms

ATTAC	Association for the Taxation of financial Transactions & Aid to Citizens
ACPO	Association of Police Officers
CfCA	Camp for Climate Action
CCC	Climate Camp Cymru/Camp for Climate Action Wales
SCfCA	Scotland Camp for Climate Action
CIRCA	Clandestine Insurgent Rebel Clown Army
CJA	Climate Justice Action
CJPOA	Criminal Justice and Public Order Act
CJC	Climate Justice Collective
CJN	Climate Justice Now!
EZLN	Ejército Zapatista de Liberación Nacional
GRO	Grassroots Organisations
IMF	International Monetary Fund
NAFTA	North American Trade Agreement
NETCU	National Extremist Tactical Coordination Unit
NGO	Non Governmental Organisation
NSM	New Social Movement (theory)
NVDA	Non-violent Direct Action
NWSM	Newest Social Movement (theory)
OWINFS	Our World Is Not For Sale
SOCPA	Serious Organised Crime and Police Act
T2CC	Trade to Climate Caravan
WSF	World Social Forum
WTO	World Trade Organisation
WWF	World Wildlife Fund
UNCOP	United Nations Conference of the Parties
UNFCC	United Nations Framework on Climate Change

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Preface: gathering the ends of a ‘militant’ ethnography

This thesis looks to alternative environmental geopolitical spaces that emerged at the intersection of global justice activism and geopolitics; to nonviolent action for social change, to a politics of the act, and to envisioning, performing, and re-presenting alternative geopolitical spaces. It was borne of a long-term involvement in social movement activism, and grassroots organising. Using cultural and political tools it looks to alternative geopolitical spaces as always in the becoming and based on nonviolent socio-political configurations. An academic bias toward geographies of violence often serves to reifying a distorted image of the world; a performative geographical imaginary that both creates and perpetuates a ‘geopolitics of fear’ that feeds and justifies a militarised neoliberalism. Alternative political spaces, ‘other worlds’, founded upon more peaceful ethics of nonviolence only become of interest when political-ethics are tested within direct confrontation with violent forces (frequently the State). Here, the fragments of an ethnography devoted to nonviolent action are gathered and re-presented. The thesis looks to the possibilities of organising, living, and contesting together using non-violent tactics, people power and spatially dispersed networks.

Research took place over 6 months in 2009, with and alongside social movement activists, as they mobilised, converged, and contested the ‘COP’ (the United Nations Conference of the Parties 15 (UNCOP15)). During this time, social movement and civil society actors converged under a discursive banner of ‘climate justice’, seeking to politicize climate change and de-legitimise dominant geopolitical discourses. Both activists and corporate media declared that counter-summit mobilisations during would see the ‘maturing’ of a ‘Global Justice Movement’, each recalling the mythology of ‘the Battle of Seattle’, 10 years before; “if Seattle was the birth of a movement then Copenhagen will be it’s coming of age party” (Klein 2009). The research culminated in a week of direct actions, alternative conferences, and large demonstration culminating in ‘The People’s Assembly’. This ethnographic study is offered forward in hope; to start new conversations, envision alternative geopolitical imaginations, and present tiny contributions to what Roy calls the ‘siege on Empire’:

“...to deprive it of oxygen. To shame it. To mock it. With our art, our music, our literature, our stubbornness, our joy, our brilliance, our sheer relentlessness and our ability to tell our own stories. Stories that are different from the ones we're being brainwashed to believe”(Arundhati Roy 2003, quoted in Mohanty 2006).

**“Violence, like all action, changes the world,
but the most probable change is a more violent world”**

Hannah Arendt *On Violence*

Chapter 1: Points of Departure

Introduction: re-presenting geopolitics

“More information is not going to motivate us to act, neither are representations or pictures of politics. What makes us move is tasting dreams of what could be, stepping into the cracks where another world is coming into view” (Laboratory of Insurrectionary Imagination 2011:25)

The thesis is about the opening of alternative geopolitical spaces through the intersection of social movement activism and geopolitics; the performances and performative potential of critical geopolitics performed from below. It looks to the re-presentation rather than representation of geopolitics. It explores the spacing of social movement activism in relation to two interconnected discourses (understood here after Foucault, to encompass narratives *and* practices). The first relates to nonviolent confrontation, the second to alternative (environmental) geopolitics. These are understood as sites where nonviolent forms of global citizenship (after April Carter 2001) are productive of new spatial and political configurations and solidarities, both practiced and in the geopolitical imagination. The principal space here being the manifestation of a ‘Climate Justice Movement’.

To speak of a ‘Climate Justice Movement’ is to invoke a geographical imaginary of connectivity and action that unites spatially dispersed actors. However, as Chapter 2 explores more fully, there are representational dangers associated with discourses that risk flattening heterogeneous assemblages, the convergence of spatially dispersed, politically and ethically diverse grassroots movements, through the homogenising narrative of ‘social movement’. Therefore, it is neither my understanding nor intention to present a ‘Climate Justice Movement’ as anything other than an imagined political identity. The CJM has been a performative space that has brought a multiplicity of grassroots groups together under a set of shared visions yet retaining very different ethical-political aims and practices (see Chapter 4). Here, I understand the ‘Climate Justice Movement’, a powerful iteration and geographical imagination; a shared signifier that served to create the bones to which wider processes and practices of convergence (see Routledge et al 2008) provide the flesh (see Chapter 4). My intent is to unpack the notion of movement somewhat, through a focus on particular practices

within sites where wider spaces of convergence enable physical converge (here as protest camps, counter-summit mobilisations, and an international caravan). As later chapters illustrate (theoretically and empirically), when I employ the term ‘Climate Justice Movement’ it is in recognition of narratives that formed the basis of mobilising during the six-month study, not to present the diverse group of actors converging around ‘collective visions’ (Routledge 2005) that underpinned and unfolded through the mobilisations enacted in the name of ‘climate justice’. Indeed, this thesis offers forward numerous empirical insights into the diversity and internal contestations between those mobilising under this discursive banner. The convergence spaces are understood as heterogeneous networks performing multiplicitous negotiations for shared common ground, in turn providing forms of mutual security (through practical solidarity and expanded networks), presence (in bodies and territory), and authority (grounding global debates within tangible place based concerns).

Convergence spaces facilitate dispersed groups and enable, and are enabled, through the more temporally and spatially bounded sites and events of social forums, protest camps, caravans, assemblies, and counter-summit mobilisations. Whilst the wider relational and networked processes of organisation being discussed in this thesis are understood as convergence spaces, my primary aim and considerations are the practices of ‘other’ political worlds, notably alternative environmental geopolitical spaces performed in a nonviolent (or peace-ful) register (see Chapter 2). In recognition of this aim, and acknowledging the time and scope of a PhD, the research lens was focussed upon a number of specific sites and events. A key consideration in addressing this aim was to capture the importance and richness of everyday practices and relationships, the intersection of symbolic, discursive, and performative spaces that are centralised within the production of these radical political-ethical spaces. In concentrating upon the performed spaces of alternative geopolitics a liveliness can be written-in that is too often flattened-out within conceptualisations of relational and networked spaces that adopt Actor Network Theory as a framework. My contention being, that exploring the performative spaces, the re-presentation of geopolitics through unfolding embodied political practices attached to ethical-political narratives, affords productive engagements with the possibilities of politics practiced otherwise.

In considering these re-presentations, or ‘other worlds’ (after Gibson-Graham 1996), through the conceptual framework of ‘spacing’ (adapted from Crouch 2000 and 2003), affords an emphasis on the face-to-face relationships and to the performative possibilities opened by these. The intention, in considering the ‘spacing of nonviolence’, is to contribute to contemporary conceptualisations of radical political spaces, peaceful protest, and convergence space (particularly that of Routledge et al 2008) through the performed spatialities of particular sites, acknowledging the constraints this imposes (see **Ch 4**). Adopting this conceptual framework brings tools associated with cultural geography into the heart of political geography, affording insights that simultaneously address two important areas of concern to contemporary geopolitics. The first is a contribution to the ‘peopling’ of political geography and geopolitics (see Megoran 2009). The second is to offer understandings regarding the importance and contingency of embodied political practices and affective politics articulated through intersections of geopolitics and social movement activism; the embodying of alternative geopolitics. In doing so, I hope to contribute to contemporary geographical debates around the performative possibilities of alter-geopolitics, make a call for nonviolent geographies to be taken as seriously as violent geographies, and illustrate the benefits to be had from using cultural research tools to consider political spaces.

Practically, the thesis offers insights into two assemblages of people, practices, and technologies, garnered during a militant ethnographic approach; participatory observation from within two groups that shared a common temporal-spatial destination, the People’s Assembly. The six month ethnographic study culminated on the 16th December 2009 after the ‘People’s Assembly’ had taken place in the shadow of the 15th UNCOP, in Copenhagen, Denmark. Thousands of geopolitical bodies came together from around the world and in the moments before the assembly they marched, cycled, and endured the non-lethal weapons of the Danish Police, before forming a circle and declaring the assembly open. The groups were openly committed to nonviolent forms of confrontation and a political process that would offer an alternative discourse to the ‘official’ talks in the background, both in narrative and in practice:

“On the 16th of the December, at the start of the high-level “ministerial” phase of the two-week climate negotiations, we, the movements for global justice, will

take over the summit for one day and transform it into a People's Assembly”
(Climate Justice Action 2009c)

“Our goal is to open a physical and political space inside the conference area to hold the Assembly and disrupt the sessions within. The assembly will give a voice to those who are not being heard, it will be an opportunity to change the agenda, to discuss the real solutions, to send a clear message to the world calling for climate justice” (ibid)

The routes to Copenhagen included three protest camps, an intercontinental caravan, two counter-summit convergences, many meetings, and a number of (unsolicited) encounters with the Police (British, Swiss, and Danish). As the ethnographic research unfolded, a number of themes and questions emerged. The first was to explore the performative spaces of nonviolent activism, with a particular interest in David Graeber's (2002) tentative conceptualisation of 'nonviolent warfare'. As the research unfolded, social movement narratives and practices inextricably linked these nonviolent performances within wider anarchist sensibilities (as outlined by Epstein 2001) and a commitment to a 'politics of the act' (after Day 2005). Articulations of global citizenship and the staging of radical transient and mobile territories also became an important area of concern, as did the politicisation of climate change through alternative environmental geopolitical discourses. Finally, an early objective emerged - that the approach adopted should be of some use to social movements, not just a one way process of data gathering and lone knowledge production. In challenging the belief that violence is invisible, or hidden in the background, a consideration that portrays our role as social justice activists (and academics) to make violence visible through the dissemination of more information. Rather, I understand violences – physical acts and processes of domination - to be accepted, justified, and legitimised as *geographical norms* (see Chapter 2). I understand nonviolence as practiced; symbolic and everyday performances that refuse to legitimise violence combined with experimental acts of creation, the performative prefiguration of new socio-political configurations.

The thesis is empirically rich, reflecting both the praxis of research. The material presented in Chapters 4, 5, and 6, considers radical political geographies within a number of sites: climate camps, a Trade to Climate Caravan, and the Copenhagen counter summit mobilisations. Conceptually, 'spacing' is adopted to consider the

articulation of nonviolence within these sites, through staged performances (public displays), everyday practices (off the page/stage), and, understanding these as iterative, their performative potential to ‘trouble’ geographical norms – the normative frameworks that shape uneven spatial practices within late capitalism. The sites and approach bring the research into conversation with a number of contemporary avenues of enquiry – critical geopolitics, geographies of peace and nonviolence, anarchist praxis, the politicisation of climate change, social movement theory, affective politics, creative resistance, in/security, policing of protest, and performative spaces. All of these are engaged with at various points throughout the rest of the thesis. Chapter 2 explores conceptualisations of nonviolence, outlining two key moral and political frameworks and considers how these may be viewed in relation to the critical (anti- and alter-) geopolitical practices and anarchist praxis under consideration in this thesis. Chapter 3 puts forward an approach to research that is ‘militant’ in ethos, undertaken with a view to contribute to social movements ‘in the moment’ a praxis that gave process precedence over theoretical proficiency.

In undertaking a militant approach to research, my intention has been to avoid becoming part of an activist-academic ‘avant-garde’ – to become an expert activist or lay down a manifesto for doing activism or civil disobedience (see Graeber 2003). Therefore, in the remainder of this introductory chapter I present contextual, conceptual, and methodological conversations that emerged as key considerations, and that I speak back to within the concluding discussions in Chapter 7. I acknowledge a recent turn toward anarchism that has been witnessed on the street and within academic interest. Whilst acknowledging that a politics of demand is still central to many articulations of social movement activism (indeed, Chapters 2, 4, 6, and 7 each return to this), here, the principal focus has been upon on everyday ethical-political praxis that may be thought of as a ‘politics of the act’ (Day 2004, 2005, 2011). Of particular interest is where radical praxis shapes an alternative (environmental) geopolitics of global/climate justice activism. The research approach is influenced by feminist and activist praxis, which I discuss below, alongside an acknowledgment of situated knowledge, personal motivations and entanglements and the implications on these. Before concluding the chapter, I offer a brief snapshot of the environmental geopolitical landscape. The

following chapters will narrate the spaces of environmental geopolitics through social movement discourses, conceptualisations of in/security that challenge the elite debates. The time and scope of research did not allow a comprehensive study of the theoretical ponderings on climate change.

Geopolitics, as Agnew reminds is performative; the “visualising [of] global space...reproduced in the governing principles of geographic thought and through the practices of statecraft” (1998:11). Following 11th September 2001 (when the USA was attacked by Al-Qaida) geopolitical visions became blurred by the heat of a ‘war on terror’, an echo of Huntington’s earlier thesis on the heralding of a ‘clash of civilisations’ (Huntington 1997), a vision of world orders split between incompatible religious and cultural (rather than political) beliefs. A discourse of fear and security filled the gap that was left after the thaw of the ‘cold war’; in short, one violent geopolitical vision arrived to fill the void left by another. As Duncombe (2007) observes, the events triggered a hijacking of the geopolitical imagination by the conservative right (speaking of the US), as fantasy narratives; where an imaginary ‘march for freedom’ against an mythical ‘axis of evil’ steered geopolitical practice. The anti-geopolitical epitome of active global citizenship, the convergence space known generically as a ‘global justice movement’, had gained currency following the 1994 Zapatista popular uprising, and the Seattle based counter-summit mobilisations against the WTO in 1999. Post September 2001 GJMs were less visible in a security led geopolitical retrenchment to ‘us’ and ‘them’ (a ‘with us or against us’ binary).

The danger that social activism poses as a critical geopolitics (understood as processes of deconstructing dominant/elite discourses), lays partly in a heritage of creating alternative geopolitical imaginaries. In May 1968, a wave of transnationally aligned social movements around the world decried that ‘another world is possible’. In 2003, Arundhati Roy addressed the World Social Forum; “We be many and they be few. They need us more than we need them, another world is not only possible, she is on her way. On a quiet day, I can hear her breathing”. More recently ‘alter-globalisation’ has replaced ‘anti-globalisation’ to conceptualise the global justice ‘movement of movements’ that continue to bring together a multiplicity of social justice and grass roots movements and is widely perceived to have shifted away from counter-hegemonic

dialectical stalemates. Alter-globalisation, moreover, recognises that globalisation is not problematic *per se*, it is the processes of *neoliberal* globalisation that are the destructive forces productive of uneven geographies, and, moreover, a continuation of domination that has its roots deep within past practices of colonialism. Any global justice ‘movement of movements’ is *for* globalisation, just imagined and configured differently (otherwise), fluid spaces that “emphasize anti-capitalist and social justice movements’ creativity, celebrating the movement’s transnationality and their solidarity networks” (Pickerill and Chatterton 2006:731, also see Day 2004, 2005).

Geographers have recently explored the ‘other worlds’ that are not only possible, but are happening (Chatterton and Pickerill; Gibson-Graham 2006; 2008; Koopman 2008; Koopman 2011). ‘Alternative geopolitics’ (after Koopman 2009, 2011) are shaped by everyday practices, new discourses which frequently reflect acknowledged and ‘unacknowledged’ anarchisms (after Saul Newman 2010), spaces that quite literally change the world without taking power (after Holloway 2002). They are understood here as performative, re-presenting rather than representing the world. Barbara Epstein refers to these new political configurations as shaped by ‘anarchist sensibility rather than Anarchism *per se*’ (2003); acknowledging a shift from a ‘politics of demand’ to “a *politics of the act* driven by an *ethics of the real*” (original emphasis Day 2005:15). Following the emergence of the Zapatista in 1994, a politics of the act has been seen as underpinning the praxis of movements coming together under shared narratives of global or climate justice (see below).

A counter-hegemonic *politics of demand* is perceived by Day (2005) as a debilitating self-defeating act that “only perpetuates the conditions that gave rise to its own motive force” (ibid). However, this research illustrates that both the act and the demand have been central to recent convergences around climate justice. Here, as future chapters highlight, a politics of the act may be central to the praxis of everyday relationships (see Chapter 5) but a politics of demand is pivotal in establishing the geographies of resistance and transformation. Arguably, as the thesis later presents, the sighting and locating of protest and contestation, and the narratives of the camps, caravans, and assemblies all invoke a politics of demand in order to establish initial points of refusal, shared political and ethical ground, and political/ethical ‘others’, creating common

spaces for a politics of the act to be possible. Alongside Harrison (2010), [ADD REF] I see a role for both and view Day's thesis as failing to recognise the important entanglement of these, however problematic this may be. So, whilst the act remains an important foci here, in understanding the spacing of nonviolence, I don't discount a role for demands, acknowledging that they are centralised within many of the movements engaged with here.

Here, in relation to issues of social 'justice', we might read a politics of the act through Ranciere's 'political poetics', performative interventions into the moment. Crucially, this is understood as a presupposition of equality rather than demand for the distribution of equality. In other words, a politics of demand might be understood as a process that reifies hierarchy (May 2008; Rancière and Corcoran 2010). The active experimentations, the 'other worlds' presented in this thesis, embody Hannah Arendt's (1958) differentiation of *labour* and *action*, which is important in understanding the nonviolent *praxis* engaged with here (see **Ch 2**). For Arendt (1958; Curtis 1999) 'labour' might well consist of behaviour that is external to work, but it remains in service, rather than a challenge to the status quo. In contrast, 'action' is understood as acts that are beyond the self, in the sense that they publically challenge the normative frames of society (a queering that I refer to, after Judith Butler (1990), as 'troubling').

To understand *labour* and *action* in relation to contemporary environmental debates, we might argue that recycling, switching to a 'green' energy supplier, or buy 'eco' goods – understood as *labour* - make be an active acknowledgement of the need for change, yet fail to challenge the socio-economic norms of uneven consumption/production or the enclosure of common resources (through energy monopolies), that underpin current insecurities for many peoples of the world. Taken further, *labour* can be understood, as it is here, as legitimising systemic violences. *Action*, in comparison, is understood as acts and practices that directly challenge and refuse to legitimise normative discourses (those iterated as normal, natural, and necessary). At the heart of *action* is the need to be seen publically challenging. This form of publicity (performing in public), in the form of performed and affective politics often involves minor interventions but has recently become most visible within the popular uprisings in North Africa and North East Asia, and through the Occupy and Indignacion movements in the USA and Europe.

Tracing contemporary twists and turns

Question: Why are so many Anarchists Geographers...?

Answer: Because we desperately need new maps! (Critchley 2011)

Anarchist sensibilities are underpinning a wave of alternative globalisations. They are being cited as a praxis shaping the tactics of contemporary oppositional movements such as the *Occupy Movement*, publically displaying anti-capitalist sentiments and experimentally practising non-hierarchical forms of organising, such as public general assemblies. According to Critchley (above), Butler (2011), and others, this interest in anarchism now extends into the academy, an intellectual moment being discussed as an ‘Anarchist Turn’ (see special issue of *Anarchist Developments in Cultural Studies*, June 2011). This ‘turn’ has arrived more than a century after (public) Geographer and Anarchist Pyotr Kropotkin served as a fellow of the Royal Geographical Society. Many geographers, then, should find a familiarity in this recent academic trend. At the turn of the C20, whilst Livingstone, Ratzel, and Mackinder were perpetuating colonial geopolitics (see Driver 2001; Kearns 2009), Kropotkin espoused an alternative geopolitical vision, outlining what “geography ought to be” (also see **Ch 2**):

“It must teach us, from our earliest childhood that we are all brethren, whatever our nationality. In our time of wars, of national self-conceit, of national jealousies and hatreds ably nourished by people who pursue their own egotistic, personal or class interests, geography must be... a means of dissipating these prejudices and of creating other feelings more worthy of humanity” (Kropotkin 1885).

Kropotkin, within essay papers and frequent public lectures, called for the dispersal of power and a political-ethics of cooperation, ‘mutual aid’ (see 1902/2009 and also Marshall 1992, Ward 2004, and Woodcock 1962), a theory and praxis of cooperation re-engaged with in geographic discussion and turns to, *Radical Geography* (Peet 1977), *Dissident Geographies* (Blunt and Wills 2000), and most recently ‘Autonomous Geographies’ (Pickerill and Chatterton 2006). Whilst embracing ‘mutual aid’, I don’t seek to offer a normative framework, or Anarchist manifesto of ‘oughts’, rather I look to anarchisms as a lens through which to consider what geography often is, could and can be; driven more by freedom and empowerment and less by domination. Anarchism is, after all, not a ‘theory’ borne of one brain, it is a plurality of debates and discussions, a conceptual, philosophical, and methodological melting pot that cannot be abstracted

from lived conditions. It is productive to twist Critchley's question around; why are so many geographers anarchists, or at least actively embracing anarchist sensibilities? For a discipline concentrating on the relationships and entanglements between nature and society, human and non-human worlds, which enjoys a heritage of critically engaged research on and *for* social justice; anarchisms have a lot to offer geography, with practical and philosophical commitments to plurality, diversity, and more-than-representational political considerations.

To be a radical or critical geographer with anarchist sensibilities is to work with the spectre of Kropotkin, who ultimately privileged his political activism over his academic career; reportedly turning down a chair in Geography at Cambridge, and shocking the Royal Geographical Society with his refusal to toast the King's health (Marshall 1992). Kropotkin's original theory of 'mutual aid' remains problematic due the essentialist framework on which his thesis of 'natural' and 'unnatural' human relations is based (see **Ch 2**). Contemporary, post-capitalist, articulations of 'mutual aid' - through practical solidarity, collective action, and radical political configurations - are a political-ethics that remain at the heart of the contemporary global justice movements looked at here. A continued commitment to a praxis that refuses the privileging of theory or practice also still exists - walking the walk - engaged with as epistemology, activism as a way of knowing (I return to anarchisms and research in **Ch 3**).

A recent wave of human geography research on anarchist geographies conducted in an anarchist vein has tended to focus on the interesting (yet ultimately limiting) localised context and performances of autonomy. The Autonomous Geographies Collective have adopted anarchist ethos to the study of/with social centres, low impact development and housing rights (2010), Ince has looked at social centres (2009) and Draper, the Temporary Autonomous Zone of the London G8 in 2009 (2011). The research here looks to these autonomous geographies, and shares a consideration of anarchist geographies through anarchist praxis as epistemology/way of knowing the world. Yet, whilst much of my own research was undertaken within groups and sites in the UK, it is firmly positioned within radical and critical engagements with social movements occupying and acting in transnational spaces, by which I mean spaces that are spatially

stretched beyond the borders of the nation state (in practical solidarity and geographical imaginations).

Whilst these recent intellectual influences are not necessarily ‘anarchist’ (in focus or theoretical gaze) there is intersection, explicit or implicit, with anarchist sensibilities; transnational organising (Cumbers, Routledge et al. 2008; Featherstone 2008; Mohanty 2005; Routledge 2000; 2009) recent geographical perspectives on World Social Forums (Bailey 2008; Bohm, Sullivan et al. 2005; Koopman 2007; Roelvink 2009; Routledge 2009; Sparke, Brown et al. 2005) work on international anti-war movements (Pickerill, Gillan et al. 2010), anti-globalisation movements (Eschle and Maignashca 2005), and the policing of counter-summit convergences (Smith and Cowen 2010). What is appealing within recent engagements with anarchism is a return to praxis, researching within events as they unfold and de/re-territorialise public space (talking in the wake of student protests in Europe and popular uprisings in North Africa and North West Asia (the ‘Arab Spring’)).

Ethnographic research was undertaken over 6 months, alongside spatially dispersed social movements connected to each other through practical solidarity and performative refrains; each would play a role in the ‘People’s Assembly’, and discursively they were brought together under a banner of ‘climate justice’, frequently narrating themselves in transnational terms, as a ‘Climate Justice Movement’. The primary groups were the UK based Camp for Climate Action, and an intercontinental caravan, the Trade to Climate Caravan. They rooted themselves spatially within a ‘movement of movements’ and temporally to events of a decade previous:

“Ten years ago at the protests against the WTO in Seattle, a global movement emerged to proclaim that another world was possible. Today, this world is not just possible – it is necessary. In Copenhagen, we will come together from many different backgrounds and movements, experiences and struggles. We are indigenous peoples and farmers, workers and environmentalists, feminists and anti-capitalists. Now, our diverse struggles for social and ecological justice are finding common ground in the struggle for climate justice, and in our desire to reclaim power over our own future” (Camp for Climate Action 2009)

Chapters 2 and 4 both outline theoretical conceptualisations of social movement organising, including an overview of contemporary social movement theories, within

which some of the groups are positioned as ‘newest social movements’ manifested through the convergence spaces of climate justice. This thesis engages with these political movements through cultural tools of enquiry as a means of ‘peopling’ geopolitics (see Megoran 2006), including a wider range of voices and practices, and accounting for the more-than-representational (see Lorimer 2005). I chose to undertake research within a number of sites, as this was perceived. It considers the ‘spacing’ of nonviolence within contemporary anarchist praxis (understood with an anti-essential little ‘a’ (after Graeber 2002; 2004); a conceptualisation that is founded upon a framework that collapses symbolic, discursive and performative spaces. In part this research responds to calls for *theorising from within* and *contributing to* social justice movements and the articulation of more socially just relationships within the third space positions occupied by those who are both academically and politically active (Shukaitis, Graeber et al. 2007). Whilst there a resurgence in anarchist theorising and research praxis is evident (see, for instance Amster 2009) departmental research agendas remain more open to feminism, Marxism, and post-structuralism as the safer critical theories, particularly in response to increasingly neoliberal funding regimes.

The initial avenues of enquiry arose from questions about how nonviolent praxis, creative forms of resistance, and alternative discourses disrupt and re-present geopolitics. These questions arose from long-term entanglements with social movements committed to nonviolent and creative forms of resistance, particularly involvement with activist legal support groups and a number of more radically aligned social justice movements. As the ethnographic research unfolded new routes of questioning emerged, in particular see **Ch 6** on the policing of dissent. However, it remained committed to an overarching thesis, how is nonviolent action articulated through social movement activisms, and how might researchers negotiate less violent modes of engagement with, alongside, and for movements and social justice.

A note on motivations, entanglements, and passionate positionality

We become politically active because we feel something profoundly, such as injustice or ecological destruction. It is our ability to transform our feelings about the world into actions that inspire us to participate in political action. (Routledge 2009:87)

This research was approached as a ‘militant ethnography’, after Jeff Juris’ embedded practice (2007) and influenced (like Juris) by the feminist-activist ‘militant anthropology’ of Nancy Scheper-Hughes (1992). The majority of the groups and movements identified themselves as ‘climate justice movements’ (CJM) and most with anarchism or anarchist sensibilities (an affinity to particular practices). The thesis is ‘militant’ because it is partisan, what I understand in terms of what Gibson-Graham call ‘partial identification’, the sharing of some externally related identities (2006:232). I explore the conceptual and methodological implications of this approach more fully in Chapter 3.

Here, it is timely to add a note on personal entanglements, acknowledging that my own shifting landscapes cannot be separated in this research. As an angry teenager in the 1980’s, I felt moved to take action, to march many hundreds of miles for a myriad of causes - animal rights, troops out!, anti-fascist action – I demanded change until my feet were aching and my throat was sore. In the 1990’s, frustration led me to join the battle to stop the proposed extension of the existing A30, part of a trans-European road network, a political-economic project to ensure 40 tonne trucks could shift container loads of goods directly from ports into the far reaches of the country. A handful of people set-up a small protest camp on the outskirts of Fairmile in Devon, in the midst of the proposed route; as others had (and were) doing in Solsbury Hill, Twyford Down, Newbury, and Claremont Road, a large and active anti-roads movement. The camp, ‘Fort Trollheim’ grew, spreading upwards into the trees and downwards into the ground and forging relationships with groups in New Zealand, Tasmania, and Canada. I was moved enough to ‘digger dive’, to wedge my legs into the hydraulic arms of giant earth shifters, sit for hours on top of aggregate lorries or within the branches of trees, and endure the regular encounters with security guards as they dragged me from the aforementioned locations. The camp was inspirational and the daily direct actions empowering, but the space was also difficult – materially and emotionally. The camp

wasn't always autonomous from patriarchy or other forms of domination – unlike previous camps at Greenham Common there was very little process to deal with these – and levels of physical violence meted out by security guards and police left many bodies physically and mentally ‘burnt-out’ (see Sullivan 2007, and Pickerill and Brown 2010).

DiY activism grew in the 1990s, movements and practices emerged out of good elements of protest camps (McKay 1998). A new emphasis was based on autonomy, creativity and cultural resistance, self-empowerment, capacity building, and collective organising; a freedom to create a world we had yet to imagine, a shifting away from the state and toward autonomous forms of living. It was ‘hope’ that attracted me into these spaces; people putting skills and capacity into multiplicitous modes of doing things differently. It is both the good aspects and bad aspects of social movement activism that provoke me into considering the possibilities of nonviolent action – as passionate partisanship that is a provocation for, rather than blindfold to critical engagement. My own positions and activism have shifted as energy has been directed toward a critical distance and the undertaking of more practical roles, within activist legal support in the UK and with minor contributions of research and networking with oppositional struggles outside of Europe. This reflects a more critical approach to social movement activism – in part this might be due to time, age, work and family responsibilities; a temporal distance between me and my teenage selves. Yet, it also reflects a critical distance that emerges through academic considerations, through considerations that engage in wider conversations – particularly with political and social movement theories – finding a position that can be both committed to, and detached enough from, to critique.

I understand my own critiques as contributions to movement activism and any that are presented here have been equally discussed within the groups concerned. Since the shoots of global justice movements started to connect groups from around the globe I have felt moved as part of a wider transnational constituency, an imagined and practiced ‘we’. This imagined community, is present within everyday attempts to live and act in solidarity with *campanieras* and *campaneros* in global justice movements everywhere. With this in mind this ethnography should be understood as one undertaken in a ‘spirit

of resistance' (Routledge and Simons 1995), retaining an element of anger and frustration but with a propensity to Hope:

“... hope as an act of defiance, or rather as the foundation for an ongoing series of acts of defiance, those acts necessary to bring about some of what we hope for while we live by principle in the meantime. There is no alternative, except surrender. And surrender not only abandons the future, it abandons the soul” (Solnit 2005).

Feminist appreciations of the affective turn become important here; as an approach to both research and the world as spaces animated by the more-than-representational. Emotionally inflected affective geographies, as seen in Sian Sullivan's 'we are furious and heartbroken' (2004) and Victoria Lawson's 'caring geography' (2009) remind us that the neoliberal atomization of society needn't be mirrored in our work as academics. Radical and critical Geography (on the whole) is an intellectually and practically supportive community, reflected through recent disciplinary desires “to move socio-cultural research into *contact spaces* (Cloke 2003) in which academic researchers are enabled to apply, protest, resist, make relevant, influence, and make a difference” (Cloke, Johnsen et al. 2003:2). Participatory and activist geography research has challenged orthodox methodologies, conceptualisation of what counts as output and impact, and who the audience and beneficiaries of research might be (see Kindon and Pain 2007). Passionate positions involve a relational ethics of being, doing, and becoming. This is an antithesis of the 'Gods eye trick' (Haraway 1991), a rejection of the dangerous illusions of 'neutrality', 'objectivity' and 'truth' that still underpin elements of the social sciences:

“to take a commitment to non-violence as the consistent point of departure for our analysis leads us too closely toward advocacy and away from the independent, unbiased perspective which is the foundation of the academy” (Holland, cited in Megoran 2011).

Unapologetically, and in a move that Holland would take umbrage with, I not only position nonviolence as *the* central framework of research – as motivation, subject and means - but also embrace feminisms alongside anarchisms to ensure that both partiality and performative possibilities are taken into account. My position is regarded as critical *because* it is partisan, *because* I feel strongly about social justice, and *because* I am

moved by the possibilities of nonviolence (following Plows 2002, Becker 1974, Roseneil 2000). We are all situated, as Gayatri Spivak reminds us; there are no ‘universal intellectuals’, just multiplicitous individuals contextualised within our everyday conditions of living (1990 in Narismulu 2003: 62-63). So, this thesis offers theoretical and practical insights into the research *as* an act of solidarity that takes place within specific contexts; the partial identifications, the possibilities, practicalities, and difficulties (ethically, emotionally, and professionally) of researching, learning, acting *with* and *amongst* resisting others. Therefore, in looking to spaces shaped by political-ethics and embodied practices, my own are taken into consideration. Sometimes we are driven by the call of Ya Basta! (Enough!); or the ‘no’ in Kingsnorth’s Zapatista infused ‘one no, many yeses’ (2004). Here, echoing Gandhian philosophy, the spacing of nonviolence is considered as ongoing, the embodying of a *refusal to accept, justify, or legitimise* certain violences; *becoming* the change we want to see in the world.

Touching upon the early relationships between geopolitics and Human Geography (above) reminds us that the discipline is haunted by its own violences (see **Intervention I** for a more contemporary example), a past role as “the enabler of a killing world”, whose disciplinary knowledges have been used to promote, inform, and support violence through “the related projects of imperialism, state-making, and efficiency on the battle-field” (Flint 2011:43). Moreover, the methodological practices of Human Geography have their own history of epistemic violence, as researchers have relied upon modes of representation that essentialise the other; a rendering of people and places as silent, static, and devoid of agency. With this in mind, the thesis doesn’t attempt to over analyse non-violent practice or offer representational accounts that categorise any practices or people as a norm. The thesis is positioned within an emerging body of work within (and beyond) critical geopolitics; a call for performative engagements with more peaceful geographies. The research on which it is based explored the geographical imagination, practices and performances of everyday peace and non-violence whilst asking how we can embrace a nonviolent ethos within our own disciplinary practice (Koopman 2008; 2011; Megoran 2011, also see Gibson-Graham on adopting a performative ethos to research (1996)). This research is underpinned by the

idea of praxis; conceptually and methodologically concerned with anarchist and feminist sensibilities (after Epstein 2003) in the hope of minimising its violence.

With this in mind, I do not seek to test, reaffirm or present a grand theoretical narrative (viewing this as a form of epistemic violence). Instead, I bring together a bricolage of conversations and debates defined by others as anarchist, *post*-anarchist, feminist, and queer; in the hope of reinvigorating Anarchist geographies through engagements with poststructuralist philosophies (see also Day 2005, May 2004, Newman 2010 and **Ch 2**). In taking seriously the sites where politics are performed through ‘ethical registers’, here non-violent activisms, the ethnography engages with the everyday practices and micro-geographies of global/climate justice activisms. It views these practices as ‘post-capitalist’; guided by, and opening out new, ethical subjectivities - of proclivity and the becoming of inter-subjective spaces through commitments to solidarity and non-violent social configurations. Performed and performative spaces have offered forward interesting points of departure in recent geographical work, particularly the action research on post-capitalist economic geographies by Gibson-Graham (2006). Nash (2000) regrets poststructuralist approaches to performance that foreground the free floating individuals, a gap I address through introducing conversations with social movement and nonviolence literatures and by looking to the practices and performances within collective action. Political-ethics are performed through a number of practices within these spaces of dissent, resistance, and solidarity.

Thesis contributions

A number of important conceptual and theoretical areas emerged through the unfolding of the ethnography, contributions to ongoing conversations about the spatiality of social movement activism. Here, I outline the contributions that are returned to throughout the thesis and attended to in the concluding discussions in Chapter 7:

Nonviolent geographies: this thesis is a call for the wider consideration of nonviolent geographies. It recognises that violence (in the forms of domination, competition, and physical coercion) underpins neoliberal capitalism and contemporary geopolitical imaginations, conceptualising these as ‘geographical norms’. It considers the performative possibilities of re-presenting geopolitics

through a focus on practices of nonviolent organising and civil disobedience – here, through the spaces of social movement activism and solidarity/mutual aid, and protest (ethical spectacle – see Duncombe 2007). I pose nonviolent action as a discourse central to a ‘politics of the act’ and performative in the becoming of more social just spatio-political configurations, ‘other worlds’.

Spacing nonviolence: The discourses, architectures, embodied practices, performed and affective politics that were observed, mean that the sites of convergence here are understood as nonviolent spaces; produced through a set of ethical narratives and political practices. The sites (particularly camps and international mobilisations) collapsed any boundaries between the prefigurative and the performative. Understanding the site of the CJM as a ‘convergence space’, through ‘spacing’, the coalescence of the discursive and performative (see Crouch 2003). Here, the contingent negotiation of the material and affectual dimensions of nonviolent action collapse the aporia between the individual (ethical) and the collective (public/political).

Alternative environmental geopolitical spaces: the social movements here are understood as transnational; within and productive of heterogeneous transnational networks (practiced and imagined). Alternative geopolitical spaces were the ongoing iterative performances of contestation against international institutions, governance mechanisms and corporations and the prefiguration of other worlds of doing and imagining the geopolitical: spaces of solidarity, democracy, consumption, and civil disobedience. The argument here is that alternative discourses of ‘climate justice’ politicised the climate change debate through authoritative iterations that troubled a normative framework rooted in economic, managerial, and technocratic discourses. Alternative environmental geopolitical spaces, opened through a refusal to legitimise dominant narratives, an active refusal that manifested a convergence of global justice movements from global north and global south. Making space for the trans-local gave voice to people perceived to be on the margins of contemporary geopolitics (maybe reflecting Sharp’s re-interpretation of the subaltern (2011)), principally (but not exclusively) groups from the global south, who in turn lent authority to the

emerging anti-geopolitical spaces of the global north. Most noticeably the authoritative discourse of climate justice troubled

Being and becoming geopolitical bodies: The body is recognised as the primary tool/weapon within most philosophies of nonviolence and, as we saw in the beginnings of this thesis, is imagined as a site in ‘the siege on Empire’ (see Arundhati Roy’s quote in the preface). Geopolitical bodies as perceived here as politicised bodies that act (and imagine themselves connected) beyond the state, yet are inevitably bound by the state. They imagine and act beyond them selves (and the nation state) in transnational spaces of solidarity and convergence (they embody a global citizenship). The state though contingently retains some powers of domination through the monitored and control of geopolitical bodies. The relational aspects of transnational social movement activisms were predominantly opened out by socio-political networked (material and virtual) bodies. The body was foregrounded within nonviolent forms of confrontation (and warfare) and the embodied practices central to a ‘politics of the act’; the body, then, is a site that shaped the alternative geopolitics as engaged with here. It is also understood here as the target of state technologies of repression. Through performative technologies such as the ‘Domestic Extremist’ database and selected anti-terror laws the state has effectively created a number of invisible, internal borders, securitisation articulated through geo and bio political means of control.

In addition to these contributions, the thesis speaks to a number of contemporary debates that look to the performed, embodied, performative, and aesthetic dimensions of transnational social movements. In foregrounding ‘nonviolence’ it also responds to recent calls for critical geographies that look to peace and nonviolence as practiced and performative spaces (Megoran 2011, Koopman 2011, Williams and McConnell 2011). This is presented through theoretical consideration of nonviolence and understood as embodied through ethically informed politically strategic praxis. This responds to a continued lack of grassroots and oppositional voices being accounted for within critical geopolitical research – though their actions and narratives embody an active deconstruction of dominant discourses.

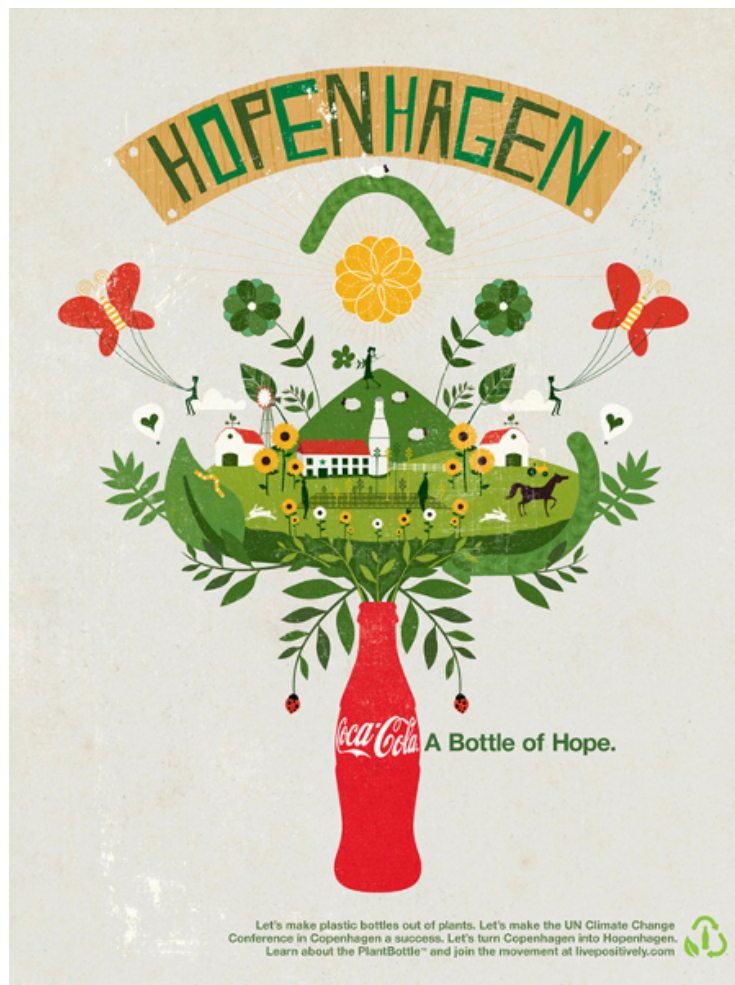
Klaus Dodds (2001), illustrates how critical geopolitics has made inroads into the deconstruction of dominant geopolitical discourse. Politically and ethically this engagement has shifted human geography's engagement with geopolitics away from its past as an 'enabler of killing' (Flint 2011). Critiques have, justifiably, been waged at the choice of debates engaged with (elite discourses), and an over emphasis on the text, accusations of elitism within many critical geopolitical approaches. I address two of these criticisms head on, looking to alternative geopolitical practices. First, I engage directly with geopolitics from below, through the discourses of non-elite actors, oppositional groups, grass roots networks, and extra-governmental actors (after Routledge 2003, Koopman 2009). Also, in response to Thrift's criticism of textual and ocular overload (2000)), I pay attention to discourses beyond the text, the more-than-representational embodied practices and performances of alternative geopolitics.

Routledge lays out a conceptual departure point for understanding oppositional movements, as enacting critical geopolitics as 'anti-geopolitical' spaces (2003). Koopman's (2008, 2011) 'alter-geopolitics' (explored through the 'new securities' within international accompaniment) productively builds upon this, providing a starting point for the considering of these performative spaces, challenging anti-geopolitical landscapes through a insistence on nonviolence. Whilst taking Koopmans praxis of the alter-geopolitical as a guiding framework here, I do contest some assumptions about nonviolence. Koopman's recent interventions on 'alter-geopolitics' offer a productive lens through which to understand geopolitics from below. In weaving Routledge's conceptualisation of anti-geopolitics with recent feminist approaches to critical geopolitics (see Pain 2009), the *alter-geopolitical* provides a means through which to understand the 'alternative globalisations' of newest social movements when brought into the spaces of geopolitics (see Day 2005, and Sullivan 2004). Here, this has allowed the performative and prefigurative elements of social movement action (such as the caravan) to be understood through the embodied practices that are both located in place/s and productive of new (real and imagined) spaces of connection.

Understanding the CJM as performing alter-geopolitics I consider both performed *and* performative spaces. Following Gregson and Rose (2000), and Cloke et al (2008), I view the performed and performative as inseparable here; the first as the iterative

refrains of a chosen (or imposed) subjectivity and the second the continual becoming of a new subjectivities through repeated discourse – here extending from the written text to incorporate corporeal practices. My own understandings of these come not only from Butler and Goffman but also through recent interpretations through Campbell’s work on the performative dimensions of the ‘state’ as “always in the process of becoming” (1998:11) and queer feminist work on social movements (for instance Roseneil 2000) recent work on queer anarchisms (Brown 2007; Butler 2011; Windpassinger 2010) and Gibson-Graham discursive and performative invocation of alternative economies. These are all useful for understanding the performances that are often forced upon groups as they are pushed, here through a number of climate insecurities, into confrontation with dominant narratives and elite actors and the necessity to de-legitimise these.

Whilst conceptually and methodologically drawn to nonviolent praxis I remain concerned about setting down normative frameworks for a ‘nonviolent’ alter-geopolitics (as recently outlined by Koopman (2011)). Fetishising and homogenising ‘nonviolence’ ultimately risks positioning many grassroots social movements outside of proscribed conditions that are conceptualise from within the relative comfort of academia. I acknowledge that this is not Koopman’s aim (as her project is one I am highly supportive of), in setting down tenets of nonviolence in relation to what alter-geopolitics should look like (ibid). I am also concerned that we risk perpetuating, rather than critiquing, a neoliberal geopolitical discourse by basing our own interpretations of violence on the representations of those whose business it is to discredit and divide social movements through the manufacturing of consent (see Chomsky 2002; Herman and Chomsky 1994) - accepting representations and norms of ‘violence’ that support the status quo - rather than remaining open to context and contingency (see **Ch 2**). For instance, many social movements engage in property destruction *as* nonviolent action (including groups aligned to Gandhian principles). Looking to particular spacings then, the performance and performativity of nonviolent actions in contextual surroundings hopefully goes some way to avoid laying down ‘guidelines’ for social movement activism.



1.1 Advertisement used from bust stop in Copenhagen 10/12/2009; photo journal

100 years of hot air: a snapshot of the research climates

Here, before we move on with the thesis I offer a very brief overview of the research climates – acknowledging competing discourses. This is not intended as a comprehensive exploration of climate change debates, rather a broad brush potted genealogy that aims to set a context; an environmental geopolitical snapshot. In the introduction to a scientific paper in 1896, Swedish Chemist Sven Arrhenius claimed that “a great deal has been written on the influence of the absorption of the atmosphere upon the climate” before outlining the connections between anthropogenic activity (the burning of fossil fuels) and changes to the climate. His idea might best be described as a slow burner, whilst CO₂ emissions were on the increase, the social, technological, environmental, political, and economic shape that the C20 geopolitical landscape would take was an unknowable factor. Arrenhuis went on to win the Nobel Prize, but not for his work on climate change (which had very little ‘impact’). More than a century we

have entered the epoch of the Anthropocene – the age of the human, (according to the Geological Society of London – after the work by ecologist Eugene Stoermer and chemist Paul Crutzen). A cyborg world, where even the geological bones of the earth are permeated with human made radiation and every living being has plastic running through their bodies (see Colbourn et al 1997).

In 2007 the Nobel Prize was awarded jointly to the IPCC (Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change) and Albert Arnold (Al) Gore; “for their efforts to build up and disseminate greater knowledge about man-made climate change, and to lay the foundations for the measures that are needed to counteract such change” (NobelPrize.org 2007). The IPCC, a working group of the UN consisting of more than 1000 scientists, had published its Fourth Assessment Report which presented links between the burning of fossil fuel and global warming and laid down a number of predictions including acidification of the oceans, sea level rise, land degradation, temperature rises (sea and land) and an increase in extreme weather events (IPCC 2007). Al Gore, the former vice president of nation with the highest consumption and pollution rates on the planet (the USA) turned eco-warrior, couldn’t “understand why there [weren’t] rings of young people blocking bulldozers, preventing them from constructing coal-fired power plants” (thecoalhole.org 2009). By 2009 environmental geopolitics could neither avoid nor dispute the links between human actions and ecological destruction, and there *were* rings of people blocking bulldozers. Political elites and GROs alike were discussing the ‘climate crisis’ . In March 2009, in a speech to the United Nations, Barack Obama (USA) declared a war on Climate Change, making the claim the “we are all in this together”. His words implied that geography and politics were irrelevant; that cause and effect were evenly distributed; constructing an illusion of global consensus and the need to secure ourselves. The ‘environment’ was being written as something external (a threat) to human life.

Oppositional struggles, feminist and postcolonial discourses have started to shift the debate toward everyday insecurities; making direct connections between insecurity and neoliberal globalisation. Arguably though, the problems posed by climate change are positioned within a spatial and temporal tradition of uneven geographies, enclosure of natural resources, ecological degradation, and human suffering. The year that

Arrhenius' paper on climatic change first appeared, the environment and colonialism were entangled under one of the darkest clouds to hang over the imperial project, a series of events that contributed to the deaths of up to 18 million people, that year, in India alone. A series of El Niño events swept through the colonies, followed by monsoon failure, widespread drought and crop failure, but, as we are reminded by Mike Davis "whether or not crop failure leads to starvation, and who, in the event of famine starves, depends on a host of non-linear social factors" (2001:8). Taxes imposed by imperial powers (in India and beyond) effectively destroyed the peasant economy, laissez-faire (free trade) policies encouraged the export of crops from India to Europe throughout the famine period, and surplus food stocks held by European powers were never released for famine relief. Not everyone was subject to the same level of suffering and insecurity during the El Niño of 1896-7. In the years that preceded and followed the drought and famine of 1896-7 an estimated 35 million people across Asia starved and millions more perished from diseases related to severe poverty. Colonial powers continued to import (and stock pile) grains from famine-hit areas. In an early illustration of 'disaster capitalism' (Klein 2007), corporations, including *Royal Dutch Shell*, were able to capitalise on events, purchasing abandoned land and setting their roots so deep into foreign soil that more than 100 years later they remain the chief beneficiaries of a geopolitical past and present (Platform 2005).

In/security dominates both elite and critical geopolitical discourses of climate change (the understood, material practices, and representations). Security, as Dalby (2009) explains, has shaped dominant environmental geopolitical discourses since the 1987 Brundtland Report ('Our Common Future'). A multiplicity of debates exists within these, including political economic, ethical political, indigenous, and political spiritual. Baldwin (2011) talks of the enrolment of 'climate change' within the geopolitics of fear that surrounds migration – an imagined scenario where, as Dalby explains, 'in here' is cast as threatened by those 'out there' (2003). Malthusian style arguments over population 'explosions' have seen the creation of think tanks such as the *Optimum Population Trust*, and recent (rather unpalatable) calls by the *World Land Trust* (supported by celebrity naturalist David Attenborough) for businesses to buy up great swathes of 'wilderness' so that "mankind doesn't spread willy nilly over every square

yard of the globe” (Attenborough cited in Smith 2012, also see Jackson 2006)), a call haunted by early US National Park discourses that eradicated indigenous populations for the ‘purity’ of the wild.

Within the groups under discussion here, the performative spaces of ‘security’ centre around threat, but are shaped differently; the elite geopolitical discourses (inextricably linked to neoliberal capitalism) focus on the threat to ‘in here’ from ‘out there’ (see Dalby 2009); migration, resource depletion, emissions. The geopolitical actors from below (grass roots organisations GROs) have presented discourses on different more tangible threats, insecurities affecting livelihoods now; ecological degradation, food insecurity, land theft, resource conflicts. Since 2007, a food crisis has affected much of the global south, opening debates about food sovereignty, international debt, and trade regimes that facilitate uneven geographies (see **Ch 4** for empirical examples). The temporal and spatial scales of these insecurities remain unevenly distributed and illustrate the complexities of disentangling the multiplicity of voices involved in environmental governance (in its widest sense). In addressing the UN COP15 in Copenhagen, President Evo Morales Ayma (Bolivia) constructed an argument that might be understood as drawing out the differing encounters with ‘in/securities’; “Here what is at issue is whether we are going to live or we are going to die, here we are debating if we are going to save lives or we are going to kill” (Building Bridges Collective, 2010:8). Concern over escalating climate change related conflicts crosses grass roots and academic discourses of insecurity. Grass roots statements have focussed critique directly at “imperialist policies” that “will drive wars for the last drops of the so-called black gold and blue gold” (Cochabamba 2007). As Jones (2011), and Brown and Crawford (2005), illustrate, resource insecurities have a past (and predicted future) at the heart of wider conflict that almost exclusively pose the most extreme security threats to the most economically deprived regions of the world, where:

“Climate change represents one of the most significant but least understood risks for escalating armed conflict. A recent in-depth study of the Levant, a region with a high level of armed conflict as well as high susceptibility to the deleterious effects of climate change, suggests that risks for increased militarization and conflict come from competition for water resources that complicates peace processes, food insecurity, worsening economic and social stability, increases in forced migration, increased militarization of strategic natural resources, and increased resentment and distrust of the West” (quoted in Kobayashi 2009).

Empirical research took place during the six-month period leading up to and including the United Nations Conference of the Parties 15 (COP15). For the duration of the talks, Copenhagen was quite literally re-branded, as corporate interests sought to exploit a marketing exercise ‘Hopenhagen’ (see image 1.1 above): “a movement that empowers global citizens to engage in the December U.N. Climate Change Conference (COP15) in Copenhagen” (Ogilvy and Mather 2009, advertising agency). Hopenhagen turned Copenhagen into a corporately sponsored ‘green’ monster – with Coca Cola, Panasonic, and Siemens dominating the mediascape of the city – vying for eco-credentials. The talks were represented as the international platform at which a successor to the Kyoto Protocol (due to finish in 2012) would be discussed and agreed upon. Prior to the UN meeting, opposition to the talks - from GROs, social movements and civil society actors - focussed upon the ‘false solutions’ of market based, economic regulators – principally ‘carbon trading schemes’ and ‘green development mechanisms’. For many of the groups countering the talks there was an emphasis on ensuring a new successor agreement would not be signed, through fears of the further foregrounding market based ‘solutions’, viewed as exacerbating social injustice. Green capitalist policy drivers were narrated by many as impacting most heavily upon the poor, and another link in a historical chain of oppression – a form of ‘green colonialism’, as many poorer countries would become tied into ‘green development mechanisms’ that were widely perceived as destroying local economies and informal infrastructures. Through demonstrations, a large social forum, and the performance of the People’s Assembly, the counter-summit convergences sought to politicise the debate, to make connections between neoliberal capitalism and the uneven geographies of climate change – to de-legitimise a debate focussed on technocratic, managerial, economic solutions; ‘climate justice’ and ‘system change not climate change’ were the dominant counter-narratives.

Concluding comments

This chapter has introduced a conceptual and methodological overview of the research and thesis departure points. It has outlined an emphasis of nonviolent action framed within a shift from a politics of demand to a politics of the act (after Day 2005 and

others). It situated the research at the intersection of transnational social movement geographies, critical geopolitics, and the ethical spaces of nonviolent activism. It has touched upon areas of concern to the study of activism and geopolitics: the practice of nonviolence, anti- and alter- geopolitics, affective politics, and the decolonisation of research. The following chapter introduces conceptualisations of nonviolence in conversation with social movement theories, and an appreciation of performed and performative spaces. I end this chapter with a summary of the forthcoming thesis chapters, and the geographical perspectives they address. There are five short interventions within the thesis, the aim of these vignettes is to elaborate, situate, and represent snapshots of the journey to and including the People's Assembly.

Mapping the thesis

Chapter 2: *Becoming Nonviolent* – Here, I situate the primary theoretical precedents and empirical directions. The aim here is to ground a number of emerging debates that surfaced during the unfolding of ethnographic research; in/security, social movement organising, and nonviolent civil disobedience. Presented through genealogical relationships, the chapter traces connection of relevance to the ethnographic study, and which will be spoken back to throughout the empirical chapters and within the concluding discussions. I proceed to outline a conceptual framework that guided the interpretation of social movement and research praxis alike - the spacing on nonviolent confrontation.

Chapter 3: *Performing Research: Being and Becoming Militant* - this methodological chapter sets out and critically discusses the research approach. In many ways it builds on to discussions around praxis and nonviolence discussed within chapters 1 and 2. It takes the performance of research seriously in outlining an ethics of engagement and reflections on the ethnographic process. It also gives detailed accounts of where and with whom research was undertaken. Conceptually, militant methodologies and solidarity scholarship (after Koopman 2011), are viewed as one of the main contributions that this PhD seeks to offer. It summarizes the research process before providing discussion on the praxis and performance of militant research, the body as a site of knowing, critical public geographies and outputs beyond the journal.

Intervention I: *Confronting ghosts - institutional entanglements*

Chapter 4: *Re-Placing Geopolitics* – here, in the first empirical chapter, I present insights into the routes that the Camp for Climate Action, and the Trade to Climate Caravan took in their journey to the People’s Assembly. It explores the motivations, locations, narratives, and practices of each group. Theoretically, the chapter engages with ‘convergence space’ (Routledge, 2003 and Routledge and Cumbers 2007) and looks to how the ‘spacing on nonviolence’ offers a means through which to build upon this. Empirically, the chapter outlines the sites of research foregrounding the importance of face-to-face convergence; the geographical locations, the practiced and symbolic connections, the performative inner geographies, and the mobility of social movement activists.

Intervention II: *Performing Trans-local Spaces*

Chapter 5: *Spacing nonviolence* – here, I turn to the practices of nonviolence, the everyday politics of the act that emerged as key refrains within the ethnographic research. The chapter introduces the importance of both affective and emotional spaces through which collective action is practiced and gains momentum, positioning this as geopoetical. It explores practices through three interconnected sites – horizontal organising, consumption, and direct action. In doing so, it touches upon ideas of practical solidarity, the becoming of geopolitical bodies, and the art of nonviolent actions.

Intervention III: *Staging – being swept long with the ‘swoop’*

Chapter 6: *Geopolitical bodies and securitisation* – how performed and performative dimensions of anti-terror laws and controls have both impacted upon and shaped responses to and representations of protest and issues of enemy within (growth of people classed as domestic extremist). The chapter uses the Camp for Climate Action and the Copenhagen mobilisations to explore how geopolitical bodies are, at the same time, beyond the state but bounded by the state, the use of the legal system, discourses of security, and surveillance to bear down on nonviolent oppositional movements.

Intervention IV: *Is this what democracy looks like?*

Chapter 7: *Coda* here I reflect back upon the thesis, summarise the re-presentations it put forward, and gather together the loose ends. It responds to themes introduced in **Ch 1** and **2**. It also gives updated information on the groups and events that superseded the research timeframe. Debates emerged that were beyond the scope of the thesis, these along with emerging areas of concern will be put forward as potential avenues for future investigation. I also offer a short reflection on ‘impact’, and how it might be understood in expanded terms to meet the increasing needs of social justice.

Chapter 2: Becoming Nonviolent



2.1: 30,000 women join hands in peaceful protest 12/12/1982; Guardian.co.uk/yourgreenham

“They are mistaken only in thinking that anarchy can be instituted by a violent revolution...and yet in our world everybody thinks of changing humanity, and nobody thinks of changing himself” (Tolstoy 1900).

“All forms of violence are sustained by the passively averted gaze.... Mass violence is part of a continuum; it is socially incremental and often experienced by perpetrators, collaborators, bystanders, and even by the victims themselves, as ordinary, routine, even justified” (Scheper-Hughes and Bourgios 2004).

Overview

Chapter 1 introduced a set of interconnected conceptual and methodological considerations, to which the rest of the thesis now starts to respond. It introduced the basis of the ethnographic research; a six-month engagement with social movement actors as they mobilised, organised, and converged for the People’s Assembly. In understanding the People’s Assembly as a performance of nonviolent confrontation, civil disobedience, and space of alternative environmental geopolitics, a number of ethical, political and spatial sub themes emerged: the politicisation of the climate

change debate, imagined and practiced transnational solidarities, the invocation of trans-local spaces and the enacting of geopoetical intervention, the being and becoming of geopolitical bodies, and the performative possibilities of ‘other’ nonviolent geopolitical worlds. **Ch 1** also described the political-ethics of this research as grounded within the praxis of doing research, as acts of solidarity and militancy. Therefore, the principal focus was the means rather than the ends – a bias toward process over theoretical expertise. A bricolage of conceptual themes emerged through the unfolding of this praxis. Later chapters will, therefore, re-present ethnographic material in conversation with a number of conceptual and theoretical themes: social movement activism, geopolitics, affective and performed politics, nonviolent praxis, in/security.

Within this chapter I expand upon the two major conceptual themes that underpin the research, nonviolent praxis and transnational social movement activism. I have already outlined an understanding of the radical political spaces of the social movements being discussed in this thesis, as ongoing performed and performative commitments to alternative globalisations and a politics of the act. Here, I open discussions and pose some theoretical departure points that give some grounding to the following chapters and will be returned to in the thesis conclusions (**Ch 7**). Long-term personal involvement with social and environmental social movements and direct action was acknowledged in the previous chapter. Therefore, situated knowledges (that transcends the temporal bookends of the formal ethnographic research period), inform the representations of places, people and events and are reflected in the choice and direction of conceptual engagement. Thus, ‘partial identification’ (after Gibson-Graham 2006) with resisting others blurs the boundaries between objective and subjective understandings and representation.

Sasha Roseneil reminds us that “social movements do not spring from a void” (2000:13). Therefore, I weave together associations and affinities (post-foundational ‘family’ trees), the disciplinary motivations, philosophies, theories, movements, and practices through which the research and the ‘nonviolent social movements’ might be positioned. Adopting a genealogical rather than historical perspective is in acknowledgement that contemporary nonviolent social movement praxis is as much to do with its spatialities as its historical lineage, thus presenting appreciations that

recognise both plurality and contingency. The multiplicitous ethical and political departure points for nonviolent praxis do not lend themselves to chronological presentation; the praxis of nonviolent social movements shift with context rather than time. Praxis is both performative generator and outcome of “lines of force, tensions, and collisions” (Foucault 2007:174).

The genealogical approach allows a vast field of conceptual understandings to be narrowed down more comprehensively to those that are related contextually and conceptually to the arena of focus. I also recognise that writing is performative, and challenge academic processes of representation that make claims to expertise and the existence of neutrality, truths, and objectivity. The traditional ‘Literature Review’ falls short in this regard.; as an intervention designed solely to present and reaffirm the expert gaze it represents the ‘becoming of expertise’ written large. In short, they legitimise the position of academic as ‘expert’. They frequently remain artificially separated from empirical research, geographical and personal contexts, and relegate voices deemed ‘non-academic’ to an academic equivalent of the dustbin. I readily accept that I could read a thousand papers on the links between neoliberalism, ecological insecurity and poverty and never be as ‘expert’ on these issues as subsistence farmers in Bangladesh, or the women, men, and children driven from their farms in South America by the coercion of Soya multinationals.

Whilst offering partial and situated accounts to avoid claims to objectivity inherent within the ‘Gods eye trick’, I am equally attempting to recourse to the ‘Goddess trick’, perceived as reifying our own (perceived) privileged position, frequently setting up unnecessary differences based on our own gender, race, or academic position (Kobayashi (2011). The argument that Kobayashi makes, is that we all too often focus on the problems of our privileged position, rather than taking action and getting on with the messy business of social transformation. Thus, in seeking, and extended a militant approach to thesis structure, to break down any artificial separation of activist and academic knowledges, speaking to both but privileging neither. In presenting the genealogies - rather than a traditional ‘literature review’ and the proverbial list of ‘gaps’ that need filling – I offer partial interpretations based on the intersection of observations and theoretical conversations, re-presenting these rather than homogenising

heterogeneous assemblages into a universally applied framework of what social movements are, or what nonviolent praxis should look like. Here, constructing a genealogy is approached as a political intervention, constructed from one's own gaze and experiences (see Shiner 1982). Whilst this form of imposing relationships upon fluid and often disjointed sets of ideas and events is problematic, it might also be argued to be less violent than the representative claims of a historical narrative. After Foucault, we might understand the politics of constructing a historical past, a chronological lineage, as subjective yet aiming to give the illusion of objective 'factual' origins. At the end of ethnography we are left with fragments, through selective processes of ontological re-ordering (framing) we start to weave these together but they should only ever be thought of as pieces. To approach the intersection of activism and environmental geopolitics by constructing artificial binaries between worlds understood - activist/academic, expert/lived – would enact a form of representational violence, the reification of the expert gaze.

The following sections move through a number of conceptual and disciplinary terrains, to establish targeted departure points and put some flesh onto the bones outlined in Chapter 1. First, I return to one of the key aims outlined in **Ch 1**, a call for nonviolent geographies – a section that recognises a bias toward violence within the study of geopolitics, itself a performative act that skews the geographical imagination. I then take Walter Benjamin elsewhere, to offer forward a conceptualisation of systemic violence as 'geographical norm' in order to inform the following sections. Within these, I outline recent conceptual engagements with transnational social movement organising, emphasising the global geographical imaginary that underpins the practical and imagined relationships that are touched upon within the empirically grounded chapters. Nonviolent praxis is then introduced in relation to civil [dis]obedience, and subsequently through key moral and political frameworks. Following these introductions to nonviolence, I return to the social movements under discussion in this research, understanding their nonviolent praxis in relationship to anarchist sensibilities. The final section of the chapter is devoted to outlining a theoretical approach through which to bring some of the empirical insights into geographical focus through the 'spacing of nonviolent warfare'.

Geopolitics and nonviolence

Approaching nonviolence within geopolitical oriented research it is not so much about addressing a gap as staring into a gaping chasm. Within recent critiques of critical geopolitical research, Megoran (2011) and Williams and McConnell (2011) have pointed to the disparity in academic scholarship between studies of violent and nonviolent struggles; a propensity toward the study of War and Violence. A lack of academic interest within geopolitical research may partly be understood through the related omission of people (bodies, practices, and voices) in favour of textual engagement. There is also little work on the everyday 'off the page' (after Pain 2009) geopolitical practices. Research on popular geopolitics is starting to address this (particularly Pain and Smith 2010), with a focus on everyday spaces. Jasper (2006) identifies a general reluctance to engage with civil society actors within discussions of political confrontation pointing to continued academic bias toward the State as principal actor within any conflict; an obsession with the "effects on the state's reaction, which most scholars assumed to be the key issue" (2006, cited in Martin 2010:25).

Chenoweth and Stephan (based in Security Studies) recent work is important here, as they criticise the popular and academic emphasis on violent rather than nonviolent forms of confrontation, illustrating that it is not representative of contemporary landscapes of oppositional struggle:

“...the prevailing view is that oppositional movements select violent methods because such means are more effective than nonviolent strategies. Despite these assumptions, between 2000 and 2006 organised civilian populations have successfully employed nonviolent methods including boycotts, strikes, protests, and organised non-cooperation to challenge entrenched power” (2008: 7)

Solnit (Solnit 2009) also critiques the portrayal of post-disaster spaces as descending into individualistic, competitive and violent disorder. In practice, Solnit observes, human beings in these situations frequently act beyond the self, acting collectively to provide shelter, food, medical care, and compassion even in the face of personal suffering. Solnit recounts the gulf between corporate media representations and the 'off the page' acts of kindness, cooperation, and collective organising in the aftermath of Hurricane Katrina (in New Orleans). Another recent example being the fast response of 'People's Kitchens' in the aftermath of the Christchurch earthquake in New Zealand; "Beyond Resistance have set up a community centre outside two of the members homes

in Linwood – food is being prepared and distributed, water sourced and handed out” (Beyond Resistance 2011). Actions that seek conflict but reject physical violence and human suffering are, perhaps, just not ‘sexy’ enough to make it onto research agendas.

In part this thesis offers a minor contribution to redressing the balance, by taking nonviolent confrontation seriously. I do this through a focus on nonviolent struggle and praxis, and in looking to the possibilities of transnational sites of collective action. Through the unfolding processes of ethnography the study of nonviolent activism and geopolitics was immersed within two sites of in/security; the first, an environmental geopolitical landscape where competing discourses of in/security paint very different geopolitical imaginaries and become reflected in elite practices of governance (**Ch 4** and **Interventions II** and **V** focus on this). Secondly as geopolitical bodies within the shadow of the ‘war on terror’; a moment where challenges to the status quo are increasingly controlled through geo and bio political technologies of securitization – ‘warganisation’ (after Bohm and Sorensen in Sullivan 2004).

The alter-geopolitical lens I use here focuses in on both the organisational practices and the ethical-political spaces that underpin them. I also use these practices of alter-globalisation to build a usable understanding of alter-geopolitics that can be productively engaged with to present, and be performative within the practices and imaginings of other more democratically equitable, worlds. In this sense the thesis presented builds an argument for alter-geopolitics which takes from and builds onto (and into) the following critical geopolitical understandings. Firstly, I build upon recent work that calls for alter-geopolitical understandings (after the tentative feminist appreciations put forward in the work of Sara Koopman, 2009, 2011) – positioning alter-geopolitics as both performed arena and theoretical lens. In looking through and to alter-geopolitics the thesis positions itself within a growing landscape of critical geopolitical understandings that during the last two decades have pushed understandings of the geopolitical away from the traditional actors, the global elites of decision making, to those that form the backdrop of daily life and from the representational to the affectual.

Feminist critical geopolitics has recognised the importance of the links between the intimate and the global (Pratt and Rosner 2006) and the embodied practices of subject

making (Kuus 2007). The wider influences of the cultural turn have enabled more nuanced understandings of how geopolitical representations and understandings flow through discourse beyond the realm of the elite written texts. For Sara Koopman feminism is an overarching theoretical position through which to understand *an* alter-geopolitics. Here, feminist geopolitics is important to understanding both the making of space for alternative geopolitics and for the representation of violence and the imaginings of non-violent worlds. Within the groups presented here performing politics is understood in terms of the everyday and the embodied. Daily routines are understood as the sites through which the violences of neoliberal capitalism are performed and can be re-imagined, prefigured, and practiced differently.

In considering the embodied, aesthetic, and performative dimensions of nonviolence, this thesis also speaks to wider academic debates on the critical and everyday geographies of peace (see Williams and McConnell 2011), pacific geographies (Megoran) and progressive geopolitics (Kearns 2008). Each of these has looked to the importance of considering geopolitical spaces beyond war and force. As the introduction alluded to, my own ethical bias toward nonviolence are embedded within wider conceptualisations of power and hierarchy; an emphasis on non-hierarchical modes of power as a basis of nonviolent socio-political relationships. I use conceptualisations of nonviolent praxis in direct relationship to the discourses observed. I also distinguish the ideas here from peace studies and the wider study of peace. I acknowledge some overlap – these are implicit in the sections on moral and political frameworks for nonviolent struggle.

Here, I understand both as practiced spaces but distinguish the two by locating Peace in relation to pre-existing conditions of direct conflict (war and direct political violence) whilst the praxis of nonviolence is adopted as preferred means/strategy through which to conduct civil disobedience – where political violence is probable (see **Ch 6**) but not the prevailing daily condition. In lamenting the fact that work on the practices and possibilities of peace and nonviolence is underrepresented in geography literatures and research, in comparison to a growing body of work focused upon the geographies of violence (see Gregory 2007), Megoran (2011) goes on to call for nonviolence to be integrated into our everyday spaces. Tyner and Inwood, in their collection *Nonkilling*

Geographies (Tyner and Inwood 2011) also recognise that in our own academic spaces there is both responsibility and scope for nonviolent interventions:

“...a responsibility to act to end the violence that permeates our culture and our institutions in ways that do not just end conflict, but also lay the foundations for a positive peace and a nonkilling society to take root... To know that poverty exists, and do nothing; to know that infants and children are starving, and do nothing; to know that women are being raped and killed through organized mass violence, and do nothing, is to participate in a culture of impunity” (Tyner 2009).

Accepting violence as geographical norm

Violence is a ‘continuum’ (Scheper-Hughes and Bourgios 2004), it is a ‘slippery concept’ (ibid); its ‘other’, in the shape of nonviolence, is, then, no less slippery or unbounded. As illustrated in the introductory quote, there is no nice neat line dividing the two – a point to grasp onto. In addition to the systemic violence that Zizek presents (see below) as inherent within capitalist systems, Philippe Bourgios (2001) lays down three additional conceptual lenses through which violence is encountered within later parts of this thesis:

Direct Political: Targeted physical violence and terror administered by official authorities and those opposing it, such as military repression, police torture, and armed resistance.

Structural: Chronic, historically entrenched political-economic oppression and social inequality; ranging from exploitative international terms of trade to abusive local working conditions and high infant mortality. Term bought into academic debates by Galtung (1969 & 1975).

Symbolic: Defined in Bourdieu’s work (97) as internalised humiliations and legitimisations of inequality and hierarchy ranging from sexism and racism to intimate expressions of class power. It is “exercised through cognition and misrecognition, knowledge and sentiment, with the unwitting consent of the dominated”.

Dominant discourses of ‘violence’ are constructed around selective binaries in order to justify practices that involve political, physical, symbolic, and structural forms of violence; discourses that construct forms of violence as as normal and necessary. Acts of physical harm exist relatively unchallenged; the ‘shock and awe’ bombing of Iraq, war in Afghanistan, armed intervention in Libya, the torture of detainees in Guantanamo Bay and Camp Bastion, pre-emptive detainment and police brutality, imprisonment of adults and children in asylum detention centres, forced deportation charter flights, and

the use of mosquito sound deterrents on teenagers. ‘Disaster capitalism’, (according to Klein), means that violence, conflict, human displacement, and natural disasters are increasingly considered as financially profitable spaces – hot spots for western corporate interests to re-build and re-engineer and generally remake spaces in the image that most suits the very same corporate interests (2007). The ethical-politics of these violent geographies remain relatively unchanged because of the discourses that they are a part of, all of which might be understood as maintaining or creating ‘security’. In contrast, young people smashing shop windows and looting trainers, protestors occupying a high-end delicatessen or daubing paint on ‘The Ritz’ restaurant, is framed as unjustifiable, the acts of those wishing to destroy the security and safety of normality; frequently represented as ‘violent extremism’. So, an additional aim is to disrupt dominant representations of violence as presented through media and political discourses - to avoid a representation of violence that supports the status quo and underpin the representational ‘othering’ and uneven geographies. I do turn briefly to conceptualisations of violence but my aim here is to explore departure points for considering embodied nonviolent practice.

Violence, as Scheper-Hughes and Bourgios acknowledge, is “nonlinear, productive, destructive, and reproductive” (2004:1) and the majority of violent geographies, as Gregory et al (2007) explore, emerge during Peacetime. Stephen Pinker, in a recent essay entitled *A History of Violence* puts forward an argument for an essential (biological) shift away from cruelty; “violence has been in decline over long stretches of history, and today we are probably living in the most peaceful moment of our species' time on earth” (Pinker 2007np). Saskia Sassen argues that whilst killing now happens more slowly and less visibly than in the age of mass battlefields, it is “still killing” (2011). This consideration more readily acknowledges the dangers of abstracting (or essentialising) violence outside of social, political, and economic processes. As the section on climate change and in/security noted, imperialist tendencies and wider capitalist processes have eroded the possibilities for many people to stay alive, to retain access to land and resources necessary for shelter and subsistence, to preserve traditional economies, and means of living autonomously from global systems (see **Intervention II**).

Zizek views these ‘systemic violences’ (violences embedded within neoliberal capitalism) as occurring ‘quietly and invisibly’ in the background, “necessary for such a comfortable life to be possible” (Zizek 2008:8). Here, I challenge this perceived ‘invisibility’ - as the empirical engagements in this ethnography establish – arguing that the majority of violences are neither quite nor invisible - they are *justified, legitimised and tolerated*. They remain unchallenged, and accepted as geographical norms, a term I adapt from Walter Benjamin’s theses on ‘historical norms’ and after Arendt on the ‘banality of evil’. Benjamin was not shocked at the acceptance of Nazi rule in Germany, which he understood in terms of ‘historical norms’ – events accepted through a view of historical progression as essentialised; “the tradition of the oppressed teaches us that the ‘state of emergency’ in which we live is not the exception but the rule” (cited in Taussig 1989:64). We too often accept and legitimise the violent consequences of neoliberal globalisation in a similar vein, as Curtis points to, after Arendt, “most evil is done by people who never made up their mind to be or do evil or good” (1999).

Troubling geographical norms: global justice movements

There is (of course) a danger in labelling diverse assemblages of people as ‘social movements’ – as I have already been doing throughout these introductory chapters, alongside criticising the violence of representation! As Cumbers and Routledge explore in their theoretical conceptualisation of convergence space, This section, therefore, addresses this problem (in the hope of avoiding any homogenising of differences) and outlines some understandings and appreciations that are important in relation to the groups engaged with here. In calling for space to be understood beyond the freeze frame of representation (giving the illusion of space as existing historically formed), the spaces of global justice understood here through social movement organising are considered as relational, ongoing processes, always in the becoming. It is important to acknowledge the continuous movement of, within, and between movements; to reiterate that they are not homogenous pre-formed givens. They are complex ever shifting landscapes of people, practices, places, and beliefs. As Routledge et al (2006) and Featherstone (2002, 2008) consider, shared narratives may elide to a coherent ‘movement’ but frequently mask internal points of contestation and irreconcilable differences. Chapter 4 returns to this, through empirical material and in relation to the

difficulties (and silences) that exist within mobilisation processes that involve a multiplicity of actors. Here, in recognising that key organisational actors in this study - the *CfCA*, the *CJA* and *CJN* - each narrated themselves as constituent parts of a *Climate Justice Movement*, I adopt this reference for describing wider collective activities.

I accept the limitations but also the performative possibilities of such generic terminology. In adopting the terminology and concept of social movements I am acknowledging the terms that the movements themselves will recognise and in respect of their own use, which I understand as denoting affiliations to practiced and imagined shared subjectivities (in the becoming). Della Porta and Diani (1999) define a 'social movement' as, "based on informal networks, share a set of beliefs, are involved in collective challenges, and adopt protest and cultural practices which may or may not involve confrontation" (:14-16). Similarly, Tarrow talks of social movements as "mounting collective challenges...drawing on social networks, common purposes, cultural frameworks, and collective identities to sustain collective action" (1998:4). Transnational movements, more specifically, are understood by Tarrow as "individuals and groups who mobilize domestic and international resources and opportunities to advance claims on behalf of external actors, against external opponents, or in favour of goals they hold in common with transnational allies" (2005:9)

New social movement theory (NSM) emerged in response to the post-1968 shift toward identity and rights based political movements – women's, gay, black, and class being the most frequently noted. NSM theory looked primarily toward the collective identity of social movements. Moreover, this reflected a shift to cultural politics, hegemonic understandings that viewed power as dispersed through multiplicitous structures of authority – power could not be gained merely by overthrowing the state. The problems underpinning the 'new social movement' theory are summed up by Melucci; "theoretically, the question is then whether and how it is possible to affirm both unity and difference simultaneously" (1996:187). Partly this is ontological, a search for identity at a moment in time where movements were converging around a politics of demand - enrolling identity and a focus for demanding rights. Following the counter-summit convergence against the WTO in 1999 social movement theories started to converse with poststructuralist conceptualisations of agency. These may be understood

within a wider fluidity of transnational organising, a shift away from demanding rights from the state and society to issue based targeting of (largely unelected) international governance institutions and corporations beyond the nation state. This brought about new rapprochements between groups that had been divided along identity lines, the convergence of groups not usually positioned together including trades unions, religious groups, anarchists, feminists, artists, and academics. In short, this was served by forms of organising and living together which was prefigurative, and performative of new political-ethics (and ethical possibilities); a bricolage of anarchist sensibilities, feminist, Peace movement, and Quaker political-ethics (after Epstein 2001) these were performed through creative entanglements of resistance and prefigurative action.

Most of all, it might be argued (after Arendt 1998) that they made their struggle public and thus political. This wasn't about making issues visible but it was about making them public - being seen refusing to legitimise. The newest social movements were about publically (political) de-legitimization of unevenness, a challenge to plural forms of domination, through cultural and economic codes - so that power in its multiplicity of sites can be rendered vulnerable (for instance Melucci 1996). Social movements challenge dominant codes through the performance of symbolic action, or and through practicing different political, and social configurations, queering the normative frames that capitalist society was founded upon – hierarchy, exploitation and domination (Roseneil 1993).

The last two decades has seen a convergence of social movements around ecological and social justice issues, many of these have taken to the global stage as policy decisions are increasingly made at this scale. This convergence of movements, civil society groups, GROs and more radically aligned NGOs along points of common interest, such as social justice (rather than identity) has seen involvement in quite significant numbers, with the annual World Social Forum – a meeting of civil society groups – always attracting large attendance, Roelvink (2009) describing more than 155,000 participants in 2005. This reflects earlier considerations of the attractiveness of movements that intersect a number of social movements on issues of commonality; “[they] will normally grow at a more rapid rate and normally attain a larger membership than movements which are structurally more isolated” (Snow, Zurcher Jr et al. 1980:

787). Social movements (and wider civil society groups) are now being taken seriously as posing ethical-political challenges to states and international governance, playing a role in de-legitimizing and “constraining the juggernaut of modernity” (Giddens 1994:158, cited in Plows 2002).

Dominant narratives within this research included ‘reclaim power’ ‘change the system not the climate’, ‘our world is not for sale’ and ‘climate justice’ and linking climate issues directly to foreign and economic policy (for instance debt relief, trade regulations, and migration). Recent social movement theory understands *newest social movements* as a shift away from traditional class or identity based politics, though, as Day emphasises these are still central to many elements within wider movements (2005). It might be argued that ‘strategic essentialisms’ (after Butler, see Heckert 2011) remain a necessity to which a common register - mutually understood signifiers – can be attached. Whilst the social movements here iteratively narrate themselves under a banner of a global Climate Justice Movement – effectively manifesting a movement into being – it might be more productively understood as a convergence space rather than transnational network. Chapter 4 looks to the benefits for understanding points of commonality or collective action/imaginings as convergence spaces as bringing together the constituent parts of spatially dispersed oppositional struggles, such as climate or global justice movements, without flattening them into a homogenous ‘movement’. Reflecting the fluidity and creativity within the ‘movement of movements’, these are being productively understood as ‘alternative globalisations’ reflecting the performative possibilities in the shift from counter-hegemonic to prefigurative politics.

The networked climate justice movements are considered as firmly connected to the earlier convergence spaces, particularly through established relationships between groups and individuals. Through for instance La Via Campesina and ATTAC, and the remnants of transnational organising networks such as Dissent! and the shared common tenets of the People’s Global Action (PGA)). These all focus oppositional struggles toward political issues that are perceived as beyond the state. This is not to be confused with a wholesale rejection of opposition to the state; indeed many of the groups involved are also engaged in policy change within the nation state or the targeting of the

state as a symbolic and/or practiced institution. It is rather that the NWSM, as understood here, do not act (as a whole) under either reformist or revolutionary aspirations as traditionally understood; as Day argues, “they seek radical change, but not through the taking or influencing of state power” (Day 2005) in looking to non-hegemonic rather than counter-hegemonic articulations it rearticulates the idea of power and agency, moving away from viewing ‘power over’ toward ‘power to’ and ‘power with’ (here bringing elements of both Arendt 1963 and Holloway 2002).

Here, Day’s (2004; 2005) post-anarchist conceptualisation of ‘newest social movements’ (NWSM) reflects the acknowledgement of plurality – making space for differences as well as similarities; it also allows for understanding social movements as performative. In considering the performative spaces of the social movement practices presented here I don’t so much discount dialectical understandings that have focused on cyclical accounts of resistance and confrontation, anti-globalisation, or those that have understood globalisation and geopolitics within hegemonic terms and thus looked to counter-hegemonic understandings of social movement organising. Reflecting an environmental geopolitical emphasis on consensus, depoliticising the environment as an arena for debate has arguably opening the way for neoliberal capitalist policies that do little to mitigate either the effects or causes of climate change and have favoured corporate interests and the foreign policies of global elites. Through processes of alternative globalisation (here after Day 2005) the convergence of social movements around global justice has shifted sideways to focus on climate change/justice debates, including the post-Copenhagen Mother Earth conference in Bolivia (2010) and initiated by transnational organising in the run up and counter summit gatherings in Copenhagen 2009.

Newest social movements are viewed to be those that no longer situate themselves in direct confrontation (as principal strategy) but focus on the generation of alternative political spaces, including media (Indymedia) and transnational GRO conferences such as European and *World Social Forum* (ESF/WSF) (Conway 2007; Pickerill 2007; Tormey 2005). Tormey (2005) describes these articulations as a shift from “utopian worlds to utopian spaces”; reflecting the ongoing process – existing and becoming ‘other worlds’. This idea echoes Day’s understanding of *GJM* as performing

(alternative) ‘alter-globalisations’ (Day 2005). The plurality of world views within transnational NSM has been viewed as a principal strength by most within the movements; no reliance on a single leader or goal, a dispersal of power amongst the many rather than the few, the ability to act quickly and creatively in small groups with the support of larger networks. An emphasis on praxis, a refusal to decouple theory and practice, has shaped the political-ethics of many NWSM; this is reflected in the processes of international organising, decision making, and tactics of direct action (Epstein 2001; Graeber 2002; Newman 2010). With associations and similar organisational and political ethics to the peace movement, the CJM has organised mainly through non-hierarchical means (later chapters will detail the narratives and practices of this), a recognition that the uneven dispersal of power will not be countered by reproduction of the same model – non-hierarchical configurations are perceived as empowering where top-down structures are disempowering.

Recent work on the spaces of global justice movements, acknowledge the complexities and possibilities of transnational organising based on points of convergence where power is dispersed amongst groups. The following empirical chapters return to these: performed politics and affective solidarity (Juris 2007; 2008), anti-political political-ethics (Newman 2010); in spatial terms these are understood as relational (Featherstone 2005; Routledge 2009) affective (Juris 2008; Roelvink 2009; Routledge 2009; Sullivan 2004) and performative spaces (Gibson-Graham 2006). Whilst the social movements here have traditionally been understood as interstitially positioned between the elite and the (traditionally conceived of) voice-less, recent work by Jo Sharp (2011) introduces a renewed conceptualisation of subaltern critical geopolitics which disrupts this somewhat and resonates particularly strongly when thinking about many of the individual groups that constituted the *Trade to Climate Caravan*. Climate Justice Movement (for here on in CJM) have been central to an alter-globalisation as envisaged by political theorists such as Richard Day (2005). This might be positioned alongside shifts in the doing of transnational social movements organising and localised performances of resilience and resistance; from ‘anti’ to ‘counter’ to ‘alter’ globalisations.

Given the constituency, organising principles and scope of the *Climate Justice Movement*, they are understood here as related directly to the *Global Justice Movement*

(*GJM*). The discursive construction of a *GJM* within the popular imagination placed active solidarities as central ethos of a ‘the movement of movements’. This was illustrated through one the most powerful messages of the *GJM* ‘we are everywhere’ (Notes from Nowhere 2003), based on the Zapatista mantra ‘I is we’. This powerful geographic imaginary of togetherness, was the antithesis of the atomisation at the heart of neoliberal modernity and became the genesis of a new global resistance; “together we act as one, apart we act as a network” (Notes from Nowhere 2003); “an injury to one is an injury to all” (Solnit and Solnit 2010:9 - from an image of union banner) “one no, many yeses” (Kingsnorth 2004). The Zapatistas took over the Zócalo in San Cristobal de las Casas on December 31, 1993 to protest legislation dissolving the Ejidal lands of Mexico, when the North American Trade Agreement (NAFTA) was signed. It has been considered the first ‘post-modern’ revolution since the group refrain from armed conflict, relying instead on building civil society support via the internet and the use of creative resistance. The EZLN (Ejército Zapatista de Liberación Nacional) campaigns within Mexico on a platform of self-governance for Chiapas and externally as a movement actively opposed to neoliberalism. The movement affected a wave of support around the globe by groups fighting similar struggles over land and resources and against neoliberalism and solidarity from anti-globalisation movements around the world; Zapatismo.

This imagined community of oppositional struggles emerged in the years before the counter-summit mobilisations in Seattle 1999, though it is these events to which many commentators (activist and academic included) view as the birth of the *GJM* – arguably exposing an imperialist gaze latent within transnational organising (a tendency to think that things don’t exist until the north is involved). The transnational ‘peasant farmer’ movement La Via Campesina had been organising across four continents since 1993, framing itself as globalising the struggle against an increasingly globalised agribusiness (see **Ch 4**). A World Social Forum was held in Oaxaca in 1994, where the People’s Global Action emerged as a transnational organising group; “an alliance of struggle and mutual support” (AGP 2011). This was followed by a number of meetings prior to Seattle: Birmingham (1996), Geneva (1998), Bangalore (1999).

The convergence of so many groups has been pivotal in creating a myriad of practical and imagined solidarities amongst spatially dispersed movements whilst problematizing dominant discourses on free trade, globalisation, and neoliberal capitalism. Chapter 4 returns to the concept and articulation of convergence space and offers insights into the performative manifestation of a Climate Justice Movement (as a ‘movement of movements’). Of most interest in this thesis has been the effective (and affective) use of nonviolent civil disobedience, what Graeber (2002) describes as nonviolent warfare (a significant contributor to a ‘political ontology of hope’ (Graeber 2007)). I find this concept useful, as Klein’s call below illustrates, tactics of nonviolent civil disobedience were at the heart of the Copenhagen mobilisations, using the body and the surroundings as tools through which to physically disrupt and de-legitimise the dominant discourses:

“We have to be the lie detectors here. Let’s not restrict ourselves to polite marches and formulaic panel discussions. If Seattle was the coming out party, this should be the coming of age party. And, as a friend of mine called John Jordan says, I hope that we have grown up to be even more disobedient. Why are thousands of us burning fossil fuels to get here? Because we have to build a global mass movement that will not allow leaders to get away with what they are trying to get away with. Think of it as the mother of all carbon offsets.” (Naomi Klein at the opening of the Klimaforum 2009).

Whilst finishing this thesis I received a video of Occupy Oakland protestors walking, defiantly and peacefully, into a cloud of tear gas; an act of refusal and non-resistance haunted by Satyagrahi actions as during the 1930 Salt March (see below). In another recent example, protestors blockaded and chained themselves the White House in opposition to the Keystone oil pipeline. Steve Kretzmann, (CEO of NGO *Oil Change International*), celebrated the decision (by the US senate) to abandon the project (linked to Tar Sands) with an impassioned speech on people power and nonviolent civil disobedience; “You need victories to build a movement, and how you win can be as important as what you win” (cited in Hertsgaard 2011). Singer, on considering the ethics of animal rights activists, positions nonviolent interventions as the *only* possible form of action, with no gains to be made from “going down the same blind alley of violence and counter-violence” (2001:302). The following section, on nonviolent strategies, attempts to position nonviolent civil disobedience within key conceptual frameworks of strategic nonviolence.

Considering nonviolent civil [dis]obedience

Thus far, this chapter has outlined a number of calls for nonviolent geographies. It has outlined understandings of violence as systemic legitimised and justified. It has acknowledged the material presence of physical violence that many social movement actors engaged with here encounter on a daily basis (**Ch 4** and **Interventions IV** and **V** touch on these). Building upon the idea of genealogies and connections I now turn to conceptual frameworks for understanding the practice of nonviolence. It acknowledges the key thinkers/practitioners and positions their strategic as divided by praxis as moral and political. It situates these in relation to nonviolent civil disobedience. The majority of the tactics and strategies in this section have been developed in or for situations where the opposition is the state, but practically and discursively they are also important to wider forms of social movement activism (for instance see Martin 2010; Zunes 1999)

The understanding of violence as geographical norms (above) places the nonviolent civil disobedience here as practices that seek to de-legitimise. Whilst not examining military conflict here, Otopow's words on the conditions necessary for militarism and war are of interest in understanding the discourses that legitimise violence (cited in Tyner and Inwood 2011: 16); "militarism and war culture relies on a framework of exclusionary justice...Excluding 'others' from the scope of justice means viewing them as unworthy of fairness, resources, or sacrifice, and seeing them as expendable, undeserving, exploitable, or irrelevant." In other words we 'other' in order to render some people disposable; "...this logic was perhaps made most famous by President George W. Bush's pronouncement in the wake of the September 11, 2001 terror attacks that you are 'either with us or against us'" (ibid). As the introductory chapter acknowledged, the geopoetical appreciation of nonviolent social movement action that I adopt here intervenes directly into these forms of othering.

'People Power' has been a central discourse of Global Justice Movements since it was seen in action in Seattle in 1999 (see Solnit 2006). Seattle was an outward performance of the political agency of collective action; the coming together of many civil society action usually represented as lacking in political agency (see above). The convergence of climate justice movements have been successful for similar reasons – in the coming together of so many diverse groups becomes a form of security against these forms of

othering, giving publicity to a broader constituency. Chapter 1 introduced the groups and practices emerging from this ethnography as committed to nonviolent action as everyday process and political tactic; a politics of the act. Embodied practices are central to ‘people power’, ‘nonviolent civil disobedience’ and ‘nonviolent warfare’, and everyday politics of the act, each demanding an ethical *and* corporeal commitment to collective action (see **Ch 5** and **Ch 6**).

Just as Peace is not necessarily what remains in the when war is over (Megoran 2011), nonviolence is not the absence/negation of violence – both are practiced and embodied spaces. Indeed, as Loyd points out, attempting to find a dichotomy between War and Peace feeds the neoliberal militarization project; “Precisely because modern war so thoroughly blurs times and spaces of peace and war, this dualism dangerously facilitates war-making” (2009). Frequently peace and nonviolence are assumed as a ‘given’ – essentialised as an existing condition. Nonviolence is understood here, as practiced. John Heathershaw’s conceptualisation of peace ‘keeping’ and ‘building’ as practiced, discursive, and contingent to time and space is of interest here, foregrounding contingent and contextual understandings:

“[Peace-building] is a “travelling concept” and finds new meanings wherever it visits. The immediate implication of this statement is that the search for a core definition of peace-building may well be futile, and it is at least of lesser importance than how ‘peace-building’ is variously and discursively practiced within the region” (2007:219).

Megoran (2011), McConnell and Williams (2011) have also called for the understanding of peace through considerations of practice; placing importance on the discursive and performed/performative. Outside of its articulation and embodied practices nonviolence is viewed as an ethical position, often separated from nonviolent practice; nonviolent practice is active. Here, the contours of nonviolence as articulated through political practices and civil disobedience are linked to the ‘anarchist sensibilities’ discussed above, below and within the empirical chapters.

The nonviolent civil disobedience or resistance – or what I prefer to call ‘nonviolent warfare’ – that is considered throughout this thesis is fluid and include a multiplicity of tactical and strategic positions. Here, I understand ‘tactics’ as the specific means of action within the technique of nonviolent action (after Helvey 2004). Within the

practices of ‘nonviolent warfare’ here there are a number of conceptualisations worth expanding upon – they have all been adopted at points and will be elaborated below. These should be understood as relating to the groups and context of the research - many groups would also use other strategies such as advocacy, research, care, non-cooperation, and social provision as forms of nonviolent intervention within wider everyday social movement activisms. They all intersect and in most oppositional groups a mixture of methods and strategies are performed (for others see Seel, Paterson et al. 2000; Zunes 1999):

Non-resistance: tactics that include a complete rejection of all physical violence against humans, even in response to physical violence (for instance, proponents will not fight back when attacked by military or police).

Nonviolent direct action: tactics that aim to intervene in a situation and change directly, but without the use of force. The aim is to change things not to convert people to a way of thinking.

Satyagraha: Gandhian moral praxis, the aim of which is to transform the inner self as well as external conditions of the social, political and economic.

Strategic nonviolence: Political praxis, adoption of nonviolence as politically more effective, more likely to succeed. Seeks to win/depose rather than transform either the self or other.

Radical Pacifism: praxis that acknowledges an expanded concept of nonviolence which includes modes of power (domination and hierarchy) and often extends to non-humans. Practices often include consensus decision making. Intersects both moral and political, can be linked to many religious and radical-political movements and is often associated with religious (Buddhism, Quaker, socialist Christianity) as well as and Satyagraha.

Conscientisation: an extended form of popular pedagogy that looks to empowerment through critical consciousness which then extends into the world confronting the spaces of oppressions.

Creative resistance: whilst all forms of nonviolent praxis can be thought of as ‘creative’, there are also specific considerations to the idea of ethical spectacle. I take these through the concept of geopoetics, bringing together both the carnivalesque and the performance of everyday geopoetical situations.

Roberts and Garton-Ash (2009) present the study of nonviolent civil disobedience as a highly effective strategy during the last 50 years. They go on to reiterate earlier dismay at the lack of academic focus on the sites and processes of nonviolent confrontation. This lack of research also masks another important gap, when considering strategies of nonviolent conflict, the long term benefits or otherwise of different approaches. As already mentioned, this research looks to the adoption of nonviolent praxis (warfare) through social movement convergence that transcends the state, and (in the context of this research) contested global rather than sovereign processes (though these are understood as intertwined). Here, whilst I focus on how the praxis of nonviolence relates specifically to the social movements involved– rather than opposition to the nation state (as Roberts et al take as subject) the shared tactics open interesting connections. Having said that, the use of strategic nonviolence in India and Serbia are worth noting as they serve to illustrate the differing frameworks under discussion here (and are touched upon below).

The thesis adopts a contextual understanding of nonviolence, acknowledging that different situations that communities are faced with affect the means and possibilities of resistance. The frameworks below each recognise and acknowledge what Sharp et al (2000) name as ‘dominating power’; “power which attempts to control or coerce others, impose its will upon others, or manipulate the consent of others. These circumstances may involve domination, exploitation and subjection at the material, symbolic or psychological levels” (:2). In recognizing agency and power to deconstruct and resist, “to set up situations, groupings and actions which resist the impositions of dominating power” (ibid:3), it is also crucial to acknowledge barriers to resistance. The practices to counter oppositional resistance will be different in each spatio-political context, access to resources are often limited, and as Orlie (1997) reminds us there are very real everyday and structural barriers that limit agency (from family responsibilities and precarious living conditions to very real political violence).

Due to similar strategies and tactics being successfully deployed across time and space (including a myriad of culturally specific situations) universal claims have been attached to certain nonviolent frameworks (for instance Sharp and Ackerman). My research is material rich and highly contextual, it does not make any claim to relate to the forms of intra and inter state conflict that affect many oppositional movements world wide; I do urge caution though on claiming any universal normative framework for waging nonviolent action. Palestinian critics are unsurprisingly angered at the media representations of their own struggles, rewriting their own popular uprising within a western frame of acceptable and non-acceptable forms of resistance against Israeli forces that mete out the same level of physical oppression regardless of what tactics Palestinian activists adopt. The shifting normative bias that frame nonviolence to suit particular agendas risks imposing imperialist accounts of acceptability upon highly contextualised, volatile and contingent situations; these have been evident across the varying spaces of civil resistance across North Africa and North East Asia (the Arab Spring). In adopting a narrow but contextualised approach I hope to avoid moralising narratives that have (often unintentionally) underpinned discussions of nonviolence.

I follow Merriman in acknowledging one commonality that underpins nonviolent civil resistance and links directly to the anarchist sensibilities that shaped the events in the ethnography, a focus on power; “shifting the pattern of obedience, cooperation, and consent, to shift the power dynamic” (2009). The departure for this ethnography was to explore the intersections of nonviolent action and geopolitics. I do though acknowledge that in many contexts nonviolent confrontation may be impossible, and/or comes to a point where it is no longer tenable (as we have seen in North West Asia, North Africa and Palestine). In this sense I hold with Gandhian philosophy, in viewing violence as the only option in some fights for social justice (see *Nonviolence in Peace and War*) (Merton 1965). The conceptualisation on nonviolence in relation to the People’s Assembly (part of reclaim Power!) was always intended to be enacted through rejection of physical violence, “a mass action of non-violent civil disobedience” that accepted that violence would have to be confronted but this confrontation should not resort to physical violence, see **Intervention IV** (Climate Justice Action and Climate Justice Now 2009b). In presenting the moral and political frameworks here is to position

the social movement political-ethics as influenced by both; nonviolent praxis as strategic and ethical discourse.

The two key strategic frameworks considered here – in acknowledgement of the narratives and practices of the movements in hand - are *Satyagraha* and *strategic nonviolence*. The two share many tactics. Whilst many of the ‘means’ are shared the ‘ends’ differ and so an understanding of praxis that considers embodied performance of an ethical commitment to personal and societal transformation separates the two. Where Gandhi’s *Satyagraha* and Sharp’s *strategic nonviolence* fundamentally differ is that the first is principally an ethical praxis based on the conversion/transformation of the self and the opponent/other. *Satyagraha* is rooted in the moral belief that all forms of violence (though he does accept violence as necessary in some occasions) are wrong and in self-transformation, new (prefigurative) practices of the self, ‘be the change you want to see’. It is confrontational but seeks to transform the opponent. *Strategic nonviolence* is political, a strategy of conflict, where an arsenal of nonviolent weapons is seen as the most likely and effective means of toppling power. Whilst it adopts many elements of *Satyagraha* it does not present itself as holding any ethical underpinning. For Sharp, tactics and ethics *could* be separated, for Gandhi they could not. The normative basis of the first is problematic whilst the end point of control is a problem in the second.

Sharp’s ‘*strategic nonviolence*’ and Gandhi’s ‘*Satyagraha*’ are of interest to many social movements because of their focus on the active practice of nonviolence; articulations of nonviolent action that are strategic and acknowledgement of power dynamics beyond the state. The nonviolent strategies are recognised through links with theories of consent; a question that remains at the heart of political philosophy, critical theories, and returns us to Al Gore’s question above - the mystery of civil *obedience*. Each conceptual framework has connections to anarchist theories of power and resistance, and particularly to ideas of consent and nonviolent civil disobedience (see Carter 2009). In turn both frameworks owe a lot to grounding in the writings of those who are influential to anarchist thinking. Gandhi, looking to the writings of Henry David Thoreau’s writings, most notably his essay on *Resistance to Civil Government* (known more widely now *An essay on Civil Disobedience*) (1849) and Sharp to those of 16th

century philosopher Étienne de La Boétie, as outlined in *The Politics of Obedience* (de La Boetie 1997/1576). Thoreau's essay describes his imprisonment for non-payment of taxes on ethical grounds, whilst the world seemed indifferent to where monies were used (civil war). De La Boétie also explored the theory of consent and non-violent civil disobedience, the first writer that links to contemporary understandings; "...for our consent is required. And that consent can be non-violently withdrawn".

Whilst Marshall (1992) traces anarchist practices back to early Buddhism, Taoism, and Christianity, I prefer to focus on De la Boétie as a historical root here – not to claim he was an anarchist, but because his theses on civil dis/obedience offers an interesting departure point to which the anarchistic sensibilities presented here (in the politics of the act) might be traced. In 1576, (in the posthumous publication of) *The Politics of Obedience: the discourse of voluntary servitude*, Étienne de La Boétie asks of agency and consent:

"I should merely like to understand how it happens that so many men, so many villages, so many cities, so many nations, sometimes suffer under a single tyrant who has no other power than the power they give him; who is able to harm them only to the extent to which they have the willingness to bear with him...If a hundred, if a thousand endure the caprice of a single man, should we not rather say that they lack not the courage but the desire to rise against him. When a thousand, a million men, a thousand cities, fail to protect themselves against the domination of one man, this cannot be called cowardly, for cowardice does not sink to such depth..." (translation by Rothbard 1975).

To de La Boétie then, the means of shifting power and escaping serfdom is straightforward - mass civil disobedience. A similar questioning of obedience underpins Arendt's (1963/1994) theses on the 'banality of evil' (see above). The means of delegitimising power is the active/public withdrawal of support and the refusal to give, enact consent. Nonviolent civil disobedience is, therefore, directed at diffuse 'pillars of power', recognising that agency is spread throughout wider performances of statecraft and societal relations, echoed by Gene Sharp, four centuries later.

"By themselves, rulers cannot collect taxes, enforce repressive laws and regulations, keep trains running on time, prepare national budgets...people provide these services to the ruler through a variety of organisations and institutions. If people would stop providing these skills the ruler could not rule" (Sharp 1973 cited in Popovic, Milivojevic et al. 2006).

A moral framework for nonviolence: Satyagraha

Gandhi remains the most frequently cited proponent of nonviolent civil disobedience. The Camp for Climate Action cited Gandhian tactics within its own narrative. For Gandhi nonviolent praxis is a moral imperative to achieving societal change and rooted within both collective emancipation and personal transformation of the self and the other - a continual process of becoming:

“There is no halfway between truth and nonviolence on the one hand and untruth and violence on the other. We may never be strong enough to be entirely nonviolent in thought, word and deed. But we must keep nonviolence as our goal and make steady progress toward it. The attainment of freedom, whether for a man, a nation, or the world, must be in exact proportion to the attainment of nonviolence by each” (cited in Merton 1965)

‘Nonviolence’ cannot be abstracted from practice; its theories and practices have been shaped by debates on means and ends. Gandhi’s writings on nonviolence most notably on *Ahisma* and *Satyagraha* were embodied within the Indian campaign of civil disobedience in the struggle for independence from the colonial power of Britain. *Ahisma* is understood here as the moral underpinning - as it is rooted within religious teachings of Hinduism, Jainism, and Buddhism – it advocates a radical form of pacifism that rejects all forms of violence to humans and non-human beings. *Satyagraha* is understood as the embodied practice, translated loosely from Sanskrit as ‘truth force’ or as ‘acting through love’ (ICNC, 2009), *Satyagrahi* (followers) would embody practices within everyday life and collective civil disobedience.

As performed praxis, *Satyagraha* is probably most notable through the enactment of the Salt March; a performance of nonviolent civil disobedience that resonates within the practices outlined within the empirical chapters. During March 1930, Gandhi (and following his arrest and imprisonment, female poet and activist Sarojini Naidu) led a Salt March through India. The Salt *Satyagraha* was an act of civil disobedience that challenged the British colonial rule in India. It enacted a refusal to legitimise the Salt Tax. The Salt Tax on the production of salt, which raised almost 10% of the British Raj’s income. To the *Satyagrahi*, this was biopolitical, a direct assault upon the bodies of Indian poor, whose diet depended upon the consumption of salt (to counter the loss of salt from the body in humid conditions) (Dalton 2001):

“Next to air and water, salt is perhaps the greatest necessity of life...there is no article like salt outside water by taxing which the state can reach even the starving millions, the sick, the maimed and the utterly helpless” (Gandhi, cited in Todd and Marty 2004)

The Salt Satyagraha marched for 24 days and almost 250 miles, from Sabarmati Ashram to the coastal village of Dandi, giving the Satyagraha the popular name of ‘the Dandi march’. The march stopped in villages and towns, embodying a material link between the intimate daily acts and colonialism and calling for the mass civil disobedience and refusal to pay, thus refusal to legitimise the tax. The Satyagrahi enacted non-resistance, a visible refusal to respond to the heavy police beatings. The strength in the ‘mass civil disobedience’ lay, according to Jawaharlal Nehru, in the ability to affect:

“The real importance, to my mind, lay in the effect they had on our own people, and especially the village masses...Non-cooperation dragged them out of the mire and gave them self-respect and self-reliance....They acted courageously and did not submit so easily to unjust oppression; their outlook widened and they began to think a little in terms of India as a whole...” (quoted in, Johnson 2006).

Gregg (1934) described the power dynamic of Satyagraha successes as ‘moral jiu jitsu’, a psychological approach to the success of the action. He understood the strength of praxis such as non-resistance, as likened to the martial art of jiu jitsu – using the opponents’ own strength to destabilise them. This is mainly through an aesthetic of nonviolence – **Ch 7** gives an empirical example of riot police attacking a group of protestors, as they held their hands in the air shouting ‘this is not a riot’. Moral Jiu Jitsu is adopted by Gregg (after the martial art) to describe the shift in the balance of power that unfolds through practices on non-resistance – for instance Satyagrahi walking into police beatings during the 1930 Salt March, embodying non-resistance (see **Ch 6**) and perhaps most famously (in living memory) the 19 year old unnamed student standing in front of (and halting) a procession of tanks during the massacre in Tiananmen Square following peaceful student uprisings in 1989 (Goldman 2009). Through the tactic of refusal (to use the same physical force) the attacker ‘loses moral balance’ – their strength works against them. Whilst this may have success in provoking international response (as with the Salt March and Tiananmen Sq) it can be argued that this did little to stop the political violence in hand. Whilst one of the Southern Indian social

movements involved in the caravan was committed to Gandhian practice, it is probably fair to say that it is the mythology that has endured within the social movements encountered in this research. An emerging body of work that take critical and feminist geographical perspectives is looking to the practices of Satyagraha and Ahisma within contemporary geopolitical performances. McConnell's work is exemplary here. In looking to Tibetan practices of diplomacy grounded in the outward representation of a peaceful 'nation', embodied most visibly in the geographical imagination associated with the political performances of the Dalai Llama. McConnell reminds the reader of Tibet's non-state status and its historically violent past, both of which get erased in the diplomatic performance (McConnell 2009; 2009).

A political framework: strategic nonviolence

The Camp for Climate Action related their nonviolent actions to Gandhi, yet their rejection of moral frameworks might suggest that this is more to do with a lack of social movement engagements with theoretical frameworks of nonviolence. Whilst Gene Sharp's dynamics of nonviolent conflict also pose problems, they are closer in tactical impetus to the narratives and performances of the groups here. In so many ways the performative possibilities of nonviolent action have somewhat overtaken the writing of this thesis – as nonviolent uprisings and social movement actions in cities across the world (the Occupy Movement being one). Whilst the work of Sharp and the Einstein Institute remains underrepresented, the connections between his theories and the practices 'on the street' have begun to gain in attention. As I write this, a film is due to be released charting these connections.

Whilst Sharp's pivotal *Politics of Nonviolent Action*, with its '198 weapons of nonviolent conflict' was not mentioned in any of the social movement groups, the practices have seeped in through a number of training workshops in non violent direct action. This probably represents the popular interpretations of these through academic-activist cross over groups such as CANVAS (the Centre for Applied Non Violent Action and Strategies). CANVAS works with youth groups and social movements and has recently been linked to groups in Egypt and Tunisia prior to recent nonviolent uprisings; "[on Egypt] geopolitical analysis group Stratfor said the tactics were straight out of CANVAS's training curriculum" (Rosenberg 2011). Sharp's 'weapons' have also

been well documented in relation to other political action, including those that have been met by the worst forms of state sanctioned violent retaliation, including the Syrian uprising in 2011, that has been met with widespread human rights abuses and localised genocide. Sharp takes Gandhian philosophy (and Gregg's moral jiu jitsu) 'elsewhere' through a conceptualisation of nonviolent resistance as political jiu jitsu.

Whilst retaining Gandhian tactics (to a large extent), Sharp's strategic nonviolence fundamentally differs in its basis as a political rather than moral strategy. Sharp has perceived western social movements as spending too much time dictating what not to do rather naming what they should be doing. It is the naming of tactics, '198 weapons of strategic nonviolence' that is performative. Here, tactics are de-coupled from ethics, as such nonviolent means are used principally because they are viewed by Sharp and others as the most politically effective at overturning ruling powers:

The use of violence to attain and then to maintain and increase political power is the operating principle of the first model. Put simply by Chairman Mao, "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun". Osama bin Laden makes the same point by insisting that repression "cannot be demolished except in a hail of bullets." In this model, the competition for political power is not accomplished through free and fair elections. Rather, as Josef Stalin said, "The people who cast the votes don't decide an election, the people who count the votes do." The other approach for gaining political power is the use of nonviolent struggle. "Violence," the great Argentine writer, Jorge Luis Borges observes, "is the last refuge of the weak." These pages are dedicated to those who see the second approach as the embodiment of the kind of state they wish to achieve. (Popovic, Milivojevic et al. 2006)

In relating this to social movement activism there are possibilities and problems in this approach. Whilst rejecting a normative moral framework – within which an element of self-transformation lays at the heart 'be the change you want to see' – the overthrow becomes the end game, with no recourse to what structures might take its place. Sharp is most notable, and accessible to social movement activism through his 198 weapons of strategic nonviolence (presented in full in Appendix 4) symbolic action, non-cooperation, and intervention. Here, I view the documenting and dissemination of the 198 weapons as performative, whilst they don't account for all of the practices observed in this ethnography, they are certainly part of an activist consciousness.

Practically, social movements such as Otpor, a youth civil resistance movement in Serbia, have adopted these 'weapons' within civil resistance and popular uprisings. Otpor started in 1998 and grew out of the Alternative Academic Educational Network

(AAEN), a free university initiated by academics ousted from universities under Milosevic's rule (Vejvoda 2009:308). The movement was influential in mobilising 'people power' and using nonviolent tactics within the overthrow of Milosevic 2000, with around 18,000 members the nonviolent actions against police oppression (in the form of physical violence) spread involvement to relatives eager to help the young people, creating a widespread resistance (ibid:309). Arguably, Otpor's successes lay in creative mixture of resistance tactics, the early use of text messaging (possibly first in civil disobedience), street theatre, non-resistance. Sharp's work has also been linked directly to nonviolent uprisings in Nepal, Chile, and recently across North East Asia. His strategic approach has, though, come under criticism for its masculine tendencies and focus on the winning of power as the end point, which jars with the aims embodied within the groups discussed here.

The three tactical points of intervention that Sharp identifies are evident within many of the direct actions and training workshops participated in within this study. Importantly here, I view all of these as acts of civil disobedience. The first that Sharp puts forward is embodied within nonviolent protest and the art of persuasion; this is related to naming the problem, expose, and relate the issues to others. In other words this first point may be understood in Foucaultian terms as problematizing. Here this is seen in many of the practices of direct actions observed in this study. The second concerns non-cooperation; viewed here this as the performance of refusal (shared with Gandhian philosophy), not to participate in and legitimise violent practices. Thoreau's essay on civil disobedience (mentioned above) speaks of his own refusal to pay taxes, as they were seen as contributing to militarisation. Some will place Scott's work on the 'weapons of the weak' within this category - a form of passive resistance in Indonesia – from the refusal to pay taxes, and non-cooperation with conscription, to the performance of walking so slowly as to cause maximum annoyance to authorities (Scott 1985 and Springer 2011) – but (to follow Zunes (1999)), these quiet and individualised performances are often difficult to equate with the collective forms being discussed here. This would also include practices recognisable in recent UK campaigns such as student occupations and walkout, boycotts, and strikes. The third is direct intervention; direct action, blockades, and obstruction (**Ch 5** looks to these).

Whilst not claiming to be a comprehensive account of theoretical appreciations of nonviolent action, this section has put forward an argument for considering nonviolence as practiced, and defended this through both moral and political frameworks through which contemporary practices have been influenced and understood. These will be further illustrated through the practices that are presented in the empirically grounded chapters. The section also serves as a departure point for conceptualising the social movement approaches to nonviolent action, as relating to both moral and political frameworks, in an adoption of tactics (rather than a teleological moral framework) but also putting emphasis on self transformation rather than the complete overthrow of power. In this they are most indebted to the praxis of the women's movement, in seeing the symbolic and practiced breaking down of hierarchical systems as central to nonviolent actions. As each form of strategic nonviolence recognises, power takes many different shapes, from the self-empowerment within Satyagrahi practices to the overthrow of one form of power over by people power, the surge of power with. As Joanne Sharp et al (2000) "domination and resistance as occupying a continuum: one running between two idealised poles which might (if a little glibly) be characterised as resistance in domination and domination in resistance" (:21).

Nonviolent resistance and the politics of the act

Chapter 1 introduced the social movement actors engaged with in the ethnography as having acknowledged (and unacknowledged) anarchisms (after Newman 2010), which I presented as anarchist sensibilities (after Epstein 2000). I also introduced the groups in this research as committed to a 'politics of the act', or 'propaganda by deed' (after Day 2004, 2005 and Gordon 2007 respectively). This was in recognition of a move against the negative connotations of anti-globalisation and toward an understanding of ongoing productions of alternative globalisations – that is, globalisations based on an ethical commitment to mutual aid rather than a fiscal commitment to economic growth and competition. Therefore, I now explore the conceptualisations of nonviolence in these expanded terms.

I outline appreciations of nonviolence based upon power relations that relate closely to an understanding of a politics of the act that is taken forward in the empirical sections. Its intention is to give an overview, as the methodology and empirical chapters explore these more fully. The term ‘anarchist’ has more often been used as an insult - a label favoured by the corporate media to describe rioters (see Phillips 2011 on the UK summer riots) and by politicians to frame post-disaster conditions or ‘failed states’ such as Somalia, where ‘descending into anarchy’ is represented as a threat to geopolitical security, a worst case scenario. This is itself a performative act that iteratively names the anarchist/anarchism as a danger, threat, uncivilised and abnormal subspecies. The etymological roots of ‘anarchy’ comes from the Greek *anrkhia* from *an arkhos* ‘without rule’; a multiplicity of ‘archys’ have been implicated in this - hierarchy, patriarchy, oligarchy, monarchy, anthrarchy - rejection of which underpins Anarchist praxis. The underlying tenet, no authority but oneself, has been interpreted variously within political philosophy since Hobbes’ conception of natural disorder – the idea being that in the absence of a sovereign state, individuals resort to brutality, misery, and chaos.

Anarchist conceptualisations of violence, then, differ from Marxist theory through the interpretations of the problem of power, through exploitation and domination respectively; anarchist theories perceiving power as enacted through processes of domination – a far more fluid terrain (see May 1994). They view all forms of ‘archy’, domination, as a system of oppression. Power and violence are viewed as embodied within the everyday practices of domination, of rule/control *over* another. Freedom, therefore, is seen in the rejection of domination in favour of dispersal of power (and responsibility) throughout society – anti-authoritarian. A politics of the act, or propaganda by the deed, have focussed on the means, the processes of doing, as much as (or in place) a focus on the ends, to “seize on the wing the possibilities that offer themselves at any given moment” (DeCerteau 1984 cited in Obrador and Carter 2010). A turn to tactics therefore acknowledges space as the ongoing product of relations *and* the performative possibilities of doing things differently.

Within Geography, anarchism had its roots within the theorising of human-environment relations through the work of Elisée Reclus and Peter Kropotkin, each defining these in essentialist terms, and in the tradition of grand historical narratives. Both men were

writing in the last quarter of the 19th century. Reclus envisioned a geopolitics borne of natural ecological progression, where hierarchy and uneven human geographies were replaced by egalitarian global relationships; “equality will obtain in the end, not only between America and Europe, but also between these two and the other quarters of the world...its centre everywhere, its periphery nowhere” (Reclus, Clark et al. 2004:4). In 1902, Kropotkin put forward a conceptualisation of ‘mutual aid’; arguably the most enduring (though problematic) call to solidarity as political-ethical praxis (1902;2009).

In reworking his theory of interspecies co-operation, Kropotkin challenges Charles Darwin’s theory of evolution as a model for societal relationships; critiquing the linear theory of evolution for its dependence on hierarchical structures rather than cooperative, reciprocal relationships. Whilst problematic due to his essentialising of authentic living relationships, Kropotkin’s thesis of mutual aid provides a powerful metaphor for relationships born not of competition but of cooperative relationships. Darwin’s theory of interspecies competition and survival of the fittest might be understood as a metaphor (excuse) for capitalist relations; Kropotkin’s a call for anarchism. For Kropotkin evolution was understood as process of species interaction and beneficial inter-species working relationship, in contrast to Darwin’s view of survival of the fittest. We can see these debates resurfacing within contemporary discussions around charity, generosity and gift – each invoking concepts of solidarities yet through different conceptualisations of the political ethics of practice, many of, which are incompatible with movements that are committed to anti-representational, non-hierarchical configurations. Miller (1984), Marshall (1992) (1992), and Ward (2004) explore the historical and philosophical lineages of anarchism, here I concentrate on those related to the praxis in-hand.

Whilst I take influence from ‘post-anarchist’ contributions, especially those made by Day (2004, 2005, 2011), Newman (2010), and May (1994). The prefixes of ‘post’ and ‘neo’ (see Critchley 2007) seem to be unnecessary in what I understand as a set of debates continually in the process of becoming. Here, I choose to retain ‘anarchist’ rather than reify any binary that shouldn’t exist within a body of work and praxis that is a continual re-ordering of fragmented thoughts. As a set of interconnected conversations anarchism has cannot be homogenised, it remains a practical process of unfolding. Newman makes clear the problems and possibilities, in clarifying that post-anarchism is

not 'post' as in after anarchism; rather it retains connections to praxis and uses post-structuralist theories to think through 'new practices of resistance' (Newman 2008: 5). Day (2005) expands on this by insisting that the use of post-structuralism is to strengthen anarchism – not vice versa.

The Camp for Climate Action narrated a commitment to 'mutual aid' but in practice they took Kropotkin elsewhere. By which I mean that I do not perceive their use of this term to relate directly to Kropotkin's evolution theory of inter-species cooperation. Rather, where contemporary anarchist praxis (including in academic approach) continues to be guided by mutual aid it is in the consideration of everyday practices of collective living. Most recently, in constituting the production of autonomous spaces, Pickerill and Chatterton explore the possibilities of autonomous spaces through ethical-political relationships enacted with "a commitment to the revolution of the everyday. A necessary rejection of routes to power means a faith in collective process, non-hierarchical decision-making and mutual aid" (2006:732). In turning toward the praxis of mutual aid, as political act recent conceptualisations of anarchism have turned to ideas of gift and 'propaganda by the deed' (Gordon 2007).

Theories of Gift, after Mauss (Graeber 2004), or 'democratic equality' after Ranciere (May 2008), offer productive departure points for considering anarchistic relations. This is a move away from hierarchical systems, and so justice and equality become conceived as presupposed. Within a politics of the act, they are performed rather than a politics of demand (related to exploitation) where they are requested. In other words a politics of demand is based on the assumption of hierarchy, a request for the distribution of justice and equality (a request that effectively renders itself invalid – in anarchist terms). These conceptualisations have been taken into radical political understandings (especially within anarchist and post-anarchist thought) and whilst Gift and Equality share important commonalities they also bare many differences. For many scholars an enactment of 'generosity' that doesn't involve hierarchical processes of moral selving seem difficult to comprehend, as Graeber illustrates (through a conversation between two eminent anthropologists): "it did not seem to have occurred to a single scholar in attendance that a significant motive for giving gifts might be, say, generosity, or genuine concern for another person's welfare" (undated).

Allahyari, in her interrogation of the emotional spaces of care, (2001) poses ‘charity’ and ‘gift’ as critically juxtaposed around processes of ‘moral selving’. For Allahari, the practice of charity cannot escape the hierarchical and normative bonds that are attached to the processes of helping the other to become more like the self – care is provided to a normative benchmark, an imagined norm that people should be aiming toward.. This argument is similar to that made in Chapter 1, after (Ranciere), for justice and equality to be presupposed rather than requested and distributed. Koopman, in calls to decolonise solidarity, makes a similar argument through her understanding of the ‘good white helper’ (2009). Neither the moral selving charity worker or the ‘good white helper’ are intentionally performing hierarchical roles, yet the supposition of a normative framework – assuming we are normal and others would like to (or worse, should) be ‘more like us’ viewed as upholding rather than challenging the status quo. Zizek’s critique of ‘charity’ also places an emphasis on the upholding of capitalist norms whilst ‘feeling warm inside’ through forms of ‘conscious consumerism’; pointing to the ethical-political impotence of buying a Starbucks Fair Trade coffee if you want to challenge unfair trade systems (2009). We might argue that some acts of charity and in fact masking the systemic violence of neoliberal capitalist relations, labouring on behalf of the status quo, rather than acting (in public), challenging the norms; “the central political activity is action...to separate action conceptually from other human activities with which it is usually confounded, such as labor and work" (from Arendt's research proposal, cited by Canovan 1998).

In relating the nonviolent praxis of the *CJMs* and *GJMs* explored in this study, a tension arises in relation to conceptualisations iterated within the discourse of nonviolence. These are examined within the empirical sections but are worth reiterating as they provide a bridge between this section, the previous section and the framework put forward in the final section (below). The initial problem arises in the frequent claim to an adoption of ‘Gandhian’ praxis (the CFCA and CJA narrate this, as does Graeber 2002). I believe this is based upon two intersecting and productive understandings and a misunderstanding. Firstly, the connections relate to the idea of praxis, what I understand as embodying your philosophy; the iteration of ‘be the change you want to see’ being the most recognisable trace. The second is related to tactics, and importantly

the visibility of these, being seen to act, tactic are passed down through the enactment of refusal and the creation of alternatives, civil disobedience that extends to the presentation of ‘ocular demonstrations’. Both of these can be seen within a politics of the act, and propaganda by deed.

The misunderstanding – a major problem that attaches itself when narrating any movement as following a Gandhian philosophy of nonviolence lays in the moral foundations of Satyagraha and Ahisma (which in turn provide the foundations of Gandhi’s praxis). Like Kropotkin’s theory of mutual aid (above) these are committed to an essential understanding of what it is to be human – that a radical pacifist conceptualisation of nonviolence represents a natural way to be in the world (which I read as a religious interpretation of being). Sharp, whilst not narrated within group discourses, is present within the adoption of tactics and within understandings of nonviolent action as politically affective, a toolkit to be deployed against diffuse power structures. Yet, Sharp’s political framework falls short on two basis –in relation to the groups here – the first, is its focus on overthrowing one structure to replace with another (classical revolutionary ends), the second that nonviolence is purely seen as the most likely to succeed, it does not problematise the dynamics of power between individuals, just between the state and the polity. The groups engaged with in this research were not just committed to nonviolent resistance but also to performing and prefiguring alternative political orderings ‘other worlds’ (to paraphrase Gibson-Graham), to progress post-capitalist forms of living and organising together. In other words they do hold to a set of ethical commitments.

The influence of second wave feminist movements and Quaker peace ethics on contemporary practices of direct action and decision making are well documented (Epstein 2003; Roseneil 2000) and evident within the empirical offerings of this thesis. It is no coincidence that I opened this chapter with an image of Greenham Common Women’s Peace Camp - the ‘Embrace the Base’ action in 1982, where 30,000 women participated in nonviolent direct action to form a human chain around the base, a performance replicated in future mass actions of up to 70,000 women (Pettitt 2006). As Haraway (1991), Roseneil (2000) and many others have discussed, violence was symbolically, discursively, and performatively challenged during the Greenham and and

other peace camps, for instance Aldermaston and Nevada (see also Epstein 2003; Lutz 2009; McAllister 1982; 1988; Solnit 1994). The ‘queer feminisms’ recounted in Roseneil’s ethnography of Greenham important for my understanding of the sites and movements presented here, albeit I consider them as queer anarchisms.

Whilst mass, symbolic, actions were an outward performance that gained world-wide recognition for the peace camp, it was the everyday practices – the queer feminisms – that were performative in creating new social configurations of communal living (in addition to the living in an all women world – affinity bonds that itself disrupted the normative discourse of the family unit). The performative possibilities of the camps were in the creativity, new organising, communal living, and commitment to wide appreciations of (radical pacifist) nonviolence. The camps were also critically deconstructing geopolitical narratives of the cold war, and, as Lutz and Haraway point out (echoing the conceptualisations of jiu jitsu above) their presence – the nonrepresentational, connective aesthetics or what I consider geopoetics - illuminated the fragility and vulnerability of ‘super-powers’. It is the convergence of symbolic, discursive and performative that shaped the interpretive approach to this research, a framework that considers the ‘spacing’ of nonviolent other worlds – a means to appreciate the re-presentation of geopolitics.

Spacing nonviolent ‘other worlds’

Thus far, this chapter has outlined a number of connections, affiliations, and conceptualisations that support the discourses of social movement organising and nonviolent praxis that are taken forward into the empirically grounded chapters (**Ch 4,5, and 6**). I have presented an argument for taking nonviolent practices seriously within wider considerations of geopolitics and established this research as a minor contribution; exploratory comments based on highly contextual and partial account. I have positioned this particular study of nonviolent praxis as looking to discourses understood as anti-geopolitics and alter-geopolitics. The following section built upon this with appreciations of the social movements here as ‘newest social movements’, as having an ethical commitment to a politics of the act interconnected with nonviolent civil disobedience – which I touched upon as nonviolent warfare. Civil disobedience

was introduced and understandings of nonviolent activism were outlined through key frameworks of praxis – political and moral. I then focussed-in upon more specific understandings and praxis of nonviolence within the social movements considered in this research, those infused with anarchist sensibilities.

Here, in this final section of the chapter I present a loose theoretical framework - as a toolkit through which the ethnographic fragments can be given some shape. I adopt a framework of ‘spacing’, allowing nonviolent civil disobedience to be understood through the symbolic, discursive, and performative. Understood after Foucault, discourses are not actualised through simple belief or acceptance but through iterative narratives, practices and materialities that invoke common signifiers. Space here is viewed as performative, Merrifield (after Lefebvre) states that ‘to change life is to change space; to change space is to change life’ (Merrifield 2000: 173); the ethical-political dimension of which has been articulated in discourses such as global/climate justice and strategic nonviolence.

I follow Gibson-Graham (2006) in recognising the performative potential in presenting and naming examples of actions (seen here as nonviolent alternatives), as I have already related to in connection to the effectiveness of Sharp’s widely disseminated collection of successful tactics ‘198 weapons’. A number of recent popular uprisings, have been (at least) born of a nonviolent praxis has attracted popular and academic interest (for example, the aforementioned collection edited by Roberts and Ash 2009) and a wealth of wider discussions that have emerged from within and alongside *Global Justice Movements* (Eschle and Maiguashca 2005; Kingsnorth 2004; Notes from Nowhere 2003; Solnit 2005). In the preface to *Postcapitalist Politics*, Gibson-Graham (2006) understand the practices centralised within the creative resistance and DiY ethos of the GJM as performative spaces. Both Gibson-Graham (1996,2002), and Holloway (2002) have lamented the continued iterated fascination with representing what is wrong with neoliberal capitalism – in following their lead I look to the performative potentials of sites that actively create spaces that might be understood as post-capitalist, a celebration of ‘other worlds’.

Empirically, the research presented here emerged from substantial and engaged ethnographic research with number of grass roots social movements involved in social

justice issues, and identifying themselves as part of a Climate Justice Movement, which is understood here as a plural movement of movements. The *Trade to Climate Caravan* was a project with long-term associations to the wider *Global Justice Movement* (GJM) through the international alliance *Peoples Global Action* (PGA), a UK based *Camp for Climate Action* also had roots within the PGA. The PGA are important here, their ‘Hallmarks’ remain at the heart of social forums and the groups worked with here. Like the 198 weapons, they have been performative, reiterated as a discourse underpinning being and acting collectively, a disruption of normative democratic processes and accepted by many to still be the underpinning of convergence spaces such as the CJM:

A very clear rejection of capitalism, imperialism and feudalism; all trade agreements, institutions and governments that promote destructive globalisation.

We reject all forms and systems of domination and discrimination including, but not limited to, patriarchy, racism and religious fundamentalism of all creed.

A confrontational attitude, since we do not think that lobbying can have a major impact in such biased and undemocratic organisations, in which transnational capital is the only real policy-maker.

A call to direct action and civil disobedience, support for social movements' struggles, advocating forms of resistance which maximize respect for life and oppressed peoples' rights, as well as the construction of local alternatives to global capitalism

An organisational philosophy based on decentralisation and autonomy
(Archive of Global Protest)

Crouch’s concept of ‘spacing’ is useful here; as spaces that are both performed and performative (2003). Cloke and Dewsbury use similar understandings in presenting ‘spiritual landscapes’ “co-constituting sets of relations between bodily existence, felt practice and faith in things that are immanent, but not yet manifest” (2009). The unfolding insights from this ethnography drew me toward conceptualising the spacing of nonviolence through a framework that brings together performance studies, queer theory, and anarchist praxis. Anarchist praxis, through a politics of the act is discussed widely elsewhere. Here I will focus on the other two, with a reminder that Day (2004, 2005) positioned a politics of the act as a performance ‘driven by an ethics of the real’ (Ch 1). The practices presented in this ethnography lead me to think of this ethics of the real to be relational, imminent and immanent; acts that are done in the moment, but with

a faith (in its widest understanding) in bringing about something new, unnamed, and unknown – perhaps summed up in Torrey’s description of utopian spaces - in my terms practiced and hopeful...acting in the dark (to paraphrase Rebecca Solnit (2005)).

I have already established that nonviolent action is perceived here as both performed and performative. In following Crouch (2003) I see these as intrinsically linked. Many of the practices here, within the geographies of protest camps, meetings, and material convergence spaces, performed and built environments, were performances that punctuated directly into the here and now – re-imagining, re-making and changing space. Nonviolent action is successful in ‘troubling’ the structures being opposed - in particular in the concepts of moral and political jiu jitsu. For the women of Greenham Common, to be seen to be ‘peaceful’ (see image 2.1 above) served to reiterate the violent location of their protest, juxtaposing a non-hierarchical, non-patriarchal community on the doorstep of weapons of mass destruction (muscular America). There are, then, both outward, staged performance and informal everyday practices.

Understanding them as performative reiterates the concept of queering normative spaces (Windpassinger 2010). Also understood as propaganda by deed, “the actual implementation and display of anarchist social relations – the practice of prefigurative politics” (Gordon 2007) these performative spaces embody what Melucci calls ‘prophecy’, where “the possible is already incarnate in the life of the group” (1994:125); both immanent and imminent – performed and becoming. The performed political spaces explored here are understood as affective, whether performed through the intense spatial tactics of street protest or everyday social relationships such as organising and consuming “generate extremely intense emotions involving alternating sensations of tension, fear, terror, collective solidarity, expectation, celebration, and joy” (Juris 2007).

For Goffman, ‘performance’ is the convincing adoption of a role/characteristics – where being believed is an imperative; “when an individual plays a part he implicitly requests his observers to take seriously the impression that is fostered before them” (1959/1990:28). Dewsbury reminds us that ‘audience’ for individual performances includes the self (2000). This outward performance isn’t perceived as bounded within a theatrical sensibility but taken through into everyday practices, the relationship between self and other, self and world, self and self – the presentation of the self.

Of more interest here and directly related to the practices of creative resistance, are the more radical Performance theories, those that take a post-Brechtian appreciation of the blurring between actor and audience, self and world. Boal (1995; 2000; 2006), collapses the boundary between world and performance – and between life and art. Anywhere can become a stage – perhaps best seen here as the climate camps. Performance then *is* a self-conscious step out of everyday life but in a form that prefigures a possible new life; Boal considers this a creating a triad - the past, present, and future within one performance – not a rupture with the past but a conscious reconfiguration. Perhaps the most important use of performance in this thesis is that it is viewed here as public action – something that is stepping out of the everyday routine to do something collectively, and it is these points that queer the norms of everyday, the performative becoming of new spaces.

In looking to performativity, if we can present violence as everyday geographic norms then surely we can start creating new other nonviolent geographic norms; other worlds of being and acting together. The power of the performative was discussed in relation to geopolitical imaginations, and the possibilities of re-presenting geopolitics – troubling the normative frames that become attached to dominant discourses (such as the cold war or the war on terror – **Ch 6** illustrates the power of these imaginations upon spaces of securitisation). I have already introduced, using Benjamin, the idea of geographical norms, where citizens (nationally and internationally) accept certain conditions, such as the uneven geographies of climate justice, as essential (natural and inherent) to progression (here globalisation). Massey touches upon this form of spatial paralysis in thinking through the ways in which we place others in a temporal queue – some areas of the world lag ‘behind’ and remain in need of catching up, taking their place in normal modernity, a socio-economic geographical imagination based on Europe and the USA (2005). This ‘othering’ of sections of the world as not ‘normal’ like us, or worse ‘evil’ has underpinned forms of intervention and development that impose European norms upon people, rejecting trajectories other than neoliberal capitalist modernity.

In following Butler (1990), and Campbell (1998) on performativity, we see that certain spaces are rendered norms through iterative citation, such as the structures (such as the state) or particular geographical areas, as dangerous. We can see this in Huntingdon’s

theses on the Clash of Civilisations (Huntington 2006), where the war on terror is played out through a reiteration of normal civilisation being threatened by the dangerous religion led pre-modern civilisations. This is understood here as a iterative discourse that underpins the acceptance of oppressive geographical norms, a frightening basis for the kind of othering that Otopow discusses above and Butler also speaks of:

“Certain lives will be highly protected, and the abrogation of their claims to sanctity will be sufficient to mobilize the forces of war. Other lives will not find such fast and furious support and will not even qualify as ‘grievable’” (Butler 2004: 32)

Carter and Heathershaw (2011) illustrate how performativity shapes our geographical imagination of violent and nonviolent spaces. In looking to how the south west of England was rocked by the ‘Exeter Bombing’, an act of terrorism being presented as out of place within a rural area, the paper makes two points on performativity and place, why some become accepted as naturally non/violent; they point out that in reality the south west is the most militarised area in the UK, producing arms, chemical weapons, and military personnel and that rural areas of Iraq and Afghanistan have been subject to widespread military attacks during the last 10 years where rural death and destruction is seemingly accepted as in place. The acceptance of rural Afghanistan as a militarised space and rural England as a space of peace allows us to see how performativity of norms also extend to places, violences get justified and suffering becomes acceptable if and where it becomes perceived as a normal condition.

In researching alternative and diverse economic practices in Australia, Gibson-Graham (2006) relate how space is performative and can be positive, generative of new more egalitarian spaces. When questioned on ‘the economy’ people automatically relate to formal capitalist economic structures where as everyday practices don’t back this up; “Many of the most important goods and services are given, taken or exchanged outside of markets in areas of life often seen as ‘not economic’”. Whilst participants were ‘reluctant subjects’ in the project, the gathered inventories of alternative economic practices, in practice many goods and services remained outside of the formal market economy and formed diverse informal economies, fair trade markets, food sharing, gift, and indigenous exchange, the reiterative discourse created “a representational

turnaround by situating practices often represented as backward and unproductive as part of 'the economy'" (Gibson-Graham and Roelvink 2011).

Performativity has also had a massive effect upon the freedom to perform in public. The reiterative refrain of danger, extremism and insecurity has enabled new levels of securitisation to be performed. These are fast becoming the norm. **Ch 6** deals with these in relation to policing of dissent. Within the shadow of the 'war on terror' the protestor has become entangled within state strategies of securitisation (Ingram and Dodds 2009; Phillips 2008). Securitisation, as Bohm and Sorensen have alluded to, increasing been performed through biopolitical 'warganisation'; where we are simultaneously involved in armed warfare (Iraq and Afghanistan) and imagined wars; the 'war on terror' 'war on drugs' 'war on want' (Böhm and Sørensen 2003). Anti-'terror' laws have been increasingly used to suppress wider political dissent and, as Jenny Hocking (Hocking 2003; Hocking 2004) explores, terrorism is a contingent legal term, following the cold war it is more often used to designate radical groups within its remit, in order to monitor and control expressions of discontent. Within this study it has been evident that labels of violence placed upon protestors have often been effective within a wider 'with us or against us' ethos.

'Spacing' then, takes careful consideration of discourses through a combination of outward staged performances, everyday practices and performative potentials. It therefore offers a highly contextual approach, understanding sites as different. In approaching the radical political sites in this study through the framework of 'spacing', then perhaps the spacing of nonviolence could productively offer insights into the praxis of nonviolent warfare that Graeber (2002) speaks of. In the concluding chapter of the thesis I return to the spacing of nonviolence, bringing the fragments together to offer insights into the nonviolent discourse here and its potentials for post-capitalist other worlds of doing, being, and becoming together.

Concluding comments

Here I have followed on from the introductory chapter by focussing more specifically on conceptualisations of violence and nonviolence that have emerged through the ethnographic research and that will be spoken back to in the thesis conclusions. I started

by responding to calls for nonviolent geographies and alternative geopolitical visions. I then put forward conceptualisations of violence that resonate with the groups in hand before turning to the two key conceptual frameworks on nonviolent action. The spacing of nonviolence was presented as a convergence of the performed and performative. I finished by looking to how anarchist tendencies might be considered in relationship to the ideas being put forward. In bringing all of the themes together, and building upon themes introduced in chapter 1, I take forward a number of understandings of violence and nonviolence into the empirical chapters and the research approach. These are grounded in a conceptualisation of violence that is physical, as in direct political confrontation, but also relates to wider forms of dominations, processes that have been legitimised and justified within processes of capitalist globalisation (these are picked up on in later chapters). Through the spacing of nonviolence, the naming, acting upon these perceived violences, and performing new configurations that de-legitimise these processes, is viewed here as performative. The spacing of nonviolence is therefore seen as the manifestation of ‘other worlds’.

Chapter 3: Performing Research - being and becoming

militant

“With a grave face, as if he were about to announce the death of a dear comrade, he whispered to me that it did not behoove an agitator to dance.” Emma Goldman

The introduction established that this research was driven by affections and political ethics; a “spirit of resistance” (Routledge and Simons 1995). It laid down a set of conceptual debates that underpin this research and the initial aim, to explore the intersection of nonviolent social movement activism and environmental geopolitics. I went on to propose that these might be productively understood through a consideration of the spacing of nonviolence and nonviolent warfare, and that this would be considered through a militant research approach. The initial methodological aim was to work with and alongside ‘resisting others’ and adopt engaged ethnographic research praxis, influenced by a number of ‘militant’ methodologies. The research was part of an unfolding and unpredictable set of interconnected events and utilised academic and activist skills and knowledges. Therefore, it should be read as an *approach* rather than a methodology (in the traditional sense of a laid out plan of gap filling data gathering). This chapter positions ethical-political solidarity as central to the performance of research – ways of doing political geography research that is critically engaged in solidarity with social movements; research in a nonviolent vein. Here, I map the methodology through theoretical, practical, and personal considerations; points where responsibilities and politics coalesce and collide. It outlines a convergence of conceptual and methodological concerns based on Feminist and activist research praxis. After Sasha Roseneil, I acknowledge a position as ‘critical friend’ and “claim a high level of validity for my findings *because of*, not in spite of, my own involvement” (Roseneil 1993:192). Long-term commitment to social and global justice, and the situated knowledges embodied through active social movement involvement, is embraced here as increasing not blinding criticality.

Engaged work is too often, as Massey explores (2000:132), “defined and confined entirely with the 'corporate' end-user in mind”. Yet, an emerging body of work was

being undertaken through “a desire to move socio-cultural research into *contact spaces* (Cloke 2003) in which academic researchers are enabled to apply, protest, resist, make relevant, influence, and make a difference” (Cloke, Johnsen et al. 2003:2). How “scholarly work interprets and effects social change” (Katz 1992:73) and has performative possibilities (Gibson-Graham 2006). Critical Geography, as Cloke et al point out, has a heritage of passionate engagement (ibid) and is, on the whole, a supportive community within which to address issues of social justice (see Pickerill 2008).

Reflecting the process of ethnographic study, this chapter will unfold and unpack the philosophies and practices in the order (or dis-order) of which they became factors. I offer a summary of the empirical research and the initial broad ‘questions’ that guided the approach. I then discuss the performing of research – including the possibilities and ethics of researching with resisting others. I then turn, more specifically, to the conceptual and methodological underpinnings of militant and solidarity research and its relationship to social movement theorising (in its broadest sense). In concluding the chapter I look to the possibilities and practices of ‘going beyond militancy’, to critical public geographies and the afterlives of research. Research was undertaken within a social movement based in the UK, *The Camp for Climate Action (CfCA)*. This was a group with whom I had been involved through an on-going role with activist legal support; a partisan position that involves legal observing at protests and for direct actions, research and dissemination of legal information, arrestee support for large protest events and training workshops (Ch 6 explores both the role and specific practices in more detail).

Overview

The ethnographic research adopted purely qualitative methods, approaching these as a tool-kit, developing and employing tools as and when most appropriate. The overarching ethos for adopting such an approach has been an intellectual commitment to ‘being there’ and an ethical commitment to ‘being involved’. Bryman and Burgess 1999 see qualitative research as offering forward three further commitments:

“Researchers employing qualitative methods seek to understand the world through interacting with, empathising with and interpreting the actions and perceptions of its actors. Qualitative methods thus are used to explore the meanings of people’s worlds – the myriad personal impacts of impersonal social structures, and the nature and causes of individual behaviour. Second, qualitative research tends to involve the collection of data in natural settings, rather than in artificial contexts (such as laboratories). Third, it tends to explore and generate theory rather than test it. Qualitative methods work inductively, i.e. building up theory from observations; rather than deductively, i.e. testing theories by trying to refute their propositions” (Sullivan and Brockington 2003 np).

Qualitative research has a heritage of offering rich understandings of the radical political geographies of global justice organising. Martha Ackelsberg’s (2004) traces the role of women in the Spanish Civil War and ethnically and physically engaged ethnography in the case of David Graeber (2009) on the mobilisations for the Summit of the Americas (Québec, 2001), Barbara Epstein on experiencing the detainment of women (as a detained woman) following peace movement protests (2003), Sara Koopman (2008) on solidarity activism and prisoners of conscience, Tasha Gordon and Paul Chatterton (2004) and Marina Sitrin on the social, cultural and political geographies of resistance and solidarity during the popular uprising in Argentina, 2001.

Adopting a loose framework to appreciate the social movement organising through the ‘spacing of nonviolent civil disobedience’ (see **Ch 2**) meant three considerations regarding the performance and interpretation of research. The consideration of Spacing, thus, involved a research stance that allowed for the symbolic, practiced, and performative to be foregrounded. Looking to ‘practices’ enabled nuanced understandings of the possibilities, practicalities, and tensions within the performance of a politics of the act. It also enabled spaces of solidarity, global justice, and civil disobedience to be understood as contextual, contingent and relational, rather than held to a set of fixed ideological doctrines, alliances, and practices. The aforementioned studies and, my own, illustrate that the performed and relational spaces are typically centred around a set of praxis’; consensus decision making, decentralised organising, mutual aid, and nonviolent confrontation, within which affinity (trust and kinship bonds between small groups) and solidarity (active responsibility and action with resisting others) is centralised, discursively and practically. These are practices that are ‘beyond the self’ (see Cloke 2003) and here, relating directly to the anarchist sensibilities of

those engaged with (**Ch 2**) I have attempted to adopt an ethos that embraces the non-hierarchical tenets of *gift* and reciprocity rather adopt more colonising research methods (see Graeber and Koopman below). Whilst this has not always been successful/possible, and power dynamics will always favour the researcher in the end – unless collaborative design, research, interpretation and writing are undertaken - yet, it remain a guiding principle..

Research developed into a militant ethnographic approach (after Scheper-Hughes 1992, and Juris 2007), working within a number of social movements. Here, I offer a brief timeline of key dates and events for contextual background through which the ‘research’ process took place, in addition to these I participated in more than 160 hours of meetings. In all, the hours spent in direct contact with the groups discussed here totalled more than 1200hrs over six months:

July 2009, London: The *CfCA* takes the decision to become active within the transnational network *Climate Justice Action*. ‘Active solidarity’ with the *CJA* would involve mobilising for counter-summit demonstrations to take place in Copenhagen in December 2009, in opposition to the United Nations Conference of the Parties 15 (UNCOP15) climate change talks. Three UK based summer ‘climate camps’ are also announced – in Scotland, Wales, and England (London).

August 3 – 10: Camp for Climate Action Scotland (*CfCAS*) - South Lanarkshire, in solidarity with the Mainhill Solidarity Camp and groups opposed to open-cast mining.

August 13 – 17: Climate Camp Cymru, Camp for Climate Action Wales (*CCC*) - Merthyr Tydfil, in solidarity with local groups opposed to the extension of the Foss-y-Fran open cast mine.

August 26 – September 3: Climate Camp - Blackheath Common, South London. The camp ‘hosted’ Tar Sands activists from Alberta, Canada.

November 23 – December 8: Trade to Climate Caravan (*T2CC*), takes place. A transnational caravan of social movement activists organised by *CJA* and affiliated groups. The caravan met in Geneva to take part in counter-summit

activities against the World Trade Organisation talks before travelling through North Europe to Copenhagen for the counter CJA mobilisations.

December 8 – 17: Climate Justice Action counter-summit convergence against the UNCOP15 climate change talks.

Arguably, the militant approach unfolded throughout the four year PhD period. For the purpose of academic rigour, I used the six-month period and events above, as the main focus of any material interpreted and presented in this thesis. Research practices were adopted to best meet the needs of both academic reliability and social movement capacity building. Initial hopes had included participatory action research, but in responding to the social movements this shifted. Whilst some participatory elements were involved – workshops and research - I make no claims to this being ‘participatory research’ in the sense of bottom-up praxis. The interpretation, choice of themes, and representation of events was my responsibility, and whilst all participants have access to what is written, the selection and analysis of events is mine alone. Many will have problems with this approach but I understand it as a pragmatic militancy.

An interest, research and personal, of ideas of critical pedagogy, conscientisation, and public scholarship pulls me toward a position that Gramsci calls ‘organic intellectual’, an academic who somehow breaks through the elitist, hegemonic confines of academia to produce work with and of benefit to those seemingly external to these processes (1996). Whilst drawn to Gramsci’s concept of actively equipping people with tool kits for empowerment, rather than the ‘traditional’ role of analysing their situation for academic gain, I am also aware that terrains of academia (and social movements) are continually shifting, are porous, and often practiced only performative refrains of academics themselves, complexities which go beyond the scope of this thesis. However, the pragmatic militancy and addition of more traditional academic flavourings of critical theory mean that I position myself somewhere between organic and traditional academic.

‘Ethnography’ describes both the research practice - the suite of methods used to produce a range of qualitative data - *and* the end product, the ethnographic thesis constructed from such interactions (after Sullivan and Brockington 2003). In the process

of ethnography a mixture of methods were used: observant participation, workshops, discourse analysis and photo-journals, they each had offer possibilities and problems. The principal ‘method’ was observant participation, all of the others might be understood as materials that enabled rolling triangulation, spot checks, and aid memoirs.

Observant Participation: differentiated from participant observation, observant participation acknowledged an embedded position. Being involved enabled a sharing of experiences rather than merely witnessing and commenting. Sharing experience also meant running the same risks, taking similar responsibilities, living, sleeping, and getting hurt and burning-out together. Proximity comes at the cost of seeing the bigger picture, witnessing the event in-hand and needing extra material to get the bigger picture. Whilst I cannot imagine working differently, I admit that there were moments when a warm hotel room and a seat on the sidelines seemed like a tempting alternative.

Field diaries: these were invaluable for recording events as and when they happened. They also provided detailed accounts through which the connections could be traced and interpretations take place. The writing of these had to be subject to a process of coding and most often written off site. Separate diaries were kept for each event and subsequently stored away from home and work in response to cases in the USA where researchers have been subject to police enquiry.

Interviews: 5 were conducted, informal interviews that informed background context and were the source of information on participant motivations, histories, and movement relationships. They were used where further primary information was needed and people embedded within networks were the best source and happy to respond – for instance one in-depth interview with a media activist involved with Indymedia since its beginnings in 1999 and one with an activist from Ecuador now living in the UK and involved with CfCA. Given the police interest in the groups I was reluctant to undertake many interviews and again took precaution with material even though no illegal activity was ever discussed.

Workshops: I facilitated a handful of workshops designed specifically for research purposes. They adopted a popular education format so that everybody could learn from the encounter. One focussed on encounters with police and took place in London, it was fairly well attended (20) and provoked interesting discussions on fear, harassment, and protest situations. Another workshop focussed on motivations for direct action (also in London), it was a difficult experience – too many people (50) and personality clashes which could not be resolved. One, with a small affinity group (9) focussed on ideas of NVDA and working together before and after actions. In addition to the workshops organised and openly discussed as being used for research purposes, I was also responsible for the facilitation of a number of legal workshops, on ‘Stop and Search’, which involved discussion and role play. These were never designed, acknowledged as part of, or used within this research. In hindsight this is unfortunate, they do though contribute to the process of understanding geopolitical bodies – the tangible concerns and fears that participants have and strategies for overcoming these prior to events that will involve confrontation.

Media observation and discourse analysis: Newspapers, corporate and alternative media. The ability to compare and contrast presented discourses (here understood in Gramscian terms) was invaluable in stepping out of the close proximity of observant participation and putting together timelines of events. The majority of media representations served as a point of triangulation – alternative accounts of events. In Chapter 6, the media is an important focus of investigation, as their role was important in two ways, both representing and as the object of surveillances.

Photo journals: Throughout the ethnography a photographic journal was kept – where practical. Whilst they acted as an aid memoir, and complemented research journals they have not been used in any capacity, within the thesis, other than documentation and illustration. The majority of photographs were used in the documentation of policing. In one case a young woman was attacked and injured by a police dog, to which photographic evidence was passed to solicitors. I found the act of taking photographs often impeded the gaze; it became focussed

on small actions at the cost of wider events. In respect of activist identities I rarely took images of demonstrations or within camps, unless invited to do so for legal or wider usage.

Social Media Participant Observation: Social media has become increasingly important in the mobilizing and organising of events and meetings. Some lists are open, and the majority of protest events now have dedicated Facebook pages (for instance ‘The Swoop’). For the most part these were not too useful for this research, for the most part it involved duplicates of material disseminated elsewhere. There is also a difficulty regarding authenticity – the openness of Facebook pages is often limiting; the tendency was to post the same information that would go to the main email lists. Where email and social media has been really effective, has been in keeping in touch with people after events. The caravan email list became a space for unofficial de-briefs, as no space was made for these during the physical project. These have been used to triangulate and collaborate other material (PO/minutes etc) rather than as a focus on their own.

Research contexts were chosen to meet practical and ethical needs. The groups involved in this research have come under increased police interest in the run up to Copenhagen, there is no intention here to provide any information to add to the surveillance culture of these. The scope and timescale of a PhD necessitated a form of temporal bounding, the mobilising for and performance of the People’s Assembly provides this whilst allowing the ethnographic engagement over a larger temporal-spatial moment, from the point where the Camp for Climate Action took the decision to mobilise, to the People’s Assembly. Ethically, all of the events listed above were public; open meetings and events that were advertised and for which details (including the minutes of meetings) are available online. Some work was undertaken with small affinity groups - here everybody was aware of my ‘research’ role.

The practices and performances looked to within this chapter owe recognition to the breadth and creativity in the contemporary landscape of critical and radical human geography, and interest in what Shukaitis and Graeber call the constituent imagination (2007). The cultural turn, more widely, has influenced my use of cultural tools to

explore radical political spaces. Much of this approach is grounded in feminist praxis and the recognition of partiality, situated knowledge, and positionality. These strands have opened a route through which the embodied and emotional aspects of everyday encounters can be taken seriously as interwoven into wider political processes. The focus on practice was influenced by feminist research. Wider appreciations of performance have though offered forward insights within social, cultural, and rural geography (Cloke, May et al. 2008; Crouch 2003; Woods). I remain alert to Nash's (2000) discomfort at the gap that has been left within recent work on the embodied spaces of practice and performance (both little and big 'p') though excited by work that is placing performance as a serious route through which to offer insights into the everyday spaces of Politics.

Whilst looking to the intersections of social movement activism and geopolitics, I have already established the importance of performance and performativity. As Nash (2000) laments, whilst these have become important concerns within human geography, they have, on the whole, remained focused on individualized encounters, failing to fully engage with collective practices. Within this thesis I attempt to address this concern by bringing in political (public and collective) registers afforded through both the front and back of performance, the importance of staging, being seen to be doing, and the off the page moments, everyday relationships. The majority of nonviolent practices looked to here involve both of these. Observant participation allowed the nuances of protest events and everyday practices (decision making, consumption, living together) to be understood in a way that a detached form of observation would not capture, often because these nuances are also embodied within my own performance. Whilst focus has been on the intersection of social movement activism and geopolitics, emerging critical geopolitics of everyday political practices and performance have been influential to this PhD. Kuus' work on the European Parliament is exemplary here; close detailing of the everyday political practices and staged performances of diplomatic relationships. McConnell (2009; 2009) has similarly looked to the performed spaces through a critical geopolitics of Tibetan diplomacy; where diplomatic practices (having an embassy, attending international meetings, being greeted by dignitaries) masked the fact that Tibet does not exist as a sovereign power.

Performing militant ethnography

The research approach is rooted within feminist and activist methodologies, acknowledging partisan and situated knowledges; “To do research which is uncontaminated by personal and political sympathies... therefore...the question is not whether we should take sides, since we inevitably will, but rather whose side are we on” (Becker 1974:8). For Roseneil, proximity (ethical, physical, and emotional) to her research subjects encouraged a critical approach:

“I am convinced that the degree of intimacy between myself and the women I interviewed...was only possible because they knew I was a Greenham woman and a feminist first...and a sociologist second” (Roseneil 1993:191).

Following Roseneil, I am passionate that proximity should be taken seriously, and acknowledged as honestly and fully as possible. Proximity acknowledged within all aspects of the research process allows for the intersection of the ‘intimate and the global’ within geopolitical relations (after Pratt and Rosner 2006). Plows and Roseneil, in their work on life at Greenham Common (Roseneil, 2000) and within UK anti-roads movements (Plows, 2002) both account for entanglements within wider political processes. Roseneil’s entwined ethnographic and autoethnographic accounts from ‘within’ the Greenham Common protest camp have contributed to discussions on queer feminisms thinking, non-violent direct action, and to viewing the protest camp as a postmodern space of engagement. Through the auto/ethnographic accounts of non-violent direct action by Roseneil and Plows respectively, I have encountered fragments of places and spaces that are familiar to my own histories and radical entanglements that enable more informed reflection upon these processes.

Geraldine Pratt discusses the absence of the research in written accounts:

“I am struck by the singularity with which many of us engage our research, principally as textual products. In this we enact the university as a domain for the production, reproduction, and conservation of textual knowledges – an extraordinary restrictive understanding of what we do as researchers. Our actual research performances, the now of research, goes largely unremarked, even though they clearly exceed the written trace” (2000).

Rose also recognizes that acknowledgement of our own partial gaze allows us to critique our role within the research (1997). In bringing together the conceptual and methodological tools of cultural and political geography are seen here as enabling richer accounts, providing more nuanced narratives and interweaving of daily encounters and

geopolitical processes. Pratt (2000), calls for our own research performances to be taken seriously within the written accounts of academic enquiry. Whilst aware of the creased use of ‘Performance’ as a form of re-presenting research (through theatrical performances, evocative writing, and art exhibitions), here, I understand the process of research as a performance in its own right. In adopting an ethnographic approach that disrupted the traditional progression and bounded arenas of thinking, reading, doing, writing (as provoked by Crang and Cook 2007) questions opened, closed, and shifted as research moved forward. I wanted to build on recent work that has bought ethnography into politically focussed work, for instance Davies (2009) and Megoran (2006) whilst bringing in phenomenological understandings to research on global justice networks, as called for by Sullivan and Brockington (2003):

“it should be possible to draw on body awareness as research tools. This might enhance understanding of people’s actions and body language, their perceptions of their actions, what they may verbalise regarding these perceptions, and the impacts on body and self of the actions of others and of significant contexts – particularly the role/s of culture, power and ideology in ‘inscribing’ the body, and the ways in which people may subvert such inscriptions.”

Corporeal participation was central to the ‘engaged’ embodied approach; sharing encounters, placing body (and mind) into situations where physical and emotional spaces became the subject of constant negotiation. There were points where the self had to separate into distinct roles – at times the researcher had to step back and the activist step forward and vice-versa (examples are given below). My position may be best described as one of ‘partial identification’, sharing *many* of the concerns of the social movements and a commitment *many* of their everyday practices (Gibson-Graham 2006).

Whilst ethnographic practice has moved beyond a traditional, and rightly criticised (Clifford, 1988), position of immersion and depiction, ethical and political proximity remains highly problematic, as clarified by (Bouma and Atkinson 1995) in *The Handbook of Sociology*:

“Where there is a choice, the researcher should choose a site where the people are strangers. The reason for this is that knowing the people to be investigated can change their behaviour - they respond to a researcher in a way that they would not do otherwise. Moreover, it is better to investigate a setting where the researcher has no particular expertise”

Multi-sited and auto-ethnographic accounts have, on the whole, pushed ethnographic research into more partial accounts, no longer using the methodology as a means to produce truth claims or normative appreciations. Here, a multi-sited ethnographic approach (after Marcus 1995, and Cook and Crang 2007) was crucial for acknowledging that geopolitical spaces are both placed *and* the product of a multiplicity of connections and flows, **Ch 4**, **Ch 5** and **Ch 6** explore this further (also see Featherstone 2008). Participating directly with groups, hopefully goes someway to address ethical concerns over the imposition of my own narratives (ethical or otherwise) upon resisting others, an issue that Cloke et al discuss:

“...if we really seek to avoid research as tourism and colonialism – if we are serious about ‘giving something back’ – then a more sustained and committed ownership of research as process, practice and product seems to be required, especially in researching marginalised others” (Cloke, Cooke et al. 2000).

Here, there was an impetus on performing research that was productive (in a wide sense) to the groups, and didn’t seek to colonise voices that have a tendency (sometimes through performances of solidarity work itself) of being co-opted into the narratives of others. Koopman’s critical thesis on ‘the good white helper’ was pivotal here (2009); an understanding that within well intentioned practices of solidarity we often fetishize our own role as ‘researcher’ as something useful and important to resisting others. As Graeber (2003) has warned, being a researcher enacting solidarity risks reifying perceived binaries between activist/academic or academic/other knowledges. In assuming that people want or will benefit from the ‘help’ of an academic – as someone to speak on their behalf - we risk repeating colonising discourses, even where unintentional.

As **Ch 4** recounts, there were many moments on the Trade to Climate Caravan, climate camps, and within Copenhagen, where imperialist practices were (unintentional) enacted, assumptions in Copenhagen, that European activists had expertise, organisational skills, and protest practices that activists from the global south could learn from, was probably the worse – the thesis conclusions also speak back to these. Too often the role of researcher is presented as an abstract professionalized position, an activist-academic role; more often than not, and here especially, acts of solidarity

included legal support, the cooking of meals, facilitating meetings and workshops, cleaning the compost loos, putting up marquees – roles that sometimes benefitted from academic skills, such as research, teaching and access to resources – but certainly didn't necessitate them. Here, de-institutionalising my own practices, pedagogically and research wise, was more important, developing pedagogical techniques and modes of dissemination that that are not based on hierarchical forms and individual accreditation – the antithesis of many university practices.

We can sometimes be too precious about the worth of our academic credentials, assuming that our research expertise is the primary 'gift' we have to offer social movements; a role often abstracted from the everyday social movement organising and acting, with many academic-activists arriving to present information at a workshop and then disappearing back to the ivory tower from which they study global justice. I fell into a role within activist legal support – a hybrid position where research and teaching skills were helpful to the group. Learning to cook for 250 people in a field kitchen, how to erect a medium sized marquee, a solar washroom, a tripod, a compost loo, use a two way radio, map arrests and basic first aid were of equal, if not more use than any academic skills, and being actively involved in the general everyday running of protest camps and converge centres also taught me far more about nonviolence and its rootedness within human relationships. Therefore, whilst attempting to avoid hierarchical practices where possible, these are present within the production of the thesis. The militant research undertaken here might best be understood as performing with rather than researching for.

As suggested above, my ethnographic approach allowed for active participation and academic theorizing. A research approach evolved which allowed an interweaving of roles undertaken within the groups, one that I felt was fluid enough to break down the barriers between theory and practice and also between the roles and responsibilities I had to various groups and to the university. In many ways these were collapsed through the adoption of a 'third space' approach, an ongoing militant process which intersected 'activist' and 'academic' roles and responsibilities. To Routledge, 'third space' collapses any perceived boundaries between activism and academia, not seeing these as distinct spatial and temporal zones or as separate processes. It sees both as praxis,

collapsing any binary between theory and practice, “lives theory in the immediate” (1996). For Soja, this third space position facilitates moves beyond the “closed logic of *either material or mental* approaches to studying human life” (as in first and second space) (Anderson 2002). A third space position recognizes the habitation of both academic and activist spaces, for me this has also provided a space through which ideas about conscientisation (after Freire) can be thought through within praxis, the “continual becoming, flux, and transformation that entangles academic and political space” (ibid:406). Researching in my own working of a ‘third space’ position has enabled different forms of output and theorising to take place. Much of this has been within the groups with whom I researched, such as workshops; others have been shaped and performed within the university setting, bringing practices as forms of ‘critical public geographies’ (Chatterton and Maxey, 2008) in the hope of opening the space out, which I will return to at the end of this chapter.

I (unapologetically) rely on the terms ‘activist’ and ‘militant’ throughout this thesis. This is not to tie myself as to an essential label, but for the ease of associating to a body of cotemporary research and a methodological approach which has become entwined with the terms. I use the terminology here in reference to their presence in wider research literatures (Chatterton et al, 2007, Scheper-Hughes 1992, Graeber et al, for instance). They act as identifiers, rather than essential labels, to illustrate an ethically motivated and politically active form of research; an approach that incorporates the practices and performances recognisable within anti-capitalist activist networks. Whether militant or activist provide epistemological positions which need to be teased away from more general understandings of participatory or applied forms of research. Activism, as an identifier is a fluid term, and thus problematic “...discursively produced...actively constructed within a range of discourses such as those found in the media, grassroots organisations and academia” (Maxey 2004). I have also been conscious throughout the research, of how activism is constructed within academic discourse.

Here, these terms serve as a register for a body of work that actively seeks to generate political performances and outputs whilst remaining autonomous of either policy or corporate arenas. Following Maxey, my research has looked to ‘activist research’ as

different to other participatory approaches, as “a form of applied geography, [which] differs from what is commonly held to be applied geography (as typified by the journal of that name) because of its ideological intent; its *challenge* rather than support of the status quo” (2004:5 my emphasis). This isn’t to say that PAR is any less political, rather that its aims are usually less partisan and collaborators less identified with oppositional struggles. As Pain (2006:253) points out, a partisan position needn’t undermine academic research: “some have argued that being an activist...conflicts with and compromises ‘real’ academic endeavour...there is no inevitable conflict between these roles”.

A militant or activist position, as Routledge reflects, involves an “ethics of struggle” (after hooks 1994:54) where “a process of critical engagement may also involve more than writing for the resistance, of contributing some of one’s academic labour to the purpose of a particular political (rather than careerist) trajectory” (1996). These may provide a particularly productive approach for thinking about ours and others activism, especially when married with concerns such as Maxey’s:

“there is a danger that in accepting boundaries such as this we encourage the privileging of one form of activism, or begin to see them as mutually exclusive or rigidly separated. This need not be the case. Reflexive activism insists that activism is not restricted to particular people, places or contexts. It emphasizes the blurring of boundaries and the shifting, contingent nature of reality” (2004).

In some cases these roles have co-constituted institutional academic-activism as our everyday working lives within the university become increasingly entangled with socio-political actors and processes that challenge our personal and collective ethics.

Whilst physical proximity is viewed as a norm within ethnographic methods, ethical proximity remains problematic. ‘Militant ethnography’, is still frequently viewed with suspicion, as Lucy White reflects (on Nancy Scheper-Hughes’ militant anthropology): “those on the right argued that such work departed from the discipline’s craft norms...[whilst] those on the post-modernist left argued that such work failed to interrogate the discourses on which it was premised in a sufficiently critical way” (2007). Initially there were points within the research process where I doubted my own ability to assert a critical distance; it was though my proximity that drove forward the criticality, as central not only to academic rigor but also to productively contributing to transformative political associations. In this sense I have looked to active engagement

“as a vehicle for liberation, radical social transformation and the promotion of solidarity with resisting or struggling ‘others’” (Chatterton, Fuller et al. 2007). For me this has meant a focus on participation and action through acts associated with mutual aid rather than a predefined research agenda. As this research developed this would often mean taking on roles and responsibilities that were closely associated with academic work, workshop organising and facilitating, research, and advocacy, but often roles were unrelated but more central to the movement dynamics, such as cooking, shopping, and child care.

Thinking through the politicised body – for participatory observation

There is a traditional saying that nicely captures the essence of observant participation - attributed to Plato, after Heraclites – “You can never step twice into the same river; for other waters are ever flowing on to you”. No two people will ever have the same ethnographic gaze, nor experience the same situation the same way. This is in part experiential – the events flowing over you, the second is situated knowledges, memories and past experiences that shape our interpretations of events. Chapter 4 and Chapter 6 both discuss point where embodied responses were perceived to have shifted over the research period – in relation to processes of consensus decision making and heavy handed policing respectively. The body is approached here as crucial site through which the spacing of other worlds is experienced and understood. I have already described how observant participation formed an important role in approaching research with anarchist and feminist sensibilities (Fernandez 2005; 2009; Sullivan 2004; 2003). The body was the principal research tool used to explore what social movement activists do - their tactics, imaginations and movements (after Crouch 2000). The researcher’s body is an often overlooked, discounted, or rendered invisible within written accounts as tool for research. Lois Wacquant (after Mauss and Bourdieu) identifies the missing body as a missed opportunity:

“Among these bodies of flesh, carriers of history and vectors of visceral knowledges...there is one that is particularly conspicuous in its absence: the body of the inquirer, even as it constitutes, as Mauss suggested long ago, his or her ‘first instrument’ of knowledge since it is through her sensing and acting body that the sociologist conducting fieldwork enters into contact with the lived world whose logic she is trying to grasp” (2009).

Davies offers a productive intervention on how the body as a 'site' for understanding the role of activism within the ethnographic research encounters and accounts of transnational solidarity networks (2009). Through ethnographic study with the Free Tibet movement Davies points to his personal, increasingly involved, role within a group to which there was no prior attachment. Within his multi-sited ethnography, Davies uses the body as a 'site' (after Marston et al's conceptualisation of site rather than scale as a point of enquiry (2007)). Bringing the body into ethnographic accounts provides for a rich postmodern repertoire for multi-site approaches. He I use the body as a site to break through the scalar approach of looking to either the local *or* the global, like Davies, "arguing for an ethnography that avoids macro- and micro-thinking about contemporary politics, instead aiming for an analysis that attempts to grapple with the networks and systems of power that operate across contemporary society" (2009). Recognising the body as a site through which to think was important within this research, to accommodate exploration of horizontal forms of organising and ideas of personal proximity.

Within my own research the roles of researcher, Legal Observer, activist, and friend collapsed within many of the practices of civil disobedience and prefigurative politics that are central to the groups with whom I was actively involved and researching. Following Roseneil, (1993) Plows (2002), Fernandez (2009) and most recently Graeber (2009) I hope that writing these into empirical accounts enriches ethnographic understandings and avoid any recourse to the 'God's eye trick' (after Donna Haraway 1988). Militant approaches, I'd claim, have more call to critical theorising – being entangled within the processes of change, and thus an interest in critically deconstructing discourses that serve to undermine emancipatory practice. As the research developed I felt more at ease to work through ideas within spaces of collective theorising, principally through participatory workshops, or feeding into group discussions insights and wider understandings of global processes to which we were all entangled.

For the most part the sharing ideas and generating new critical understandings worked for everyone; on the whole, participatory forms of democracy allow time and spatial

strategies for the critical analysis of concepts. During a couple of large discussions I fed into a debate on transnational solidarity, in hindsight too quickly pointing to what I felt were imperialist and naïve understandings of the contested spaces within the ‘global climate justice movement’, my comments were met with grumbles from across the room but concluded with a small working group discussion where many issues were thrashed out, productively. On another (but linked) occasion email comments, regarding the ethics of UK activists travelling by air to Bolivia were later printed, out of context, in *The Daily Mail* as part of an article to which a printed apology was garnered, and issued. The actual conversation had discussed the ethics of sending more activists from a small northern (global) group than many large southern social movements would be able to afford; discussions led to the group funding a number of representatives from Africa and Asia and only funding two UK based activists (under quite a strict remit). Within any decision making process, with all groups, I acted first as a member of the group.

Juris’ ‘militant ethnography’ (2004) focused on groups to which long-term ‘activist’ commitments were made - taking on organising and spokesperson responsibilities and actively participating in protest. Following Juris, Sullivan, Routledge (Juris 2007; 2008; Routledge 2009; Sullivan 2004; 2003) I wanted to acknowledge the importance and presence of my own body within research accounts. The embodied practices, often at the heart of many processes, for instance non-violent direct action and consensus decision making were, to me, best understood *through* the body, as were the joys, fears, and intense emotions, which play an important role in performing politics. The “unbound bodies” (Jordan 2007) of creative resistance and direct action inevitably meant bodily proximity to would feature prominently within taking both performance and corporeality seriously. Resistance, solidarity, and protest create, as Juris point to “terrains where identities are expressed through distinct bodily techniques” (2008:62). Routledge has also discussed the embodied practices through which affinity (close working relationships) are fostered, in relation to his own involvement in the Clandestine Insurgent Rebel Clown Army (C.I.R.C.A). Whilst remaining alert to recent work on haptic knowledge I remain cautious of the over reliance on the senses as the point of interest of many methods may well involve the body but to whose claims to

embodiment might be challenged (for instance see Mark Paterson 2009). Here, I view the body through its ability to be *moved* by emotional and ethical triggers, where experience is more than skin deep, and action embodies deeply held beliefs.

Corporeality and the performing body have entered into human geography, mainly via performance studies (Nash 2000) and health research (Parr, 2001). I have found it difficult to find many accounts and so agree with Margarete Sandelowski, that Geography is “not as full-bodied”, as it should be (2002). Parr provides a useful exception (see below), where full bodily engagement accounted for as a receptacle of knowledge (rather than an object to study). I would add that given the pivotal role that the body has taken at the front line geopolitical (and anti-geopolitical) processes (militarisation, violence and non-violence, migration, Global Justice Movement) this is particularly unfortunate for political geography. In calling for the body to be taken seriously for work on globalisation Sullivan and Brockington ask for ‘observant participation’ which allows for the bodily, phenomenological affects; for active participation to enrich ethnographic accounts. I see this as building on what Margaret Mead calls ‘kinesthetic empathy’ (Jacknis 1988), forging ethical as well as physical connections to those we work with. New embodied considerations, mainly with regard to the interstitial space between activist and academic identity: “this implies an ethically unavoidable (and hopefully reflexive) advocacy and/or ‘activist’ engagement with the issues and practices in which we participate in the pursuit of research and writing as knowledge production” (Sullivan and Brockington 2004:5); a position which has the ability to collapse any remnant division between activist and academic.

Bodily performances play an important role in shifting, and breaking down, the relations between researcher and subjects, either through unwitting metamorphose, assimilation, or covert performed identities. Within this research the embodied nature of direct action, policing tactics, or consensus decision making would have been understood very differently as a passive viewer, standing back and watching events unfold. Soon after my first awkward session of consensus decision making, a political performance reliant on bodily participation I made the conscious decision to reflect and present my own geographies as ‘full-bodied’ as I could and be attentive to the “physical presentation, texture, smell and movement of bodies” (Parr 2001:28). Parr offers accounts of how the

researcher's body metamorphosed as relationships with the people and context became time-deepened, and has spoken of the usefulness of thinking *through* the body within ethnographic research within social settings. For Parr, her bodily presence altered as the research progressed, taking on the bodily traits (including personal hygiene) of the people with whom she was volunteering and observing. Through a volunteering position within a mental healthcare setting Parr's experiences exemplify both the intentional and unintentional shape shifting of the body in proximity to others. Embodying qualities familiar to the community in which she was working enabled different relationships to emerge. Bodily transformations of becoming part of a group are often central to what as Duncan Fuller describes as 'going native' (1999). Routledge, whilst researching with land rights activists in Goa, took on the performance of an entire new persona 'Walter Kurtz', through whom he could enter the heart of darkness of the ethics and power of the environmentally and socially destructive tourism industry (2002). Whilst not having to turn to such extremes, and possibly not having the theatrical ability to clown, nor the courage to go 'undercover', there have been times where I used material props and bodily techniques that provided performances that were advantageous. Whilst undertaking the role of legal observer I often used smart clothing and accessories to present an ambiguous display to Police officers who regularly attempted to discover whether they were dealing with 'qualified' legal professional. As Chapter 6 discusses, my own politicised body was also the subject of surveillance and securitisation – problematised as a domestic extremist and involved with physical encounters with the police, effectively taking the same risks and enduring the same (heavy handed) policing... 'being there' as geopolitical body unintentionally enabled situated knowledges of policing, and the power of social control over public space.

For Wacquant, the body is object *and* episteme, provides a device for writing-in the presence of the researcher, within his exploration of the 'pugilistic', body (in boxing) as corporeally exploited in "three kindred idioms...prostitution, slavery, and animal husbandry" (2001:151) the researchers own performance, particularly his 'initiation' through a Chicago Fade, (a hair cut favoured by the boxing community). Stroller, though, cautions on the illusion of being accepted by into the communities we research, just because we feel closer to the group, he reminds us that relationships are two way.

Stroller's own perceived acceptance as friend and 'brother' ten years into a research relationship within a black Harlem community was revealed as a performance whilst overhearing a conversation where he was described indignantly as 'that white man'; revealing the research subject's own performance of proximity (2005). In relation to my own experiences I have realised the importance of allowing difference where sameness is often assumed. Within peer groups, social movements, and across transnational networks sameness is frequently assumed and the 'activist' too often homogenized. Mason (2009), in the search for his green subjectivity brings in his activist persona, a member of the Clandestine Rebel Clown Army, a clowning persona adopted within the anti-G8 mobilisations in Scotland, 2005 (see also 2007).

'Apparent relationships of sameness' as described by Browne (2003), have led, during this research, to moments of misunderstanding, painful negotiation, and tears of frustration. My own assumptions of common ground were frequently disrupted and others perceptions of me (particularly as an 'academic') were sometimes upsetting or worse given too much weight of expectation – that I had contacts and power to bring about change. Whilst always accepting that each 'other' shares sameness and difference – hence we are all as same and different – I have had issues, and challenged, actions where cultural relativism seems to have been used as an excuse for hierarchical and coercive behaviour – either by actor or witnesses. This was particularly evident in arguments between two representatives of land movements, both based in the same country. The male and female participants represented very different groups, with different ideological views on participation and organizing (this will be expanded in later chapters, and Featherstone (2003) also discusses internal antagonisms). The male enacted public displays of gendered and sexist behaviour toward the female participant – mainly due to what he perceived as her skills, and duties toward him as a woman of shared nationality (publicly demanding her to cook and serve food to him). Our hosts in Germany were unwilling to intervene in what they perceived to be a cultural dispute. There seemed relatively few of us who challenged this behaviour and as a group many contested areas of discussion were too frequently avoided - hierarchy, patriarchy, imperialism, and left wing hegemony within social movements within and between social movements.

The hope is that by bringing entangled methods into the unfolding practice of ethnographic research, and adopting a crystalline rather than triangulated approach to the interpretation and writing performance the thesis as a whole will offer forward a number of insights and observations. What has been made clear thus far is that proximity has been a key component within this research, necessitating critical observation of my own ethical and political negotiations within research contexts. Our own ethical spaces have always been present within critical and radical strands of Human Geography, where an emphasis on 'social change' has been foregrounded. Recent feminist geopolitical research has started to bring the personal and political together in forms that make visible the connections between the intimate and the global (Pratt, 2006). These critical perspectives on geopolitical and anti-geopolitical practices offer a route to provide insights into complex spaces of oppositional political movements and actions, such as transnational solidarity and international convergences, and importantly what movements may be able to learn from current and past practices.

Pickerill and Brown (2009), and Sullivan (2007) point out that the emotional and affectual spaces of activism and protest can be mentally demanding and corporeally destructive. This research was not exempt from this, yet in most part it remains absent from discussion. This is not necessarily a conscious act and I can only account for the absences through the following; first, a physical and temporal distance between events and writing – the corporeal affects of shock and fear are tempered through post-event relief; secondly, because a register cannot be found to write these in. Academia has its own absences in this regard, we lack the emotional literacy and practical support for those undertaking socially engaged research where issues or events may include moments of trauma for the researcher (participatory or activist) – I return to this in the thesis conclusions. Writing became more, rather than less, important because of this. As Richardson (2003) explains, writing is a way of knowing, a method of enquiry, a way of thinking things through.

At first my research journals and field diaries became fairly straightforward and expositions of unfolding events; detailed notes on consensus decision making, food preparation, room set-up etc. Soon they became peppered with personal reflections, aid memoirs; the frequent migraines that seemed to occur after five hours of consensus

decision making, the awkwardness of not knowing anybody, my ineptness at using hand signals to communicate. Recent journals became scrapbooks, repositories for impromptu interviews with filmmakers, internet activists, artists, black bloc activists, and human rights lawyers, they contain flyers and maps, strange illustrations and meal plans for catering for two hundred and fifty people from a field kitchen. They reflect, in part, the unfolding process, the growing realisation of what is important (for instance learning how to construct a compost loo, or cooking vast quantities of food is equally as interesting as the hours of consensus decision making meetings). As the boundaries blurred between researcher and participant, and the ethnography took what Juris has called a ‘militant’ approach (2004), there was a growing realisation that there was already a performance occurring that needed to be thought-through and written into any accounts.

To accommodate a Brechtian form of erasure between actor and audience, or here, research and writing, I am drawn to Laurel Richardson’s approach to written accounts that allow for personal reflections and recognise the importance of the writing process as a reflexive addition to methodological tool kits. Productively engaging with writing as a “method of enquiry”, as an iterative performance and a space to expose our own ‘writing stories’, effectively writing-in the often omitted aspects that shape our accounts (2003) [page number]. This chapter serves to reflect upon my own research practices, to acknowledge encounters and think through the role of physical and emotional proximity within a wider critique of ethical-political engagement. Linda McDowell notes the importance of reflexive accounts within wider theoretical implications of knowledge production and “struggles over truth”...“methodological reflection has been part of a wider demand for critical theorists of whatever complexion to rethink their claims to knowledge in relation to their own positionality” (1992:409). In response to Pratt, Richardson, and McDowell I aim to remain present within written accounts, to acknowledge the observant participant position; offering a reflective encounter with the why and how of the approach, and allowing details to be woven into empirical chapters as and when necessary.

Larch Maxey’s concern for reflexive activism, the “continuous interaction between reflection and practice” (2004) that in own research practices might not only be used

more productively, but also as sites in their own right which can offer insights into the entangled processes of politically engaged, collective encounters. As discussed in relation to Richardson, on crystallisation (1997), poststructuralist written accounts allow for our own power relations to be written-in. Feminist, radical, and critical geopolitical encounters collapsed the boundaries between our working and political worlds. The connections between the intimate and the global have also been recognised through work that has interrogated our own daily spatialities, bodies and practices, within wider political and geo-political debates (see, for example, the special issue of *Women's Studies Quarterly* introduced by Pratt and Rosner, 2006). Here it has been proximity that has enabled the multiple stories of activism to be presented as unfolding and fluid rather than temporally or spatially bounded. As Roseneil (2000) expands:

“There is no one story of Greenham ... to pin down the diverse experiences which constituted Greenham in order to construct a seamless chronological narrative would be to do a grave injury to the multiplicity of stories of Greenham, the many Greenhams which existed...”

Crystallisation is also a process which, as Richardson argues, “problematizes reliability, validity, and the truth” (2003), and, I feel, productively acknowledges the active role of both researcher and reader and the subsequent partial gaze: “Crystals are prisms and retract within themselves, creating different colours, patterns, arrays, casting off in different directions. What we see depends on our angle of repose. Crystallisation, without losing structure, deconstructs the traditional idea of validity (a single truth), and provides us with a deepened, complex, thoroughly partial understandings. Paradoxically we know more, and doubt what we know” (Richardson 1997, p92)

Writing the self into accounts through autoethnography

The use of autoethnography here serves two purposes. The first, it reflects my own long-term, ongoing process of becoming activist. Secondly, it has an ethical-practical role in enabling a participant's eye view of events whilst not implicating anyone other than myself. Crang and Cook (2007) illustrate that autoethnographic accounts provide points where we can account for and critique our positionality within the research process. Mason used autoethnographic practices within his PhD thesis as a device for exploring the subjective spaces of the becoming of ‘citizen green’ (2009). The presence of ‘the self’ in Mason's work enables an interweaving of autoethnographic accounts to

interrogate on-going negotiations of the aporiatic space between ethics and politics in the search for a green subjectivity in Mason's case. A major problem of autoethnographic accounts, as Mason's work illustrates, is an undercurrent of 'membership', written accounts with uneasy overtones of essential links to a group, peoples, or community; although, as Mason shows, there *is* space to write-in subjectivity and acknowledge it being in constant flux.

Whilst sharing much common ground with those who became 'research subjects' there are points at which given identities, such as being a white European woman female, afforded different experiences to many whom I travelled with and many commonalities such as age, motherhood, music, food became pivotal points of conversation. There are also points of intervention where roles of academic and activist collide and where one role shapes the other. This acknowledgement of personal relationships is important here, in writing from proximity wider insights into the performance of anti-geopolitical spaces and of research that often foregrounds distances can illustrate the relational spaces inherent within these encounters and provide space for acknowledging the changing shape that comes with time-deepened relationships.

Beyond militancy

The shifting shape of academia, the growing 'enclosure' of intellectual goods and the increased commoditisation of knowledge production through research indicators, student satisfaction rankings, and a growing reliance on private funding (both student and corporate) (see Federici and Caffentzis 2007) mean the barriers between academia and the 'outside' world are increasingly being experienced as an arena of neoliberal intrusion. Cloke notes that "the academic world of human geography has also shaped by involvement with large multinational corporations" (forthcoming), and Smith claims, academia is increasingly resembling a higher education 'sausage factory' (2000). Higher tuition fees are likely to exacerbate the unofficial privatisation of universities, shifting relationships further toward a consumer led system. Our own everyday academic practices become shaped by global processes, enrolling us into arenas we may not ethically feel comfortable with and acknowledgement that "the corporatization of the

university is a global issue, and its affects are already amongst us” (Smith 2000:331-332) mean we have our own (ideological) struggles within the academy.

This has created a context in which critically engaged research becomes both more difficult and more crucial; whilst funding is scarce and outputs rarely tick the right indicator box there is a growing need for emancipatory work and providing access to resources (as intellectual products such as journal articles become difficult to access). Contributions to the edited collection on *Practising Public Scholarship* (Mitchell 2008) would suggest that despite the intrusion of neoliberal processes there is still a place within Human Geography for strong links to community and that radical roots still permeate deeply into movements for social change. As many of the contributions suggest, academia can be a fertile place for activism to both take place and be productively engaged with. Pritchard (2009) has spoken of how Anarchist theorising has moved beyond the study of protest sites into understanding wider societal configurations but remains under-represented in the academy. This can be situated within wider criticisms of the neoliberal university’s obsessions with fund chasing and the privileging corporate and policy oriented end users.

As Sullivan points to, there is also space for linking both organic and tradition academic practices, theory and practice shouldn’t be viewed as separate spheres, rather feed into each other. Postmodern approaches have allowed a collapse between the inside and outside worlds that we inhabit as academics, such as carer, citizen, friend (see for example Askins 2009; Browne 2003; Ellis 1999). Whilst for some the barriers between work and activism are collapsed through ‘militant’ praxis this should not be valorised as the only way to combine academic life and active citizenship (see Cloke 2003). My approach was a pick and mix of methods whose ethos can be found in feminist and participatory research practices. A recent focus on ‘Ethics and Geography’ in a themed edition of *ACME* (2009) Chatterton and Maxey point to the “growing awareness of our own roles, not as handmaidens to capitalism, but as critical public geographers” (2009). These concerns have, I think rightly, led to increased pressure from within academia to challenge these processes through our own working practices in attempts to make visible our own institutional demons and a “growing awareness of our role, not as handmaidens to capitalism, but as critical public geographers” (2008). Public

Geography, after Michael Burrowoy's concept of Public Sociology (2003) has gained momentum in recent years yet remains largely undefined and in parts problematic, with 'public' seemingly tied to the professional sphere of policy research (see Fuller and Askins 2007). *Critical public geographies* (ibid) offer a more fluid approach, neither drawing lines in the sand between a 'public' out there and us in here, nor viewing policy reform (top down outputs) as (necessarily) desirable .

Militant, and third space approaches offer forward 'critical public geographies', breaking down the boundaries of inside/outside academia, theory and practice, research and outputs; acknowledging that 'outputs' have their own liveliness. Rather than viewing an output as the end goal they are frequently woven throughout the research process and have performative possibilities, a life beyond. Writing for activist oriented journals and alternative news sites, producing in collaboration with non-academics can be productive outputs (Wakefield 2007:337). Outputs, including traditional journal articles, should not be viewed as history, as Massey reminds us:

“[outputs are too often thought as] products in a rather achieved sense ('phew, that's another article out'). It is all too easy for the emphasis to be on that rather than on the notion of launching something into a stream, a proliferation of connections, to see how it will fare, how it will affect and be affected” (2000:133).

On the 12th of December 2009, I was part of a small group of academics who responded to Justin Kenrick's call to be more active in our academic engagements “give up on social activism which seeks to effect political change by seeking representation, by asking others to make changes for us, and to instead deepen our engagement in disruptive effective engagement that relies on ourselves and our ability to expand our alliances (including with political representatives) to make the changes we seek” (2007). Alongside a week of protests in opposition to the UN COP15, an academic blockade seminar was staged. On a cold Sunday morning, where speakers presented papers on the social science of Climate Change whilst blockading the entrance to Dong Energy power station. Many had previous experience through the academic blockades at Faslane Peace Camp, where academics had presented 24 hours of seminars as part of the yearlong rolling blockade of the Nuclear Submarine base located on the river Clyde.

Disrupting the perceived spaces of research ‘outputs’ by placing them within the political context in which we feel ethically commitment links closely to the conceptualisations of creative resistance and cultural activism that loom large within this project. In many ways I have attempted to think of outputs as what Redman, and (after Gablik) terms ‘connective aesthetics’ (2010). In this sense, the cultural products of research become actions in their own right, interventions and re-presentations; they “don’t represent the movement, they are the movement” (2010). With this in mind I have attempted to present outputs that bridge academia and the spaces of oppositional struggle. This has included attempts to bring discussions of climate justice, and the stories therein, to a broad audience; this has been through organising workshops at Climate Camp, public talks outside of the university setting, and through training events linked to a local Transition Town group. I have also involved myself in projects which seek to create public spaces within the university, mainly through a seminar series, training day, and conference devoted to the theme of ‘Engaging with Radical Ideas’ and the tentative formation of an Exeter Free University. That the Engaging with Radical Ideas project successfully attracted AHRC funding, and a high level of attendance by non-members of the university, would suggest that opening university space out would be fruitful for those pursuing critical public geographies.

Concluding comments

Within this thesis, I respond to Geraldine Pratt, by accounting for my research performances into this thesis. In this chapter I have presented an overview of the research process, and introduced an ethos that underpinned an approach that was taken. It linked directly to the two previous chapters, in putting forward considerations of nonviolence and politics of the act into the design and performance of research. The approach was discussed as an ethically and politically partisan ethnography and made an argument for militant and solidarity as forms of research. The chapter put forward arguments for militant research as rooted in anarchist and feminist praxis, and extension of everyday political-ethics. It illustrated that ethically engaged research is emerging as an important approach to socio-cultural research, and viewed this as something that is bringing much needed nuances into more politically oriented work. Whilst contested, it argued that writing oneself into research, being attentive to context, and openly

discussing self/other relationships as they unfold, is a productive means through which to avoid representations that colonise the voice of others. The body was presented as a tool of enquiry, a method of knowing the world, of sharing risk, and of enacting support. Situated knowledge was discussed in regard to roles within the movements being studied. It also put forward possible spaces where academics can act in solidarity and support for issues of social justice beyond sites of research. The following chapters move into the presentation of ethnographic material that emerged through the approach. Throughout the following chapters, I discuss empirical material through discursive and performed spaces. I consider these as ongoing processes, relational, practiced, and productive of alternative geopolitical spaces. I acknowledge that a chronological presentation of ethnographic material might offer a tidy temporal progression through which the reader might get a better suggestion of the build up to Copenhagen (as David Graeber's ethnography of the anti-Quebec WTO mobilisations (2009)).

As the emphasis has always been upon the manifestation of these groups and practices around a commitment to nonviolence, a thematic approach is more appropriate here. **Ch 4** introduces contexts, genealogies and geographies of the movements. **Ch 5** turns to the performance of politics, the becoming of geopolitical bodies through spaces of horizontal organising, ethical-political consumption, and creative resistance. **Ch 6** identifies the space of securitisation that has been performatively directed toward the control of geopolitical bodies. I also offer four **Interventions**, these serve as punctuations into the thesis, they are meant as vignettes that can be read separately but are enriched by the conversations which they bring together but remain separated within the wider thesis structure. The first of these looks to the confrontation of our institutional entanglements and violences, but also points to agency and collective action *within* and *beyond* academia – spaces of solidarity and responsibility where the boundaries cross us. The second third and fourth interventions look at specific sites, in turn bringing together the symbolic, discursive and performative through the staged, affective, and confrontational spaces of protest.

Intervention I: Confronting Ghosts - Institutional Entanglements



I.1: Protestors above doorway to the Shell Centre (HQ), London 30/09/09; photo journal

In 2007, as I prepared to embark on this PhD research, human geography's own disciplinary violences were being publically contested. Refusal, public action, and the geopolitics of knowledge production were all present in heated debates that involved confronting the spectres that haunt our own institutional and everyday work spaces. Researching nonviolence from within academia includes constant reminder that our own location is not a pure space, separated and isolated from the causes or effects of uneven geographies, social injustice, and ecologic destruction. The discipline of Geography may have shed its colonial connections (on the most part), but we remain within wider webs that challenge our ethics. It is timely, before proceeding with the thesis, to recall one of these entanglements. On the 30th August 2009, I watched a film through the window flap of a mobile tented cinema on Blackheath Common; *H2Oil* (Walsh 2009), a

documentary investigation into the highly contested oil sands abstraction in Alberta Canada “the beginning of an uprising” (Koepke 2009). I watched the film with George and Lionel, anti-Tar Sands representatives from the Indigenous Environmental Network, visiting the UK to lobby and campaign against the plans of British Petroleum (BP) to create the largest industrial complex in the world; to exploit the Athabasca oil sands reserves in Alberta, Canada. George had been Chief of the Mikisew Cree, Lionel a Cree who had worked on the Tar Sands before becoming a campaigner against it. We talked as the film ran, they both featured. They pointed out family and friends affected by the destruction of forests, the mercury poisoning of lakes and waterways (and animals using these), and the rise in rare cancers amongst indigenous communities, a doctor described the high number of rare cancers affecting many of the teenagers and young adults in a town of only 10,000. Fish were frequently being caught with large tumours, and as the dominant food resources of the Alberta Cree diet, and it was little surprise that scientists were citing connections between the two. As we talked the lights of Canary Warf loomed behind us; the banks that help finance the ventures – the violence of a spreadsheet. George Monbiot describes the Canadian exploitation of Athabasca as “a beautiful, cultured nation turning itself into a corrupt petrostate” (2009).

On the 29th August 2007, a panel took place at the Royal Geographical Society; ‘Corporate involvement in Geography: ethics, power and responsibility in our workplaces’. The session was problematizing the relationships between universities (our workplaces) and corporations and fiscal instruments entangled in human rights abuses and the arms trade. The lecture theatre had large screen prints by artist Emily Johns; they depicted serpents and demons in desolated landscapes, the remnants of life. Poems were attached to the display, the words of Ken Saro-Wiwa (later removed from the display by persons unknown):

The flames of Shell are the flames of Hell,
We bask below their light,
Nought for us to serve the blight
Of cursed neglect and cursed Shell

Ken Saro-Wiwa (quoted in Johns 2009)

The exhibition related to the RGS's links with Shell, through the acceptance of sponsorship (understood by participants as greenwash). Saro Wiwa, writer, poet, and social justice activist, had been executed eleven years earlier; hanged to death, having been made to watch the hangings of eight friends, fellow campaigners in the struggle against human rights abuses and ecological destruction enacted upon the Ogoni people and Ogoniland (south east Nigeria) by multinational oil interests in Nigeria (Rowell, Marriott et al. 2005). *Royal Dutch Shell* had been implicated in the arrests and executions from the beginning. Since the execution of the 'Ogoni Nine' there has been continued unease about the financial involvement of Shell in the institution that many felt provided the public face of British academic Geography. The argument against Shell was illuminated through geographer Felix Tuolodo's research, combined with personal reflections as a Nigerian citizen, on the scope of the company's Corporate Social Responsibility work within Ogoniland and beyond, which built on Watt's conceptualisation of development and counter development "working with and against one another" (Watts 2004:198 cited in Tuolodo 2009). Shell's CSR created landscapes where employment, education, and social infrastructure were increasingly dependent on corporate funding from the same industry that was degrading their everyday environment and quality of life. The ability of Shell to seep into communities geographically closer to the UK were also touched upon through the case of the ongoing resistance to the 'Shell to Shore' pipeline in Rossport, south west Ireland.

I was sitting next to Duncan Fuller, who jumped to his feet at the end "we better be going to do something about this". Following the conference session a small group (Sara, Larch, Duncan, Paul, Felix and me) met to discuss how our participation in the conference could be used to highlight the issues raised in the session. We wanted fellow delegates to use their RGS 'feedback' slips to highlight the ongoing discomfort at Shell's involvement with the organisation it was decided that those who felt able would raise the issue during sessions at which they were presenting or chairing. For others it was decided that an intervention might work, and thus some (bad) poetry was penned, "Still looting, Still polluting, Still drilling, Still killing", they were printed, and distributed.

The problem was not a new one. In 1996 David Gilbert proposed a motion for RGS to “sever links with the company following the execution of Nigerian environmental activists who had campaigned against Shell's activities in their homeland” - a special general meeting of the RGS-IBG followed, the vote favoured continued relationships with Shell by “4,309 votes to 1,509” (Wojtas 1997) illustrating the gulf between academic and non-academic membership of the RGS. The following year, at the annual conference (at Exeter University), Gilbert rescinded his membership of the RGS, on the grounds that continued financial involvement was “compromising his teaching, as he presented his vision of geography's moral and ethical framework to undergraduates” (Wojtas 1997). A later (1999) edition of *Ethics, Place and Environment* continued the debate with papers from Gilbert, Michael Woods, David Story, and Adam Tickell. Many geographer’s still feel unable to hold membership of their academic institution on ethical grounds (Gilbert 2009).

On June 8th 2009, in New York the parties in the Wiwa versus Shell legal action settled out of court on the eve of what promised to be a high profile human rights challenge to the oil giant – a case bought by the families of the Ogoni Nine. Royal Dutch Shell paid “\$15.5 million, to compensate the injuries to the Plaintiffs and the deaths of their family members, and will also create a trust for the benefit of the Ogoni people” (Plaintiffs in *Wiwa v Shell* 2009), in the court settlement the families made it clear that they acted as individuals and settled not as representatives of the Ogoni people (United States District Court Southern District of New York 2009), making it clear that the people of Nigeria still had ongoing legal battles against the multinational, as John Vidal wrote in an Environment commentary in *The Guardian*:

“while Shell insists that the result is no admission of guilt [the settlement] represents a triumph for an impoverished community over one of the richest companies in the world... The precedent of a Nigerian community suing a multinational oil company in a western court has been set. There are thousands more Ogoni who will now want to bring their case to the west to see justice done, as well as other Niger Delta tribes like the Ijaw, the Igbo, the Ibibio and the Itsekiri who also want justice” (2009).

Tar Sands has featured heavily in direct actions and demonstrations throughout the period of the ethnography, targeting Shell, BP, the RBS and Barclays, the National

Gallery and Tate - politicising their various roles (managing, financing, benefiting) within “one of the world's biggest single sources of pollution?” (Sauvern 2010). Activist left their families and travelled thousands of miles to expose corporations and the money and the greenwash that helps to legitimise their actions. A desire to be actively involved in both the academy and its institutions such as the Royal Geographical Society (RGS) – increasingly involves personal negotiation of ethics, of balancing a space that allows for the critical study of social and environmental justice whilst entangling all within to practices and spaces we try our best to confront. As the report *Degrees of Capture* (Muttitt, Walter et al. 2004) exposes, universities now provide the front line for oil and other corporations to gain credibility as ‘green’ protagonists, pumping millions of pound into the sponsorship of research, institutions and even Chairs.

The intention of this intervention was to insert a pause for thought within the wider thesis structure, a reflexive moment to consider our own institutional entanglements. To the Shell/RGS debate we could add pensions, access to publications, the arms trade, the commoditisation of knowledge (and more). Yet, as the research unfolded these personal ghosts were present in discussions and actions, our own unwitting role within the corporate greenwash that help to legitimise corporations such as Shell. This legitimisation aids respectability through symbolic association to respected institutions including the Royal Geographical Society, National Gallery, Wildlife Photographer of the Year. Greenwash, the practice through which companies buy association to respected institutions (through sponsorship, awards, spatial proximity, and research funding) has become big business. Corporations recognise the performative affect of proclivity, association by proximity, gaining a discourse of (often ‘green’) respectability that both masks ecological damage, and human rights abuses that remain off the page and out of sight, the geographical norms of production and consumption that drives neoliberal capitalism.

Chapter 4: Re-placing Geopolitics



4.1: T2CC banner, used during Manif Anti-OMC , Geneva 28/11/2009: photo journal

Overview

Chapter 1 introduced this research as an exploration of the intersection between social movement activism and geopolitics, the practices and performative spaces of nonviolent social movement action. The principal aim has been to offer insights into nonviolent forms of confronting and organising, the performed and performative spaces of nonviolent civil disobedience and social movement praxis. Chapters 1 and 2, presented an argument for understanding the groups engaged with as global justice movements, theoretically understood as ‘newest social movements’ (NWSM) (after Day 2005); movements committed to a ‘politics of the act and an ethics of the real’, which has been understood as productive of new spatio-political configurations referred to by Day, Graeber (2002) and Pickerill (2010) as ‘alternative globalisation’.

NWSM have focused attention upon prefiguring nonviolent everyday practices (social, economic, and political) and a shift from the counter-hegemonic ‘politics of demand’ to a post-capitalist emphasis on the prefigurative and performative, a ‘politics of the act’ (Ch 1 and 2); this claim was established through the political-ethics and embodied practices observed and participated in during (militant) ethnographic research (see below and Ch 3, 5 and 6). These are appreciated here as biodegradable (after Plows 2002) and relational spaces yet held to set of core ethical commitments attached to understandings of power, domination and representation. The first was to understand the power of agency - that the state could only dominate through the legitimisation of power circulating through societal relationships (this was also seen in the ideas of Michel Foucault, Étienne de La Boétie, and Gustav Landauer). Secondly, that domination and violence are linked, appreciated as circulating through the acceptance of hierarchical relationships that extended to discursive acts of representation and othering.

To these I added another layer through which to understand violence, that of ‘geographical norm’ – that global processes that are not invisible or hidden, but accepted, justified, and tolerated through performative dominant normative (natural, normal, and necessary) discourses (geopolitical and geographical). I presented the groups here as embodying ethical-political commitment to prefigurative forms of organising (a refusal to legitimise domination by performing differently) and everyday and spectacular forms of nonviolent civil disobedience (enacting collective agency, troubling dominant power relations and discourses). I argued that through appreciating the ‘spacing of nonviolence’, with a particular consideration of Graeber’s concept of ‘nonviolent warfare’ (2002), the symbolic, discursive and performative elements could be productively understood as alternative forms of geopolitics.

In addition to being understood a ‘global justice activists’, the groups engaged with shared a common temporal-spatial objective, to gather as a ‘People’s Assembly’ on December 16th 2009; to use ‘nonviolent confrontation’ to present alternative geopolitical visions and confront and de-legitimise the UNCOP15 discussions. In this chapter I lay some contextual foundations and introduce the key sites and routes taken to the People’s Assembly. I present the groups as ‘Climate Justice Movements’ (CJM) in recognition of their own narratives of identity; adopted discourses through which

groups autonomously described themselves and narrate a connection to a wider, transnational ‘Climate Justice Movement’ – understood here as a convergence space.

The previous chapters (1-3) laid out an understanding of social movements as ‘troubling’ (or unbalancing) dominant environmental geopolitics. Featherstone (forthcoming) explains that the direct contestation of the managerial discourse of ‘climate change’ was made produced through the counter discourse of ‘climate justice’. The ‘climate justice’ narrative adopted by oppositional movements troubled its elite counterpart – a debate that had relied upon technocratic confusion to justify a managerial (green capitalist) discourse of in/security and techno-fixes that are widely perceived as exacerbating the uneven geographies of climate change, resilience, and everyday security (see Dalby 2009). Politicisation was achieved through the trans-local grounding of ‘climate justice’, by bringing authority to a discourse through performances that were rooted within everyday lived experiences – direct testimonies from people already suffering social and environmental insecurity due to climatic change and wider global processes. This refusal to legitimize a division between environmental degradation and the socio-economic processes of neoliberal capitalist globalization was at the heart of the climate justice discourse. I positioned the movements as performative of alternative configurations of globalization and geopolitics from below.

Here, in the first chapter re-presenting ethnographic material, I introduce the groups, their locations, and transnational connections. I start by outlining the concept of ‘convergence space’, as a symbolic, discursive, and performative space that offers a productive lens through which to understand the coming together of the groups here. Ethnography was conducted within a number of interconnected sites; the sites were networked to one another yet each is also understood as a spatial bounded performance. The following section outlines an understanding of the research sites as situated within wider convergence spaces (after Routledge and Cumbers 2008 and Cumbers et al 2008), interconnected relationships and networks that allowed the more bounded sites of the camps, assemblies, and caravans to emerge. The introduction established an understanding of any ‘Climate Justice Movement’ as an imagined space that was powerfully employed by activists to network and mobilise under a common banner, but

a banner that simultaneously risks homogenising a diverse and spatially dispersed multiplicity of social movement and civil society groups. Throughout I then present each of the social movements through genealogies (see **Ch 2** for a description of why and how I adopt this concept) and geographies (during the time-space of the research period), tracing many of the ‘flows of connection’ (after Routledge, 1996) that bring the sites into convergence. The mobility of politicised bodies is considered through activist travellings (Carter 2003) and holidarity (solidarity tourism). Through these I explore some of the travelling testimonies, political tourisms, and practical solidarities that were enacted within the sites researched. I conclude the chapter with some comments that bring these together.

Convergence space

This section turns to the imagined and practiced spaces of cross-border organising, the political-ethical practices of solidarities, connection, and convergence; the everyday political processes that transcend territorial boundaries. As the introduction outlined, I understand the events here as enabled through wider processes and relationships; “each place is the focus of a distinct mixture of wider and more local relationships’ (Massey 1994: 156). As the focus of this research is the practiced, face to face interactions, more bounded sites of engagement were interrogated. As this chapter touches on throughout, whilst the more bounded spaces of camps and caravans enable the performing of nonviolent relationships they are enabled through multiplicitous relationships that bring together large numbers of movements within these new spatio-political configurations. Whilst groups may share a set of common aims or demands there is rarely a coherence to their make-up.

As Stephen Duncombe states, the imaginary of a movement brings some coherence to “an array of grievances, solutions, strategies, and organizations” (2007:95). In understanding spaces as performative, there is also recognition in the political affect of feeling connected; the collective hopefulness in the imagined and practiced affection and solidarity with resisting others (**Ch 5** looks at this more fully). My aim is to follow Gibson-Graham in looking to and naming the *existing* post-capitalist relations and the possibilities of discernable forms of alter-globalisation therein. This encompasses what

David Featherstone describes as a necessity of “experimenting with opposition to globalization that does not depend on the formation of exclusionary localisms or nationalisms”, (2003; 2008) to perform counter-globalisations, or more performatively, as envisioned here, alter-globalisations, social configurations that are dependent on either the practices or symbol of the state/international governance (beyond the dialectical).

Here, the discourse of ‘climate justice’ opened performative spaces of transnational solidarity, as groups started to act together under the wider banner of a ‘climate justice movement’, I understand these as practical and imagined spaces of solidarity, and as a convergence space, as introduced in Chapter 1. Repertoires of collective action were aimed at *international* institutions, *multinational* corporations, and *global* governance mechanisms, and so I understand the groups and movements here as ‘anti-geopolitical’; as they “articulate a ‘globalisation from below’ that comprises a ‘geopolitics from below’ – an evolving international network of groups, organisations and social movements” (Routledge 1998:253). In positioning the groups as committed to a politics of the act that prefigure new socio-political configurations I also understand them as alter-geopolitical, relating to conceptualisations of alter-globalisations inherent within a politics of the act but also looking, in part, to Sara Koopman’s recent work on alternative geopolitics (2009, 2011).

Cumbers et al (2008) and Routledge (2009), theorise convergence space as articulated through seven characteristics; many of which the empirical material in this chapter and the next relate to. The characteristics of convergence space are conceived of as: comprising of place-based but not place restricted movements; spaces that manifest through and articulate collective visions that create common ground between participants; involve the performance of practical solidarity (communication, information sharing, solidarity actions, network coordination, and resource mobilization); convergence spaces facilitate spatially extensive political action by participating movements; they require networking vectors to mediate and facilitate communication and action within and between participant movements (also see Routledge on ‘imagineering’, 1997); they encompass a range of organisational logics, involving both vertical and horizontal forms of organising; are sites of internal

contestation due to the multiplicity of participant groups. As the empirical insights offered in this and later chapters indicates, the climate justice networks engaged with here share these characteristics.

As the introduction to the thesis established, I don't positioning of the 'spirit of May 68' or the 'Battle of Seattle' as heralding moments of rupture where any new 'movement of movements' came into being spontaneously from nowhere. Following others, (see Featherstone 2003; 2008; Plows 2002; Routledge 2000; 2004) I situate these protest events and subsequent counter-summit mobilizations against international institutions such as the G8/20 and WTO as ongoing spaces of global justice, movements that are politically active together and apart, as, where and when this is advantageous. I view them here as positioned within the ongoing alternative geopolitical convergence space that is narrated as the global justice movement, which I understand as fluid and palimpsestuous, a continual *process* of negotiation and solidarity that is never static and always incorporates traces of past configurations whilst simultaneously attracting new networked connections. In the frontward performance of the climate justice movements here (workshops, talks, camp and mobilisation narratives) the groups and individuals frequently narrated themselves as 'global justice movements', part of a global justice movement.

Here, I concentrate on the practical solidarities and face to face mobilisation, the practiced and performative relationships – considering these as the pivotal to understanding spacings of nonviolence; through the being and becoming of geopolitical bodies, and the performativity of alter-geopolitical spaces. It is important though, to acknowledge that the internet has become a tool with which most activists (with the geographical and financial privileges to access these) now facilitate many aspects of transnational mobilisation. Most importantly here, it was most productive following the face to face meetings, to build and maintain already established relationships – between individuals and movements. Castells claims that the internet has speeded up the networked flows of mobilisation and solidarity, pointing to virtual spaces as pivotal in contemporary organising: “the internet has become a major organising tool for environmentalists around the world, raising people's consciousness about alternative ways of living, and building the political force to make it happen” (2001: 280; cited in

Pickerill 2003: 5). Whilst acknowledging the new spaces of solidarity that the internet facilitates, I urge caution on fetishising social media as *the* revolutionizing tool of activism, and understand it as part of a broader toolkit, where face to face convergence remains important for mobilising, contesting, building capacity, and leaning to live and organise collectively. The flow of news and information is certainly faster, and mobilisation can be fast and fairly anonymous but personal relationships, as far as this research is concerned, remain the most important factor for ongoing solidarity. Social media has been shown to be highly effective in bringing people together in public, but it cannot teach the embodied practices or circulate affective solidarities that create strong, long-term commitments to change.

Cohen (1992) and Tarrow (2005) conceptualise transnational spaces of activism as ‘rooted cosmopolitanisms’; “which accepts a multiplicity of roots and branches and that rests on the legitimacy of plural loyalties, of standing in many circles, but with common ground” (Cohen 1992: 483). Anthropologist Tim Ingold, in his exploration of lines (2007), presents a metaphor that I think translates to the concept of convergence space; using the metaphor of free floating kites that temporarily form into knots before floating freely again. Beyond Ingold, knots, of course, create strength and security far greater than the sum of their parts. The mantra, laid down by the Mexican National Indigenous Congress (Notes from Nowhere 2003:64) “Act in assembly together, act in network when apart” is the primary discursive terrain of transnational solidarity between global justice movements. Tarrow conceptualises phases or cycles of contention, points when and where it is politically strategic to work together (1998; Tarrow and Tollefson 1994) It is not that wider movements disappear, but that conditions don’t necessitate active collaboration – when cross movement convergence space do manifest, mobilisation is easier and movements gain momentum, become more politically active, and attract growing participation. Within the study here, both convergence and solidarity were based around a temporal-spatial event (Copenhagen) as well as a collective discourse (climate justice) – the performative manifestation of a Climate Justice Movement was affective for mobilising bodies and agency through a global imaginary of togetherness, followed by a collective performance. ‘Solidarity’ is also not presented here as a given, an existing state; it is understood as a process of becoming – from I to we, to follow

Gibson-Graham, it is about ‘new practices of the self’ (2006:xxvii), the relational ethics of encounter. The conceptualisation of convergence space, as understood in this thesis is, therefore, one of an ongoing process that is both imagined and practice, becoming most tangible (visible) in relation to different points in a cycle of contention – when collective action, or physical contestation becomes advantageous or necessary.

This section turns to an understanding of the social movements engaged with here, as brought together through a convergence space which was narrated through the common refrain of a Climate Justice Movement (chapters 1 and 2 have explored the problems with this). Through this discursive arena material connections manifested into collective action, made easier through the symbolic tenth anniversary of the ‘Battle in Seattle’; one of the principle motivations for the international mobilisations and the plan for a mass action to shut down the talks; highly mediated, staged performances that would echo the 1999 shut down of the World Trade Organisation talks ten years earlier and reiterate the presence of a large global justice movement that still had the collective power to confront and trouble geopolitical elites. The staged performance would reiterate the presence of the GJM as a ‘movement of movements’ as a material space, with tangible networks, and practiced solidarity – the embodiment of alternative globalisation. As Naomi Klein’s quote in chapter 2 illustrated, this refrain was discursively performed as the ‘coming of age’ of a ‘global justice movement’. The reiterations in the run-up to Copenhagen were performative; by the time of the physical convergence in December, a large constituency of spatially dispersed social movements were acting collectively as unit of opposition under a common ethos of nonviolent confrontation.

Such iterative refrains, though, are highly problematic. By connecting the mobilisations directly to Seattle, with little recognition to the temporal-spatial (anti-geopolitical spaces) in-between, gave an outward performance of the GJM as manifest only in large protest events, and that the CJM was something new. In short, both of these spaces were represented as fully formed – static - rather than ongoing processes of becoming (as understood here). There were many instances during the summer and autumn of 2009, and to a magnified extent during the Trade to Climate Caravan, that a ‘climate justice movement’ was narrated in terms of a having an organized structure, rather than existing as a heterogeneous convergence space. ‘The climate justice movement will be

mobilizing in Copenhagen' one of the caravan organisers proclaimed during a workshop in Geneva (TCC001). Continued references to 'a' movement, rather than diverse overlapping networks, often served to flatten the plurality of the movements into a narrow set of debates that were highly mediated by groups based in Europe; rather than an ongoing process for dialogue on the multiplicity of insecurities at play. Within Copenhagen, the Klimaforum social forum redressed this somewhat. I prefer to adopt the plural 'movements', but fully accept why identity and labels become adopted. The shared subjectivity, or choice to adopt strategic essentialisms, is not the problem, but should be recognised in relation to the agendas this can often serve. It is difficult to escape the need for common signifiers to which mobilisation can be identified, particularly where recruitment is negotiated around shared geopolitical imaginations of togetherness.

Understood as part of an ongoing convergence space, though, the geopolitical imagination of the GJM *has* shifted the relationship between social movements (and grass roots civil society groups) and elite geopolitical actors and discourses. As a convergence space the GJM became synonymous with leaderless and horizontal organising, plural coming together of ideological beliefs (ethical, political, political-spiritual), and emphasis on prefiguring creative alternatives, including World Social Forums, the most recent of which, in Dakar (February 2011), attracted more than 50,000 participants from 123 countries (Harris 2011). As **Ch 2** explored more fully, global justice movements, though disparate in viewpoints and tactics, can be understood as a site through which a number of alternative geopolitical spaces (such as the social forums) are manifested through the performative and discursive, understood throughout as politics of the act; 'other worlds' of geopolitics. Until recently, discussions regarding the GJM have been represented through an anti-globalisation and anti-geopolitical narrative. Previous chapters have illustrated the importance, and continued relevance, of these conceptualisations but joined an argument for approaching any movement through an ethos of performative possibilities, the practice and manifestation of alter-geopolitics. Within human geography, conceiving of the 'alternative' in addition to the anti- has also opened new productive means through which to understand, and undertake research and resisting others.

Contrary to understandings of a ‘post-political’ consensus on sustainable development (Swyngedouw 2010), opposition to dominant environmental geopolitical discourses has been tangible throughout the last two decades – by governmental, civil society, and more radically aligned social movements actors. To talk of any post-political consensus is to create a fictional space that renders invisible the voices and debates that have been actively contesting dominant (by which I mean elite rather than majority) configurations of ‘sustainable development’ that have progressively been seen to favour neoliberal economics over ecological and human insecurities since the inception of the term in the 1987 report ‘Our Common Future’ and the Rio Summit of 1992. For 20 years global justice narratives have increasingly linked environmental and social degradation to neoliberal capitalism and contested green economical models as a solution to ecological degradation and uneven geographies of climate change. Whilst these contested spaces may have come to prominence in Copenhagen, voices of dissent have been a constant presence at international talks (see Angus 2009, and Featherstone forthcoming). Sadly, post-colonial political discourses only tend to gain currency (become visible to academics, policy makers, and the majority of activists) once their presence is felt ‘physically’ in Europe or the US. Once political contestation happens ‘here’ rather than ‘there’ it becomes problematised into existence, climate justice movements being just the latest example, an echo of how a Global Justice Movement emerged within the geographical imagination following the large scale Seattle, where activist, policy makers, and media alike, named it a movement.

As the thesis has already established, research was undertaken within movements based within Europe and a number of spokespeople from movements active outside of Europe, undertaking a solidarity and mobilisation tour. Each of these movements had advertised the intention to take part in counter-summit mobilisations, describing themselves as part of a ‘Climate Justice Movement’. Once in Copenhagen the movements would be taking part in a week of counter-summit demonstrations and a large social forum called the Klimaforum, organised by and for grass roots organisations (GRO), non governmental organisations (NGOs), social movements and civil society groups; “202 debates, 70 exhibitions, 43 films, 16 concerts and 11 plays from all over the world”, open and democratic discussion of “alternative solutions” (Klimaforum09 2009). In mobilising

toward Copenhagen, ‘climate justice’ emerged as *the* politicising narrative across social movements in the global north and south; particularly through the umbrella networks *Climate Justice Now (CJN)*, and *Climate Justice Action (CJA)*.

The *CJN* network was formed during alternative counter-summit mobilisations to the UN COP13 in Bali. Its affiliated movements are based predominantly (but not exclusively) within the global south, bringing together trade justice, trades unions, more radical NGOs, environmental groups, indigenous, and peasant farmer movements. The initial members of the *CJN* included:

Carbon Trade Watch, Transnational Institute; Center for Environmental Concerns; Focus on the Global South; Freedom from Debt Coalition, Philippines; Friends of the Earth International; Gendercc – Women for Climate Justice, Global Forest Coalition; Global Justice Ecology Project; International Forum on Globalization; Kalikasan-Peoples Network for the Environment (Kalikasan-PNE); La Via Campesina; Members of the Durban Group for Climate Justice; Oilwatch; Pacific Indigenous Peoples Environment Coalition, Aotearoa/New Zealand; Sustainable Energy and Economy Network; The Indigenous Environmental Network; Third World Network; WALHI/ Friends of the Earth Indonesia; World Rainforest Movement (Climate Justice Now 2007)

Through a number of WSF and counter-summit meetings, statements and declarations have been presented by the *CJN* in response to official intergovernmental talks. They are illustrative of the complexity of socio-ecological insecurities linked directly to neoliberal capitalism. These declarations put the discourse of ‘climate justice’ on the anti-geopolitical landscape long before Copenhagen. Early statements from transnational networks relate directly to climate justice include the Cochabamba Declaration (2007) and the Bali Statement (2007), the first emerging from the World Social Forum, the second from UN COP13 counter-summit talks. At its heart was a discourse situated in postcolonial critiques, political-spiritual ethics, everyday insecurity and threats to indigenous communities and cultures:

“the neoliberal policy of domination of nature, the search for easy profits from the concentration of capital in a few hands and the irrational exploitation of natural resources, our Mother Earth is mortally wounded, while the indigenous peoples are still being displaced from our territories. The planet is warming up. We are experiencing an unprecedented change in climate with ever stronger and more frequent socio-environmental disasters effecting all of us without exception” (Cochabamba 2007).

The International Forum of Indigenous Peoples on Climate Change (IFIPCC) issued the ‘Bali Statement’ at counter-summit talks alongside the UN COP13. The statement reiterates that indigenous groups have been addressing “concerns to the UNFCCC since Lyon 2001 SBSTA (Subsidiary Body for Scientific and Technological Advice)” and calls for indigenous and grassroots groups to be included in discussions on climate change:

“Mr President, the IFIPCC sincerely believes that indigenous peoples have a role to play in this convention and protocol. It is time that we all cooperate in our efforts to address climate change in a manner that recognizes social justice, environmental integrity, indigenous and other human rights” (Angus: 150)

Many of the *CJMs* constituted the same social movements and that, since 1994, have used transnational networks (of GROs, social movements and NGOs) the convergence space of global justice to link socio-ecological struggles with the uneven geographies inherent within neoliberal capitalism – understood as practices, materialities, and narratives that have placed fiscal (economic) models at the heart of globalisation (Featherstone 2005; Gibson-Graham 2006; Routledge 2009; Sparke, Brown et al. 2005; Wolford 2004). The *CJM* have brought place based struggles into wider debates, arguably producing new securities and resilience through practical solidarity, visibility, open-ended discussion and transnational exchange (Routledge 2002; Sparke 2008). Understanding the convergence spaces of the *CJM* as performative, nonviolent forms of confrontation have served to ‘trouble’ (de-legitimise) dominant narratives of climate change, most often this by grounding critiques in place based contexts.

The grounding, of ‘climate justice’ became a device to politicise a climate change debate that had foregrounded the scientific, managerial and technocratic – decoupling the debate from the forces of neoliberal capitalism and free trade regulations. Those that had contributed least to climate change would be affected first, more harshly, and have least resilience and means to adapt. The People’s Assembly was organised as an alternative geopolitical space where trans-local spaces could be open and discussed, giving authority to a climate justice debate through the grounding of destructive global process within local social and environmental justice struggles that are de-legitimised as a continuation of colonialism:

“...after 515 years of oppression and domination, here we stand. They have been unable to eliminate us. We have confronted and resisted the policies of ethnocide, genocide, colonization, destruction and plunder, and the imposition of such economic systems as capitalism, characterized by interventionism, wars and socio-environmental disasters, a system that continues to threaten our ways of life” (Angus 145).

Here, I outline an understanding of the trans-local spaces of climate justice, and position this as performative of an alter-geopolitical landscape. The People’s Assembly is understood here as facilitating the trans-local, grounding global discourses within contextual, everyday spaces, home, work, community. I am particularly interested here in how the trans-local links the everyday and the global. Apparundai refers to the trans-local as *not* “meaning location in a geographical sense, but rather networked individuals and groups of similar thinking people...a series of individual nodes situated within the geographic and cultural system”. Here, the trans-local is conceived of as very much rooted in the everyday practices and micro politics of place, and as a means through which global processes associated with capitalist/neoliberal globalisation can be understood through grounded localised struggles.

Chapter 2 put forward a framework for understanding trans-local spaces as particular configurations that facilitate practical solidarity, and nonviolent forms of transnational political debate. In returning to the importance of concientisation within alter-geopolitical spaces shaped around nonviolent processes, testimony becomes centralised. Travelling testimony, in the form that the Trade to Climate Caravan performed, allowed people to discuss the struggles they were embedded within, rather than be represented by European voices. In presenting the lived everyday struggles against the processes of globalization, in the form of oppression, insecurity, and enclosure - at the hands of corporate, state, and international policy regimes – the testimonies also gave authority to European based contestations. This is seen in the ‘Tour of Agricultural Criminals’ (see **Intervention II**), and a visit to WWF, where a number of local issues were raised to the NGO.

Schlosberg recognizes that the local often becomes the foci of social movement shifts into transnational organising; “most environmental justice organisations may begin with a single issue in mind, but most often begin to relate issues and various forms of domination” (1999:137). Shaw (2004) and Bebbington and Hinojosa-Valencia (2010)

provide insights into the complexities of environmental governance where many actors have competing concerns, in the Great Bear Forest and the Mining communities of Bolivia respectively. In each case localised environmental and social issues are entangled within competing national and international discursive webs. Shaw's paper, particularly, deals with issues of democracy when spatially dispersed groups become involved alongside and against local activists – here she looks to the governance of resources from both the production and resistance sides of the debate, invoking claims, counter claims, and direct action in arguments about conservation, job creation, global commons, and resource management.

Power dynamics become an important factor when invoking the trans-local and the making of space for shared resistance. Here, in presenting post-capitalist practices of solidarity, issues of representation are important benchmarks to an alternative geopolitical spaces. The acknowledgement of representation as a foundation of colonizing and hierarchy – practices and discourses of 'othering' - leads to questions regarding the possibilities of de-colonising solidarities – of speaking *with* and *alongside* rather than merely *for* resisting others. Having conceived the alter-geopolitical relationships of CJM as framed around nonviolent, anti-hierarchical political orderings, power is presupposed as horizontal and dispersed (throughout spatially dispersed groups). The majority of solidarity in this study, involved oppositional struggles travelling to Europe, and a reliance on the hospitality of European movements. The climate camps in Scotland and Wales were the exception as they invoked their own trans-local struggles, grounding local mining within debates around climate change – they were still open to co-option and othering. Each of the European movements – the CfCA and CJA – had something to gain from the presence of the movements, both in the authority their voice lent to oppositional narratives, but also in the practical solidarity of skill and knowledge sharing.

The thesis aim is to address nonviolent praxis, and views trans-national solidarity within this frame. The practices of solidarity therefore *must* be addressed. In keeping with anarchistic sensibilities narrated by the groups, solidarity is understood as the practice of mutual aid, looking to theories of 'gift' as offering the best hope of decolonizing solidarity, rather than the more hierarchical practices of 'charity' (concepts introduced

in **Ch 2**). Empirical re-presentations of the T2CC and CfCA illustrate a drive for democratically equal spaces, through an emphasis on the practiced presupposition of equality (as illustrated through Ranciere above) rather than the demand for distribution of equal rights. In practice this was often difficult for many European groups to fully articulate – particularly those that had traditionally been aligned to more formal political groups, green or red (see below).

The trans-local spaces of global/climate justice networks - recognising that I base the insights here on one particular set of relationships - contributed to what Fukumura and Matsuoka claim to be a challenge to traditional paradigms, “putting forward alternative frameworks” (alternative, less violent conceptualisations of sustainability and security) (2002). This section has put forward an idea of the trans-local as connecting global discourses to localised contexts, problematising, politicising, forging and re-affirming ethical-political alliances. The next sections bring together these concepts of nonviolent spaces, convergence space, and trans-local space through empirical accounts. It looks to the specific sites the UK based Climate Camps in July, August and September 2009, Trade to Climate Caravan, November/December 2009, and the People’s Assembly that took 16 December 2009 to directly contest the UN COP15.

Introductions: genealogies and geographies

This section introduces the principal sites of research, and how they relate to each other, and the counter-summit mobilisations that took place in Copenhagen in December 2009. The 2009 Trade to Climate Caravan, the Camp for Climate Action, the Copenhagen mobilisations constitute the principal sites. Here, the mobilisations within Copenhagen are introduced through the organising network Climate Justice Action, the advertised events, and secondary material – to set the scene, rather than provide a point of analysis. They are all understood as constituent parts of a convergence space iteratively referred to by each group as a Climate Justice Movement. In turn, they are introduced and related to the discussions above. I start with the Trade to Climate Caravan, followed by the Camp for Climate Action, concluding with the counter-summit mobilisations. All of these sites involved the enrolment of geographical contexts into debates around global processes. Often this involved the mobility of activists, at other times locating debates

within places and located, rooted, oppositional struggles. Travelling testimonies and the grounding of international politics within place has a heritage within nonviolent activism. Our own mobility as researchers and academics connect *us* to places and spaces of action and contestation, and, as Davies reminds us, entangle us as political agents with these spaces (2009), so my own involvement is written-in.

The Trade to Climate Caravan



4.2: Caravan banner being used in Manif anti-OMC, Geneva 28/11/2009; author's photo journal

On May 31, 2009, the IV Continental Summit of Indigenous Peoples of Abya Yala (the Americas) called for a Global Mobilization “In defence of Mother Earth and Her People and against the commercialization of life, pollution and the criminalization of indigenous and social movements” (CJA, 2009).

The 2009 convergence space of Climate Justice Movements has been recognised as politicising climate change through the grounding of global debates within place based contexts, opening a counter narrative of climate justice (Featherstone forthcoming). On December the 16th 2009 the People's Assembly formed in Copenhagen. Thousands of activists, many of whom had travelled thousands of miles to participate, gathered in the shadow of the Bella Centre a large soulless conference complex ‘protected’ by a large wire fortress and hundreds of Danish Police officers. Inside, world leaders, notable

NGO's, lobbyists, academics, and a limited number of campaigners (admittance had been reduced from 2,000 civil society actors to less than 50) were meeting as the 15th United Nations Conference of the Parties (UNCOP15), their goal was to find a successor to the Kyoto Protocol. In the streets outside, the People's Assembly sought to ensure that the Copenhagen conference would not just be accounted for as a war against nature, an environmental issue, a scientific problem to which there was consensus. The 'Assembly' was performed and performative, embodying an ongoing forum, rather than a one off event. It heard stories of everyday struggles; indigenous groups, trades unionists, religious groups, farmers, fisherfolk, were amongst those who spoke. The majority of the speakers at the People's Assembly had travelled to Copenhagen as invited participants of a Trade to Climate Caravan. The People's Assembly is represented in **Intervention IV**, the horizontal processes are detailed in **Ch 5**, and the policing aspects are critiqued in **Ch 6**.

Following international organising and fundraising by European activists based in Germany and Switzerland, the 2009 Trade to Climate Caravan (which originally called itself the Social and Climate Justice Caravan) gathered in the Parti du Travail social club in Geneva (home to the Swiss Labour Party) on the 27th November 2009. Due to difficulties obtain visas to enter Europe, only 60 (out of an expected 90) participants joined the caravan. In addition, others, including a group from Indonesia (Friends of the Earth spokespeople) were only granted one week temporary visas for the duration of the WTO conference. The participants were linked through many shared ethical-political motivations, though, as Featherstone (Featherstone 2003) also points out, internal contestations between participating groups and individuals remained. The 2009 caravan was organised by a group of European activists, many of whom had been involved with the 1999 PGA convergence. The majority of these were from Germany and Switzerland, with relationships to local groups and the international networks through which the majority of participants were affiliated, principally Via Campesina, Our World Is Not For Sale OWINFS, and the Climate Justice Network (CJN). The overarching aim was openly political, and complex:

“The caravan brings together individuals representing organisations and movements that fight against climate change, neoliberal globalisation, the destruction of nature, and for the rights of small farmers and indigenous

people...Through public meetings, discussions and actions, the caravan wants to draw attention to the consequences of trade liberalization and climate change for people and movements from the global south” (Social and Climate Justice Caravan 2009).

The caravan, intercontinental and otherwise, has become a productive tactic within repertoires of nonviolent confrontation; mobile convergence spaces through which flexibility of target can be incorporated. Recent examples have included Indian farmers touring corporations and political institutions in Europe (Featherstone 2002; 2008); processes of inequality and protest mobilisation, for instance Mexico to Seattle 1999 (Solnit and Solnit 2010) and intra-national translocal connections, I am thinking here of recent examples such as the 2009 Coal Caravan through the open cast coal sites and proposed power station locations in Northern England and the 2011, 100-day cycle caravan from Heathrow to Palestine a material linking and ‘mapping’ of ‘communities in resistance’: “working in solidarities with Palestinian and Israeli popular resistance movements- responding to the call-out from Palestinian civil society to support the Boycott, Divestment, Sanctions campaign. The ride aimed to trace a trail of corporations complicit in the Occupation, and support activists on trial for BDS actions” (PEDAL 2011). Consistently, the opportunity to network for non-violent social change is cited as key to the benefits of these translocal convergences:

“We only want to organize our strength and combine it with the strength of other movements in the North and the South in order to regain control over our lives. We are not working for a place on the global table of negotiations, nor for a bloody revolution; we are just working on the long-term process of construction of a different world, a world, which will come about from the local to the global, from a shift in the values and everyday choices of millions of persons.”
Karnataka State Farmers’ Association (KRRS) (cited in Notes from Nowhere 2003)

Recent caravans have interwoven a geographical imaginary of networked activists with practical ethical-political action, such as workshops, protests, and creative forms of action. They have been widely associated with mobilising for large scale transnational protests, to provide concrete antagonisms for international ‘elite’ level talks; these have most frequently linked to meetings such as the G8 and G20, and WTO. In the summer of 1999 an Intercontinental Caravan (ICC) toured through Europe, a similar programme to the 2009 caravan but with almost 400 more participants, including 400 Indian farmers, and activists from Columbia, Mexico, Bangladesh, and Brazil.

As earlier sections illustrated, convergence spaces are the ongoing processes of encounter; a practical and imagined landscape of oppositional struggles. When speaking of the ‘trans-local’ here I enrol understandings from feminist insights of cross-border solidarity, particularly Naples and Desai, a means of “localising global politics” (2002:37). A ‘politics of possibility’ emerges through the dual performance of resisting imperialism whilst at the same time enacting equality and justice. Within the caravan the trans-local was invoked around place based struggles that were inextricably linked to global issues. The T2CC performed a material link between the WTO and UNCOP15, and was performative in networking the local, and manifesting a transnational movement - through a reiterative discourse of togetherness, narrating and performing as a ‘Climate Justice Movement’ (see Marcellus 2010). ‘Trade’ and ‘climate change’ represented as unquestioned spaces, which is not the same as uncontested; whilst uneven geographies are legitimised through a dominant geopolitical discourse of in/security based on economic and scientific narratives, each has a heritage of contestation – it just rarely happens in Europe, so assumptions are made that it just doesn’t happen.

The aim of the 2009 Trade to Climate Caravan (T2CC) was to provide a material link between the trade and climate change. This was achieved by having an active physical presence at both the WTO talks in Geneva (22 November – 1 December 2009) and the UNCOP15 talks in Copenhagen (9-17 December 2009). Between which a tour of mobilisation, workshops, and practical solidarity took place. The ‘caravan’ had a physical base in Geneva – in the form of a protest camp outside of the official WTO conference. In Copenhagen nothing had been arranged ‘as a caravan’ and many participants dispersed to re-join colleagues (and for other reasons discussed below). Those of us who opted to reside together in Copenhagen stayed in the Old Bullet Factory and cinema in Christiania. Two routes were taken, one through France, Belgium and the Netherlands, the other through Germany (the full itinerary can be found in Appendix 1). The timetable was very busy, starting with the Manif Anti-OMC, a mass international demonstration against the WTO (40,000 + participants), less than 12 hours after arrival in Geneva. The heavy work schedule was not helped by the fact that almost all participants contracted Swine Flu at points during the tour, which affected people for

around 5 days (my dose was in Hamburg and Copenhagen). For indicative purposes the following shows three days which includes the only timetabled time off (a Sunday evening 9 days into the caravan):

Friday 4 December – Freiburg, Germany

10:30 am: "Cycling for a different climate"

12:30 am: Lunch

Travel to Frankfurt:

7 pm meal and workshops at Café Exezz

Saturday 5 December - Frankfurt & Cologne

10 a.m press conference

12 noon protest action at the European Central Bank

2 p.m. lunch and leave Cologne

4 p.m. Solidarity visit and afternoon tea at protest camp against enlargement of Frankfurt airport

Travel to Cologne:

7 p.m. dinner at the Allerweltshaus

8 p.m. workshop on neoliberalism, climate politics and perspectives from the global south

Sunday 6 December Cologne

11 am: Public talks and workshops on different topics

1pm: lunch

3 pm: Demonstration and march in city for another climate and an alternative agenda

Evening off

The caravan participants were hosted by a number of social centres, environmental groups and GRO and financially supported by NGO's, charities, and non-profit political groups (a list of sponsors forms Appendix 2). We stayed predominantly in large squats – many European cities still benefit form large squatted buildings (often old barracks) that have been in squatted for almost 30 years and are now established as collectively run living spaces. For many of the activists on the caravan this was also an opportunity to make personal relationships, though at times some of the organisers wanted to mediate these by attempting to restrict activities with local activists outside of the caravan. The caravan would stop in each city for less than 24 hours, with travel time between each of up to 7 hours. In each city there would be time for talks, workshops

and solidarity action with local groups. These included protests outside of the European Union HQ in Brussels, actions in solidarities with No Borders! in Calais (a group that acts with illegal immigrants and refugees), a Critical Mass bike ride in Freiburg and a visit to an anti-airport protest camp in woods near Frankfurt.

Participants were predominantly, but not exclusively, representing social movements and grass roots organisations (GRO) from the global south. Each representative brought with them a set of entanglements, contradictions, and struggles; often confronting both the negative consequences of climate change and the implementation of ‘technologies’ to mitigate global warming. These local perspectives on environmental and social struggles illustrate the territorially unbounded spaces of social justice issues and environmental politics. Each representative was bringing a local struggle into the debates around trade and climate change, grounding a discourse traditionally focused on the global scale – seldom highlighting the uneven geographies inherent within both trade and climate policies. Groups each had localised, often place based, struggles that they wanted to bring into the discursive challenge being performed by the Trade and Climate Caravan.

A small number of European and North American activists were invited, myself included, to discuss ‘northern’ based movements, network with other activists, translate, and document the project. My own invitation was based on discussing the climate camp movement, and providing practical support, documenting events, and giving legal support in Copenhagen. Others included a number of alternative media journalists, two film makers, and spokespeople from the Canadian Postal Workers Union, a Belarus based anti-nuclear campaign, CfCA, Corporate Europe Observatory (CEO), ATTAC, Friends of the Earth Belgium, and Confédération Paysanne. On route we were joined by activists heading to Copenhagen. Featherstone’s (2008) conceptualisation ‘maps of grievance’ is a useful here, especially in its recognition of the spatial dynamics of oppositional struggle as not merely defined by oppositional practices but dynamic and creative trajectories. The majority of groups were actively involved in a myriad of political forums and most were involved in direct action and alternative configurations, including the reclaiming of land, educational and gender equality programmes. In the short period of time that groups had within each city, often having 15-20 minutes to

discuss their movements and struggles, debates often got flattened into mission statement style presentations.

The highly mediated frontward performances were very different to the relaxed and informal discussions that emerged between participants ‘out of the spotlight’. Through commonalities, growing friendships, and proclivity, we began to refer to ourselves collectively, as the ‘caravanistas’, and as relationships started to be forged between participants; friendships and productive discussions would often happen ‘off stage’. As the journey progressed the gap between public and private performances – more relaxed and open in each others company whilst the performances to host groups became more staged and polished. Most groups only had one spokesperson participating in the caravan; Te Ata Tino Toa, South Indian Farmers Movement, Bangladesh Krishok Federation, Proceso de Comunidades Negras, Andhra Pradesh Vyasaya Vruthidarula Union, and Movimento Agrario y Popular. Other groups sent two or more representatives; including the SeaFish for Justice, the Korean Women’s Peasant Association (KWPA), and Nourminren, a Japanese farmer movement. Whilst the caravan participation was sponsored, the time and financial commitment (four weeks away from home, family, and work) was a considerable contribution for many of those involved. Many of the translocal sites are opened out in **Intervention III**, an ethnographic re-presentation of two caravan protests that grounded localised struggles against multinational corporations and again in **Intervention IV** the People’s Assembly.

Within the 2009 caravan criticisms were waged at organizational ‘blind spots’, and in Copenhagen, what was described as ‘western activist imperialism’; these included ignorance of movement agendas, and activists feeling like “black puppets” being rolled-out in support of local campaigns with no connection, commitment, or political relevance to caravan participants. On the eve of the People’s Assembly, after numerous requests for caravan involvement in decision making, a meeting was finally arranged – where it was established (with less than 24hrs notice) that whilst a large array of technologies had been acquired for the event, nobody had arranged translators for the assembly. Caravan participants then offered to translate for the whole assembly.

During the caravan journey a small contingent of caravanistas attempted to confront these issues in open discussion, following a number of solidarity actions that had no

relevance to caravan groups and the aims of which were not explained. Within Cologne there was antagonism between some caravan participants and local activists as workshops were shaped around ideas about sustainable development that focussed on promoting local initiatives and European narratives of behaviour change rather than connecting issues to political and economic systems (linked to local Tik Tak campaigns), this included arguments around large energy companies, wind (and in some cases nuclear) being promoted without any critique of corporate ownership – issues that caravan groups were contesting. In Hamburg, having travelled 7 hours and only breaking for a 1 hour meal break we were asked to join a participatory ‘introductions’ session. I was in a small discussion group with two women from the caravan and two local women. The caravan participants hadn’t been given the opportunity to introduce themselves or their groups/movements – one from South Africa, the other from Southern India, two local women (who described themselves as a lawyer and a ‘green’ architect). The three of us from the caravan were stunned when the lawyer asked to come to ‘the point’, ‘how much money do you need from Europe’, before throwing figures into the discussion ‘€ 80 billion, €100 billion’. In Frankfurt, (one of the most welcoming host groups) a demonstration was organised against the Bundesbank, which took place in the pouring rain and caravan participants outnumbered the local activists 3 to 1.

Many of these issues were also waged at the 1999; “It is a sad fact that on many actions the Caravan made an exotic picture outside whatever institution they had been taken to protest at, but local activists were conspicuous by their absence” (anon 1999). Internal issues around accountability and decision making came to a head early on as did the problem of organisers representing group members in ways they were uncomfortable with – which were largely resolved (including a public and very divisive attack on black bloc activists – see **Ch 5**). An argument about sexism (between two participants both from India) was ignored as a ‘cultural matter’, which angered many members of the group. In our own accounts, as activists from the global north, we are often eager to embrace exoticness at the expense of challenging internal and external antagonisms, which are often visible but ignored. We also risk the reification of otherness that places the global south in a temporal queue (see Massey 2006) through narratives that make

assumptions about non European activists – an imperialist assumption that activists from the global south are somehow less organised. In avoiding generalisations I can only speak in regard to the groups encountered in this research, the majority of whom were more established (historically and professionally), politically active, with considerably higher levels of participation (some groups into the millions) and versed in organisational and confrontational practices that were proven to be successful. As a long-term activist friend from Ecuador reminds me (quite often), there are many people in the world for whom confrontation and direct action are part of everyday life, not something you dip in and out of.

The Camp for Climate Action

Within the UK, research was primarily undertaken with and alongside the Camp for Climate Action, a social movement that was most active between the summers of 2006 and 2010. Empirically, the notion of ‘movement building’ was central to the group’s narrative referring to themselves as part of a ‘movement of movements’; “We must act together and in solidarity with all affected communities -workers, farmers, indigenous peoples and many others - in Britain and throughout the world” (Camp for Climate Action 2009b:2). The *CfCA* emerged through the convergence against the 31st G8 summit held in at Gleneagles, Scotland in July 2005, adopting tactics from a number of radically aligned movements; “A way of doing things that emerged from the dissent network, in turn from the broad anti-G8 / No Borders movement in France, which was inspired by the Argentinean uprisings in 2001 where decisions were made by 'barrios’” (Camp for Climate Action 2009a:2)

The Horizone ecovillage in Gleneagles reportedly brought together more than 400 social movement activists from around the world and organised through horizontal processes and the Dissent! movement (agp.org). The Camp for Climate Action has, been eager to position itself within transnational networks whilst simultaneously distancing itself from earlier movements that it has perceived as being focussed on convergence around international intergovernmental events:

“Climate Camp broke from previous camps by doing this on our terms, and setting our targets rather than on the terms of or as a reaction to the G8” (Camp for Climate Action 2009a).

This break from transnational convergence was manifested through autonomous British based camps, which adopted the structures that had become familiar within spaces such as the Horizonte Village, whilst putting energy into camps which were aimed at combining mass action with capacity building and self empowerment through educational workshops, skill sharing, open discussion, and horizontal organising. The narrative of the CfCA has remained anti-capitalist, positioning climate injustice as a systemic and viewing direct action as an ethical-political responsibility:

“The climate crisis cannot be solved by relying on governments and big businesses with their 'techno-fixes' and other market-driven approaches. Their grip on political and economic power lies at the heart of the problem, stifling the development of genuinely sustainable technologies and denying those most severely affected the opportunity to speak up for climate justice. We must therefore take responsibility for averting climate change, taking individual and collective action against its root causes and to develop our own truly sustainable and socially just solutions (Camp for Climate Action 2009b:3)

The film *Reclaim Power – Camp for Climate Action 2006* documents the first camp, at Drax Power Station (August 2006), as a non-hierarchical living and learning space with popular pedagogy, nonviolent direct action (NVDA) and creativity. As Graeber (2007) acknowledges, no protests can take place nowadays without giant puppets (see **Ch 6**). The camp concluded with a ‘mass action’ against the power station (2006). Prior to the period of research, the CfCA was recognised, primarily, for its ‘camps’ Heathrow (2007), Kingsnorth (2008), the London G20 (April, 2009) and links to direct action groups such as *Plane Stupid* and *Climate Rush*, who had attracted mainstream media headlines through high profile, creative actions targeting airports, and the Houses of Parliament. The ‘Climate Camps’, also became known for high profile police encounters, which included legal action against two police forces (Kent and Metropolitan – see **Ch 6**) and media interest following undercover police operations against some of those involved with the group.

The CJA and the CfCA shared common ground on organisational principles, grounded within anarchist critiques of hierarchical power relations (see **Ch 5**); “to challenge the 'democratic norms' which don't themselves challenge the system, and because its not about asking others to do things” (Camp for Climate Action 2009a:1). In 2009 more than 20 ‘climate camps’ were held in locations spatially dispersed (including Australia,

France, Belgium, and New Zealand) sharing an ethos of nonviolent action and non-hierarchical organising. The choice of a camp as primary tactic shares roots with recent manifestations of the protest camp, most notably being the peace camps, road protest camps that have become familiar landscapes since the early 1980's. Chapter 2 situated peace camps, including those at Greenham Common, Aldermaston, and Faslane, as important sites through which geographies of nonviolence have been produced through spatial and embodied practices; creating new places and spaces that registered a refusal to legitimise the US military air bases, drones, and nuclear warheads – as Donna Haraway has noted, the actions also registered an acknowledgement of inescapable entanglement in a the wider processes of militarised society (Lutz 2009).

It is, perhaps, not surprising that those who recognise the performative potentials of the peace camps, with their emphasis on nonviolent confrontation and horizontal processes are feminist activists. Roseneil (2000), Solnit (1994), and Epstein (2003) all point to the peace camps as transformative and performative; spaces where new prefiguration could be experimented with and new norms of everyday living would come into being. Whilst there were gender and class issues at the climate camps, often focussed around the proportion of people taking responsibility for kitchens, often narrated as biased toward women, though my own observations and experience shows this to be marginal. The make-up of the media and entertainment working groups versus site and comms groups (maintenance, camp construction, and internal day to day communications) were quite evidently split down graduate/non-graduate divides. On the whole these were far less evident than in society as a whole.

Locating the camps

Everything happens somewhere. In this section I turn to the location of the camps, As Blumen and Halevi note, in looking to the outing, locating, and staging of protest the 'where' is important; location has important symbolic and practical qualities (2009:977). After introducing why location has been pivotal in the success of protest camps as a tactic I will look to 2009 summer climate camps in Wales, Scotland and the London. Protest camps work symbolically and practically. As the examples of the climate camps here show, they also work through their transience and mobility – a fully functioning self contained protest camp can be erected within hours. Recent protest

camps have collapsed the binary between being 'in place' and 'out of place', (Cresswell 1994; 1996). For Greenham Common Peace Camp a military base was the place through which the cold war was legitimised; through the placement of human beings and weapons belonging to - and extending territory of - 'our friends' (the USA) that were trained, designed, enabled, and directed, to destroy 'our enemy' (the Russians) on the grounds of keeping 'us' protected. Women, by placing their bodies within a military landscape, created a site that was out of place (see Cresswell on Greenham, 1994). The Houses of Parliament was *the* place where the decision to go send the British military into Iraq was taken - the destruction, the shock and awe of mass bombing legitimized. Yet, Haw's lone peace camp, embodying a refusal to legitimize (sanction) the parliamentary decision, became a site of political debate and legal regulation due to its perceived 'out of place' location. The images (of the injured and dead – the casualties of 'shock and awe'), testimonies (media clippings, personal statements), symbolic signifiers of solidarity (including the flags of Palestinian, Afghanistan, Iraq, CND) and the iconic rejection of material comfort (in the form of tent living) troubled the government so much that it changed laws to remove the camp. Both Greenham and Haw's camp are illustrative of the power of nonviolent confrontation, the moral jiu jitsu discussed in chapter 2:

“ The peace camps, the use of nonviolent direct action to disrupt the work of the base, revealed that the base (and by extension the military-nuclear-industrial complex) was not a monolithic and impermeable structure but rather a more fragile and vulnerable than military planners and politicians would prefer us to believe” (Lutz 2009:101)

According to US based Smart Meme Collective the location of protests take on more postmodern points of intervention; “Points of intervention are a place in a system, be it a physical system (chain of production, political decision making) or a conceptual system (ideology, cultural assumption, etc.), where action can be taken to effectively interrupt the system” (Verson 2007). Mapping a shift in the direction of interventions they point to new sites, targeting cultural spaces rather than political demands. New sites of intervention include spaces of consumption, points of assumption, and points of potential. The interwoven sites of civil disobedience are aimed at individual and societal transformation, a politics of the act rather than politics of demand. The protest camps

facilitated by the *Camp for Climate Action* looked to all three of these – consumption, assumption, and potential; the normative assumptions that climate change was a scientific rather than political issue; the potential of radical and participatory forms of living, organising, and learning together; and consumption as a site where politics and uneven geographies were firmly rooted (see **Ch 5**).

Ffos-y-Fran

The 2009 climate camps in Scotland and Wales both focussed on ‘debunking the myth of clean coal’ (SCC01). Locations allowed for practical solidarity (with resident campaigns) and direct action, situated within communities close to active mines; Douglasdale, Lanarkshire and Merthyr Tydfil, Wales. The ‘Climate Camp Cymru’, was located quite literally next to the coal face, on a small strip of common land adjoining the Ffos-y-Fran open cast mine (the largest mine in Europe). It took place between the 13th and 16th August 2009. A local opposition group, Residents Against Ffos-y-Fran (RAFF) had been actively fighting a proposed extension to the mine since 2003; taking legal action against the Welsh Assembly and undertaking direct action to disrupt the working of the mine. The site is owned by multinational mining giant Miller Argent and extensions will allow the company to remove more than 10 million tonnes of coal over 15 years. In similarity with Douglasdale, Merthyr Tydfil has high rates respiratory illnesses 23% above the Welsh average (Welsh Health Impact Assessment Support Unit: 2007).

Mainshill

The ‘Scotland Camp for Climate Action’ took place between the 3rd and 10th of August 2009. Posters, fliers, and a website had advertised the camp since early July; promoted as a direct action camp on the Firth of Forth a geographical area where military bases, nuclear power stations, coal plants, airports, and gas refineries are located (see image below). The website directed participants to Edinburgh’s Waverley Station and gave a mobile number for further directions, upon which they were directed not to the Firth of Forth, but to the Mainshill Solidarity Camp in Lanarkshire. The existing camp consisted of a number of tree houses, tipis and benders (yurt type structures built of tarpaulin and

wood) and around 15-20 permanent residents. The camps were located on land owned by Lord Home, situated between four open cast mines; the site was subject to planning permission to create a fifth, and an extraction licence for 1.7 million tonnes of coal. Residents in Douglasdale had fought against the plans; on the grounds that the small town was already subject to the dust, lorries, and light pollution and that the area suffered the highest rates of cancer in Scotland (28% above the national average, and research was linking this directly to coal dust particles in the air (Stramler 2009).

Blackheath

The London camp took place on Blackheath Common between the 26th August – 3rd September 2009. Doreen Massey calls London *the* ‘global city’ in recognition of the global processes that flow through the city, setting up a protest camp “with the city lights in sight” (Camp for Climate Action 2009) was both symbolic and politically affective. Symbolically the site worked on a number of levels, historically and [geo]politically. Canary Wharf, the economic heart or golden goose of the city provided a material reference point for connecting climate justice and international economics. With Tar Sands activists from the *Indigenous Environmental Network* as guests of the camp the aesthetic of the industry’s financiers as backdrop provided the constant presence of a demon. Where the tentacles stretching across the globe could be mapped out through first hand accounts of human rights abuses, land and resource enclosure, the production of cheap goods, and the funding of the arms trade. The association of Canary Wharf and the Banality of Evil – the evil of a spreadsheet – was at the heart of a *Platform* campaign, and the arts activism group were heavily involved in the London camp, and hosting the Tar Sands activist.



4.3: Wales Climate Camp, Merthyr Tidfil, August 2009; author's photo



4.4: Scotland CfCA, promotional poster, 07/2009; collected at National Gathering



4.5: Site take, Blackheath Common 26/08/2009; author's photo

As a mobile village catering for the everyday needs of up to 3,000 participants, the camp location was also practical – as common land, removal by the police would be problematic, though it must be emphasised that the police had already adopted a very ‘hands off’ approach to the camp. Access to a number of transport links, made it a place from which camp participants have a high level of mobility, effectively expanding the territory of the camp through a network of trains, water taxis, and buses. Whilst the camp had taken the decision to separate ‘mass action’ from the summer camp (LNG 2009) in a bid to focus on skill sharing, capacity building and education, direct action was facilitated and supported through the camp and a suggested target map (see below). The residential location meant that relationships were quickly brokered (see Appendix 5). The historical protest geographies of the site date back to John Ball, Wat Tyler, and the Peasant’s Revolt of 1381. On the 12th June 1381 these small protests joined force and converged on Blackheath Common where radical priest (and ‘agitator’) Ball delivered a rousing sermon which concluded with the words; “I exhort you to consider that now the time is come, appointed to us by God, in which ye may (if ye will) cast off the yoke of bondage, and recover liberty” (BBC Radio 4 2002: other translations are in circulation). The site was also used by Suffragettes.

Creating Safer Spaces – the inner geographies of the climate camps

In this section I turn to the geographies of the camps for climate action. By geography here, I mean the material and spatial practices that have become familiar organising tactics. The section above looked to the symbolic and practical elements of location. Here it is the inner geographies that are of interest. They all have a heritage within oppositional organising and are adopted to mediate and facilitate nonviolent forms of being together. The next chapter details the practices of organising, taking action and consuming, so this section should be understood as the material foundations for those ethical-political practices to take shape. In other words, the architecture of the camps is understood here as pivotal to the practices of nonviolence and to the space as understood as performative. Whilst there was slight variation on the material arrangements of the camps (due to size and context) the spatial geography of the climate

Camps served practically and performative. The political affect of being and doing together was mediated through organisational technologies such as the neighbourhood (or barrio) - a model of horizontal organising and everyday living – communal forms of living, mass action games (see **Ch 5**) evening plenary session (whole site gatherings), and a network of on site support groups. The aim was that after set-up camps were self-sufficient, Temporary Autonomous Zones (Bey 2003). The neighbourhoods worked within the site, on both practical and affectual levels, creating affinity groups.

According to Day, the newest social movements defined by a commitment to an ‘affinity for affinity’: “non-universalising, non-hierarchical, non-coercive, relationships based on mutual aid and shared ethical commitments” (ibid:9). In *Post-scarcity Anarchism* (1967), Bookchin looks to the value of the affinity group to an ideal structure for replacing the normative framework of the family unit as the basis of a new society, as “a collective of intimate friends who are no less concerned with their human relationships than with their social goals” he describes the small groups as “a new type of extended family where kinship is replaced by deeply emphatic relationships” (cited in Marshall, 1992:617). In the CfCA activists are encouraged to take responsibility for organising themselves, education, skills, creativity. This creates more diverse movements and avoiding the tactical problems of movement “leaders” being identified and picked off, causing a dip in capacity (see Plows 1997, Day 2004). The CfCA tried to make it clear the ‘camp’ was what we made it – if you want it go build it, a refrain of the 1990’s DiY ethos “If not you, who? If not now, when?” an emphasis on individual empowerment within collective organizing (see Purkis 2000).

Whilst participants were free to camp where they wished, neighbourhoods acted as a local meeting and organising space, where local groups could mobilise. Practically, the neighbourhood was the most important element of horizontal organising, the first point of decision making directly effecting the running of the camp as a whole (detailed in **Ch 5**); each neighbourhood took responsibility for toilets and kitchens for its area. Regional groups sent a list of requirements to the national gathering prior to the camp and structural and equipment needs were sourced and sent to the protest camp for collection at site take.

The neighbourhoods for the Blackheath camp are shown on the map above; Eastside, Yorkshire and the North East, Scotland and the North West, Devon and Kernow, South Coast, Westside, London, Thames Valley, and Wales. The small and intimate surroundings of the Devon and Kernow kitchen and meeting tent had obvious benefits; feeding only 50 people per meal-time, with people often talking of how they felt part of a family. The larger neighbourhood were equipped to provide up to 250 meals three times per day. Rotas for kitchen and toilets were the responsibility of each neighbourhood, and there was an expectation that everybody would be involved in these activities. On a personal level having a neighbourhood meant that from the moment I arrived at the camp there were people who shared a geographical region, allowing immediate icebreaker from which friendships and affinity could grow. The Devon and Kernow neighbourhood was also the most ethnically diverse which accounted for some people from outside of the geographical region choosing to adopt the neighbourhood as their temporary home. The majority of the camp would eat meals at set times and in neighbourhoods, where responsibilities for cooking and cleaning were shared on a rota basis.

Welcome

‘Welcome’ tents and desks were a part of each camp and meeting. At meetings this would be nothing more than a desk. At camps this took the form of anything from a small gazebo to a large marquee (see image 4.6 above). Whatever shape the space took there were familiar elements – ‘Welcome’ would be placed where it could act as a first point of call, maps of the site, meeting times, and agendas would be displayed, alongside workshop timetables, message boards, campaign information, and site rotas. It was reiterated that the ‘camp’ was a space in the making assemblage of people and technologies present, not a static space– “if there is something you want to see on the camp, get some tat and go and make it” (sc001). There would be a large chalk board for notices and call outs, for instance “help us build a washroom, meet here at 12” (sc001) or requests for lifts. In Scotland, as the Climate Camp was located within an existing solidarity protest camp there were two Welcome Tents – one with information about the ongoing Mainhill Solidarity Camp, which had been in place for seven weeks, the other for the climate camp.

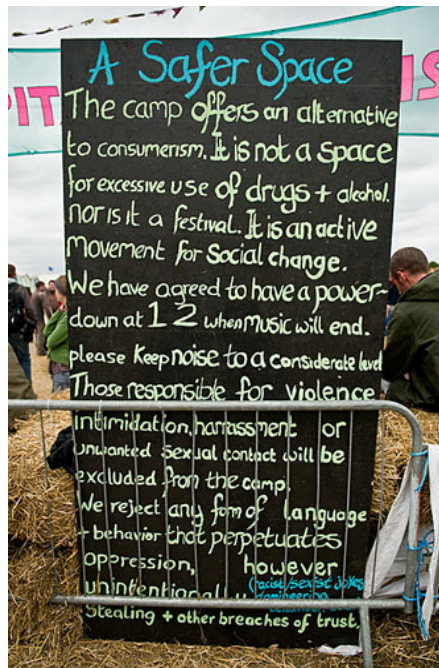
For those new to camps, and who often had no connections to people on site, the Welcome tent offered an instant way to be part of the camp. For visitors it provided an information hub, workshop timetables, site map, and a place where people could donate money and food. They were permanently staffed in daylight hours. Along with many ‘campers’ that I spoke to, signing up to a rota was the best way to get involved and meet new people, to feel part of the camp. The majority of participant would sign up for two roles each day, I would also often spend a couple of hours facilitating the Welcome Tent and tried to join the kitchen teams for one of the three daily meals. Affectively, being physically involved in the running of the camp might account for so many people referring to being ‘at camp’ as feeling at home. A lot of effort went into encouraging people to ‘skill-up’, to learn every aspect of camp construction, organising, maintenance – from learning to erect marquees and tripods, to cooking for 250 people in a field kitchen, constructing a compost loo, using two-way radios, climbing, facilitating meetings, legal observing, first aid, plumbing, carpentry. Responsibility and creative freedom was often empowering – large stacks of ‘tat’ were available to create new facilities – for example two of us at one site decided to build some washrooms, learning basic carpentry as we worked.

Safer space agreements

Camps were organised as Safer Spaces. At each camp a ‘safer spaces’ agreement was discussed and adopted as the shared ethos of the camp – what would and wouldn’t be tolerated within the camp site. The safer spaces agreements were important to the ethos of the camp, but also illustrative of the difficulties in opening a fluid and plural space underpinned by ‘anarchist sensibilities’. Some participants chose to reject the agreements as ‘ground rules’, for others they were viewed as a reminder that violence wasn’t just physical but also symbolic, and to be self aware of our ability to oppress through normative assumptions (for instance hetero-normativity). At each of the 2009 camps the agreement was placed in a prominent position within the Welcome Tent (see image 4.9 below) and used within the organisation of the camp. Whilst there were slight variations in the collectively decided ‘ground rules’, there were general commonalities, connecting the everyday living space of the site to processes of domination.



4.9: Welcome Tent, CCS July 2009; author's photo journal



4.10: Safer Space agreement, London CC: photo journal



4.11: Defences at Scotland Climate Camp, July 2009; photo journal

Reflecting a radical pacifist approach to hierarchy, perceived as oppression through representational forms of ‘othering’ based on normative assumptions - gender, sexuality, religion, colour, or age; difference was celebrated and accommodated within an anti-representational ethos:

“Safer spaces are welcoming, engaging and supportive. We want this camp to be a space where people support each other and can feel free to be themselves, and to be a place where abuse and discrimination is not tolerated. People attending this camp are asked to be aware of their language and behaviour, and to think about whether it might be offensive to others. This is no space for being sleazy, racist, ageist, sexist, hetero-sexist, trans-phobic, able-bodiest, classist, sizist or any other behaviour or language that may perpetuate oppression” (The Camp for Climate Action in Scotland 2009)

Occasional internal contestation would arise and challenge the practical effectiveness of the safer spaces tenets. Gender specific toilets were viewed by many as normative and divisive, many neighbourhoods took the decision to have a variety of toilet structures (from upright compost loos and squat rooms to urinals. Arguments occurred on one occasion when a group of men made a defiant performance of building a ‘men’s toilet block’ – straw bale urinals. Whilst some people objected, the majority seemed more bothered by the entrenched normative behaviour of the men than the presence of the male sign they placed close by. When the issue was raised at the daily meeting it was discussed through ideas of creating spaces of division and exclusion. Whilst nothing

Defences

The Camp for Climate Action was targeted by heavy handed policing during its five years of camps, particularly Kingsnorth and London G20, as the thesis will explore in more detail in the section on the *spaces of securitisation* below. The 2009 camps were all organised in such a manner to separate mass action (which had been integral to the previous camps) with the creation of time and space for capacity building, education and skills, and discussion on future directions. The policing of earlier camps also resulted directly in the emergence of two spaces that were not perceived as necessary in the early protest camps. These included activist legal support, medics, and ‘well being’, which are detailed below.

As many nonviolent social movements have illustrated, when the body is the principle target of attack then it also has to become an efficient tool of defence. The corporeal practices of holding and defending space have become increasingly important in the geographies of protest camps, from the physical defences of a site to the art of resisting arrest. The Camp for Climate Action adopted the tripod as a means of securing, holding, and defending space, exploiting the health and safety regulations that police and private bailiffs have to abide by. The defences at the Camp for Climate Action became more of a feature as the years progressed, partly as the camps grew and attracted more participants but mainly due to the large (heavy handed) Police presence. Technologies of site defence included, barricades, tripods, fencing, tree houses, tree platforms, tunnels and bodies.

Defences were important both symbolically and practically. Barricades and tripods, and bodies were the main technologies of defence. Spatially, and historically, barricades have been adopted as a technology of holding and defending a space; an assemblage of bodies and objects that act as material and symbolic barrier and as a space of confusion (often hiding a maze of further technologies). The placing and design of a barricade is contextual but almost always with the dual aim of protecting those whilst keeping others out with. As a technology of spatial politics, barricades are (perhaps) most famously associated with the Paris Commune of spring 1871 where a Barricades Commission was mandated with ensuring that all citizens too responsibility for the fast enclosure of the city from outside attack, to “...prepare two bags of earth which will be delivered at the first notice of the Commission and which will serve, along with paving stones to cover Paris with barricades within a few hours or to repair breaches” (1871). Those used within the contemporary camps explored here are rooted more firmly (often through the historical and geographical imaginations and personal connections) to the road protest movement of the 1990’s, where fortresses and barricades took on a spectacular, symbolic, and practical role:

“...before the eviction the state wouldn't set foot in Trollheim. They created a real feeling of being in a temporary autonomous zone. When you entered Fort Trollheim, you entered a fort. As far as I know, before the eviction the state wouldn't set foot in Trollheim. As at Fairmile, if the police turned up looking for a runaway or whatever, they could just be fucked off. The drawbridge would be pulled up. Someone would come down and talk to the police: they were there on that side and we were there on our side” (Do or Die 1997:49)

Tripods (see image 4.11, below), have become an iconic image of the climate camps, used on almost all promotional material were historically situated within road and anti-deforestation protests, and Reclaim The Streets! The simple tactic travelled from the anti-logging protests in North America and Australia, tall three legged constructions that could hold a space (originally and on occasion at Mainhill they were made of tree trunks). Tripods could be made on site or easily transported (if using scaffolding poles) and quickly positioned using two or three people, “a portable and rapidly erected barricade” (Doherty 2000:69). The three poles would be locked together 1ft from the top, from a flat position of the ground they could easily be formed into a tripod by a couple of people and a rope. The aim was to get a body onto the top of, and attached to, the tripod as quickly as possible – occasionally a hammock would be used to suspend someone from the top (for longer stays and sleeping). The design of the tripod was intended to ensure that access was impossible without causing serious injury (to deter police and/or bailiffs), as the construction is only kept rigid by tension ropes it is impossible to drive through or remove the tripod without causing it to collapse. As a technology and spatial tactic, the tripod effectively secures an area far greater than its physical location. Tripod training was available everyday at each of the camps and many people quickly developed skills in climbing and erecting tripods. Double tripods were used at Blackheath; these consisted of one tripod attached to the top of three that were positioned on the ground – whilst the lower tier would be occupied at all times the higher level would only be used when necessary, or for training, or showing off climbing expertise.

Holidarity: the protest camps as destination for the politicised body

For many of the participants involved in the camps and convergence there seemed shared subjectivity of belonging to a global constituency, what I have referred to (**Ch 1**) as geopolitical bodies. They tended to be involved simultaneously in numerous and spatially dispersed struggles, everyday spatially stretched relationships (practiced and imagined connections) “configured in relation to more than one country” (Mandaville 2000). The camps and large convergence facilitated a highly mobile constituency. The privilege of activists from the predominantly wealthier, whiter parts of the world were

generative of travelling tales, activist testimonies; information, skills sharing, and active solidarity that are enabled through a relative ease of travel. The mobility of activists is well documented in the popular engagements with the far flung corners of the 'Global Justice Movement' with author-activists including Rebecca Solnit, Jay Griffiths, and Paul Kingsnorth offering accounts of summit, protest, and movement hopping in the name of solidarity. The privileges attached to certain passports (and access to visas) and incomes (almost exclusively linked) allow an ease of travel that is noticeable in a growing number of gap year activists. What often remains overlooked in these encounters and exchanges are the actual daily practical solidarities that come from this mobility of geopolitical bodies.

Featherstone speaks of a heritage of transnational interchanges, highlighting the importance of personal relationships and testimonies within the C19 abolitionist movements. Solidarity has narrative through which geopolitical bodies are mobilised, move, often cross borders, and frequently place themselves in physical danger – often with and for unknown resisting others. Well documented journeys include the Abolitionists, the Peace Corps, active participation with the Spanish Civil War, and the Sandinista, to the 1959 caravan of British and South African anti-apartheid and Peace activists from Johannesburg to nuclear test sites in the Sahara (for examples see Ackelsberg 2004; Naples and Desai 2002; Skinner 2009; Solnit 1994). These embodied spaces of being-there, bearing witness, and presenting testimonies of struggles elsewhere are powerful in recruiting yet more activists.

The solidarity tourism envisioned here as 'holidarity' must first be separated from a mainstream trend in 'solidarity tourism', commoditised as the latest addition to 'ethical' 'sustainable' and 'eco' tourisms. Though might be linked to this through a desire by many young people from more affluent parts of the world to undertake a gap year, between college and university, or in many cases here between university and career. As Carter illustrates (2004), many transnational ethical-political networks benefit from informal tourist connections. The blurring of holiday and political solidarity collapses the boundaries of travel and politics, establishing or maintaining ongoing relationships (often formed around geographical imaginations of connection – diaspora, in the case of Carter's political travellings). Travel has increasingly become

incorporated in ideas of charity, frequently sold around ethical narratives ‘a responsible holiday with a difference’ providing alternative forms of development and ‘highlighting justice issues’ (Scheyvens 2002). It often seeks to mobilise people into more committed political or environmental action ‘back home’ (McGehee 2002; McGehee and Santos 2005). ‘Getting away from it all’ has been extended from the everyday routine to wanting to escape the norms of holidaying. ‘Moralising tourisms’ (Gray and Campbell 2007) are embedded with the added embodied and affective value of achieving ‘some form of fulfilment’ (Swarbrooke, Beard et al. 2003). The packaging of activism in this way may be viewed as an alternative means of seeing the world without the environmental excess of mass market tourism. Research into these trends concludes that there is rarely any tangible benefit to the places and people visited, and often result in “exacerbating local inequalities and political tensions” (Gray and Campbell 2007: 465).

Activist holidarity within the climate camps was being practiced by many young people encountered during field research period. Most were travelling roughly mapped out routes designating a limited time at a number of protest sites. There were a number of common ‘hot spots’ in 2009 and the majority planned to the UN COP15 mobilisations as part of their journey (many of us did indeed meet in Copenhagen) and reflected the high profile and importance web presence of certain protest spaces. The Rosspport Solidarity Camp in west Ireland was a popular destination as were the UK based climate camps, camps in France and Belgium. The Rosspport Solidarity Camp actively recruits travelling activists, short-term visitors to come and act in solidarity (mirroring many of the commercial volunteer tourism sites):

“there is always plenty to get involved with: protesting, support, banner making, building & maintaining the new camp, writing reports, taking photos, gardening, cooking etc. No experience necessary, whatever your skills or interests, the camp is an exciting and inspiring place to visit” (Rosspport Solidarity Camp 2011).

There were a small number of activists (from Eastern Europe, the USA, Australia, and Argentina) that I met with at a nearly all of the sites I visited, reflecting how my own research route inadvertently took me via these holidarity hot spots. For the most part the flow of activists from site to site has a number of productive practical implications, as well as forming embodied and affective connections between groups and sites. Travelling testimonies and the sharing of practical skills were performative in both

situating a localised struggle as part of a wider social movement and materially in the development of new tactics.

In considering politically motivated ‘travellings’, Carter (2004) draws comparisons between the attraction of these forms of travel and the potential of danger which draws people to extreme and adventure tourism as much as to engagement with ethical-political spaces. This might also be true of some holiday tourists, as short stays in protest zones. In the case of some camps it seemed that people were more interested at trying a bit of activism than engaging in a wider ethic of shared commitment. A point picked up on within a (partially) tongue-in-cheek zine article produced by the Mainshill Solidarity Camps, describing ‘site tourism’:

“...most people who live on a site I have found to be muddy, can stay warm in the cold and climb trees, off the bus steps me with my clean shoes, still cold with five layers on and I develop an incredible sense of doom when I am 6ft off the ground” (Mainshill Solidarity Camp 2010).

For the most part, a flow of activists from one site to another seemed to be a genuine desire to give practical solidarity to a number of groups, whilst travelling and meeting new people and an active performance of mutual aid. Within two active protest sites visited (in Scotland and Germany) skills in tunnel building had been shared through activist visits – the same group of activists passing on information to both camps during short-stays. Anti-logging activists from Tasmania, staying in Scotland, via Portugal and Rossport, were central to the construction of sky platforms, tree houses and walkways. Workshops and plenary sessions at climate camps involved the sharing of stories (travelling testimonies) of those involved with local struggles elsewhere; giving practical advice on where movements had faced internal and external problems and how (if) these were overcome. There were often inspirational tales of battles fought and won, with first-hand accounts. These stories affected a sense of shared struggle, solidarity, and often commitments of bodily and networking support.

Climate Justice Action – preparing the ground for the People’s Assembly

The aim of this chapter is to introduce and establish the key sites of ethnographic engagement. It had two objectives, to outline the groups’ connections and motivations, and to offer a map of their routes to the People’s Assembly – the nonviolent confrontation and principal foci of this PhD. The previous sections discussed the

material and convergence spaces of the Camp for Climate Action climate camps and the Trade to Climate Caravan. This final section introduces the Climate Justice Action, as an organising network of the Copenhagen mobilisations and the People's Assembly. The group was not engaged with during this ethnographic journey, so accounts of motivations and organising structure are purely secondary. They are mentioned in this chapter as they are recognised as the international organising force behind the People's Assembly, and so acted as a mediation point the two groups above. They also coordinated events and spaces within Copenhagen (with the Danish based Climate Collective).

The CJA became visible as a network around a year before the UN COP15. It was clear from the outset that the mobilisations in Copenhagen would not resort to violent confrontation; "We are going to protest using Nonviolent Direct Action because we cannot allow some delegates to endanger the face of the planet anymore" (Climate Justice Action 2009b). My engagement with the group was limited and predominantly secondary accounts. Due to ongoing legal cases against alleged members of the network arrested in Copenhagen (on the 15th and 16th December 2009) and charged with organising and inciting 'riots' and the shutting down of the UN COP15 any information in this thesis was obtained through the public domain. The network brought together international connections predominantly through movements in Northern Europe, the remnants of the People's Global Action, the growing ATTAC movement, the Camp for Climate Action, and groups such as Never Trust a COP and the Danish based Climate Collective, the loose network of groups, based mainly within Europe but networked far wider, with the distinct aim of challenging the formal political platform in December 2009:

CJA is a transnational non-hierarchical direct action network that serves as a resource base for exchange of experiences and seeks to connect and give visibility to (localised) struggles in order to be a tool for movement building. We consider ourselves part of the broader movements for climate and social justice. Anyone agreeing to and acting in accordance with our aims and principles can be part of the CJA network. CJA commits to having regular electronic and face-to-face organizational and strategy meetings to

link our struggles—all are invited to become an active part to the process! (Climate Justice Action 2009)

The network positioned itself directly within a wider *Global Justice Movement*, arguably as a new incarnation to past counter summit actions (a page on the movement website is dedicated to these. It also shared the commitment to creative resistance and nonviolent direct action of the CfCA; “We are going to tell them that we are not going to accept them playing Russian roulette with our climate anymore... It is time to take the power back!” (Climate Justice Action, 2009). The network also situated itself in solidarity with activist groups from beyond Europe and as firmly anti-capitalist:

“On the 12th of October, 1492, Christopher Columbus first set foot on the landmass that we know today as the Americas, marking the beginning of centuries of colonialism. Thus began the globalisation of a system of domination of the Earth and its people in the eternal pursuit for growth, the subordination of life to the endless thirst for profit. Latin America’s liberation at the beginning of the 19th century put an end to direct rule by foreign crowns, but failed to put an end to the exploitation of the many for the benefit of a few. Instead, this system has become ever more pervasive, reaching to the bottom of the ocean, to the clouds above us, and to the farthest depths of our dreams. This is the system that is causing the climate crisis, and it has a name: capitalism” (ibid).

The CJA network organised widely advertised demonstrations throughout the week of actions in Copenhagen. The CfCA and T2CC both attended these demonstrations, as they perceived themselves as part of the CJA network. It is important to reiterate that these were not the only events or protests occurring during the counter-summit period. There were many smaller focussed actions organised by Trades Unions, La Via Campesina, Social Movements, GROs and NGOs (such as the Indigenous Environmental Network anti-Tar Sands demonstrations). The Klimaforum, mentioned above, a religious conference looking at climate change and social justice, and a large number of small side events – including the Small Fishers’ Platform – were taking place simultaneously. The CJA advertised events were:

12 December - International day of action

13 December - Hit the production! : blocking the harbour.

14 December - No Borders Action! No climate refugees!

15 December - Resistance is Ripe! Agriculture day of action.

16 December - Reclaim Power! and People's Assembly

As a material convergence space, the CJA and Climate Collective had obtained 3 large sleeping and living spaces and a workshop for the 'bike bloc' (see **Ch 5**). The main site at Ragnhildgade was disused industrial site in north Copenhagen, with a number of large buildings (former offices and small warehouses). A large consensus decision making meeting would take place here every night, a people's kitchen was based on site (with cooking facilities), as was an info centre. Ragnhildgade was the base for a large mixed community of mainly European, Russian, and American activists. A second large sleeping and living space was based in the north at Teglhomen, an industrial site with a large warehouse and outbuilding. In the larger convergence there were two main info-points and a number of smaller points within convergence centres. Teglhomen was home to mainly German activists an activist medical centre and an activist media centre (see **Ch 6**). Voldparkens Skole, a disused school, was the furthest from the city centre and was designated as an emergency sleeping space but then occupied by the CfCA, after initial disappointment and difficulties with the Teglhomen buildings (originally designated to the group). Three social centres acted as info points and media stations (where wifi was available). Cghristiania had a sleeping space for the caravan participants, and an activist trauma centre. In addition there were four large People's Kitchens (see **Ch 5**). The main info point, at Råhuset was close to the central train station, where many participants would arrive into Copenhagen, and the large Klimaforum Social Forum. It was based in an art-centre and provided a warm and dry place with information about accommodation, actions and meetings, convergence and transport maps. At Råhuset, for example, there was a large map of Copenhagen with all relevant points well marked and described.

Concluding comments

The aim of this chapter was to introduce the key actors, sites, and contexts; their interconnections, locations, and motivations. I have introduced an understanding of the groups as brought together in the convergence space of the Climate Justice Movement. The Trade to Climate Caravan was introduced as providing a material link for the WTO

talks in Geneva to the UNCOP15. I positioned the caravan within a genealogy of similar projects and linked it through its organisers and participants to similar spaces facilitated by the PGA under the banner of the Global Justice Movement. I outlined the journey and aims of the caravan and its participants (these are returned to later in the thesis). I then turned to the Camp for Climate Action with which this research had the most involvement. I mapped motivations and genealogies of the CfCA before introducing the symbolic and practical locations and contexts of the three UK based camps. They were presented as spaces of nonviolence, through material and practiced spaces that were performative in producing alternative ways of being together, (such as the neighbourhood). I then offered another understanding, of the camps as destinations for highly mobile geopolitical bodies, people travelling from protest site to protest site, sharing skills and stories that are important in connecting movements and individual protest together within a larger geopolitical imagination. I concluded with a final section which mapped the Copenhagen activist terrain. The next chapter turns to some of the shared ethical-political practices of the groups through spaces of organisation, consumption, and direct action. Before the next chapter a short intervention offers a snapshot of some trans-local spaces opened through protest and contestation of the T2CC

Intervention II – Performing trans-local spaces



II.1: Revolting Peasants, Geneva 1/12/2009; photo journal

December 1st 2009: On a cold and sunny afternoon in Geneva, the home of the *World Trade Organisation*, we visited the head quarters of some of the most economically (and politically) powerful agricultural corporations on the planet. The *Trade to Climate Caravan* performed the ‘Tour of Agricultural Criminals’ as a group of social movement activists from South America, Africa, Asia, China, Russia, North America, and Europe. The aim was to highlight the effect that the corporations had on the everyday lives of the caravan participants, to confront the corporations on their own doorstep, as many of them had done to the farmers. The day had started early, with a sunrise blockade of the WTO head quarters, where a line of global justice activists almost blocked the organisation’s large gated entrance on the Rue de Lausanne. The protest had been

planned the night before, where the blockade had been discussed in terms of a ‘silent vigil’ but each time someone entered the gates the group were unable to contain the need to chant the now familiar ‘down down WTO! Down down WTO!’ or ‘Our world is not for sale!, Our world is not for sale!’. We had only met three days before but already the refrains were automatic – this was our third day of actions, and we had a limited set of chants that the crossed the language barriers.

Our communal daytime home was a small protest camp at the Place de Nations (outside the WTO Conference); a large tent and People’s Kitchen, dressed with colourful banners, flags, placards bought by movements and visitors. A replica Philippine fishing boat (image II.2), crafted by a local activist/carpenter and wheeled through the city during the large Manif Anti-OMC demonstration (28/09/09) was permanently stationed in front of the camp, and the WTO meeting. The camp became a space where people would gather, get information, eat food together, sing, and protest - a space registering grievances against an unelected political institution that facilitate (and encourages) continued uneven geographies of trade.



II.2: replica fishing boat that accompanied T2CC from Geneva to Copenhagen; outside WTO Conference 30/12/09; photo journal

We were joined by local activists from *Confédération Paysanne*, a regional farmers movement and part of *La Via Campesina*, three of whom were providing transport for the tour, three tractors with trailers (see image II.1, above). Public workshops had taken place the evening before, where global justice activists from Paraguay, Tamil Nadu

(Southern India), Philippines, and Indonesia, spoke to an international audience on issues linking neo-liberal trade regulations with social and ecological insecurities. The focus of the evening had been linking agricultural issues with trade and climate justice; discussions had turned to GMO seeds, land theft, the impact of green (development) policies, water shortages, drought and shifting weather patterns, and food sovereignty. In addition to being the home of the WTO, Geneva is home to many multi-national corporations (and financing banks) involved in the global processes perceived to be at the heart of uneven geographies of production and consumption – processes that increase the insecurities around the socio-environmental sustainability of trade, climate, and livelihood. The ‘Tour of Agricultural Criminals’ was introduced by Pia, of the Corporate Europe Observatory, as creative demonstration that “would make visible Geneva as a trading hotspot for raw materials and make the link between governments, the WTO, and corporations” (TCC001:14). The CEO “a research and campaign group working to expose and challenge the privileged access and influence enjoyed by corporations and their lobby groups in EU policy making”, compiles reports on many of the corporations we were to visit, with a focus on green wash, lobbying, social and environmental justice (Corporate Europe Observatory 2010). As a group we decided which HQs we should visit based upon connections to the participating movements or geographical areas of concern to the caravan.

The tour departed from the Place des Nations, where the tractors had parked in the gateway to the United Nations HQ. Some participants chose to take public transport but around 60 of us travelled in the trailers, two of which were decorated with puppets, and a number of banners and flags. Our tractor carried an anarchist red and black flag, La Via Campesina’s bright green flag, a cow effigy stuck to the side and a ten foot tall bright pink papier-mâché pig representing the Organisation Mondial du Commerce (OMC/WTO). We slowly trundled through the streets of Geneva, flanked by a growing critical mass bicycle group. We sang and chanted familiar protest refrains in a mixture of Spanish and English.

At each corporate HQ we would unload the banners and placards, the megaphone, leaflets and stickers. There would be a short theatrical performance outside the door of every location, a symbolic announcement of our arrival. This involved a fun (yet

surreal) chorus to the tune of ‘Can’t Buy Me Love’ (by the Beatles), using adapted lyrics written by a local trade and climate justice campaigner:

Our seeds are not for sale my friend, just to keep you satisfied.
Cargill and Monsanto,
well, we know that you just lie.
stop GMO corporations,
business can’t buy the world.

Chorus:
Can’t buy the world,
listen while we tell you so.
won’t kill the world,
GMO Nooooo!

Food sov-er-eign-ity for all,
and all basic human rights.
forest and fields are dying,
so we won’t give up the fight.
we don’t care too much for Lamy,
bullies can’t rule the world

(TCC001 research journal)

Our first stop was Bunge, a US based agricultural giant with corporate interests ‘from farm to plate’. Bunge is the world’s largest corn-miller, animal feed and oil seed processor, the biggest producer of Soya in Brazil, and an industrial producer of agro-fuels. Amidst the food crisis of 2007/8, when millions of subsistence and peasant farmers struggled to exist, the corporation’s profits soared (Bunge 2009). Alongside the majority of consumers in Europe and the USA (the main markets of Bunge products), I had never heard of the corporation, it remains invisible because its products are, quite literally, hidden within our daily bread (margarine, meat, cakes, and oils). For many of the caravan participants had direct knowledge of Bunge’s work. The tractors parked alongside the large office block, we manoeuvred as close to the entrance as the police, and security would allow. Marta , of the South American social movement network *CONIC* (National Coordination of Indigenous Peoples and Campesinos) was the first to speak. Marta spoke in Spanish, translated into French, German, and English. Marta took the megaphone and confronted Bunge about the displacement of her community in Guatemala, and others throughout South America, due to the the acquisition of land (here, for the production of animal feed for US and European markets): “we will not accept any more deaths as a result of the policies of this company” (TCC001:17).

Multinational corporations would employ regional militia to ensure that they acquired the land that they wanted in spite of local opposition.

The second ‘criminal’ to be visited was Cargill, occupying a large glass fronted office block surrounded by police and security guards. Javier of *Grupo de Reflexión Rural*, from Paraguay, spoke about environment and socially destructive practices undertaken by Cargill. He emphasised Cargill’s GMO soya bean production and focussed anger at the corporation’s attempts to legitimise its practices through involvement in the Round Table on Responsible Soy – a forum controversially facilitated by the World Wide Fund for Nature (WWF). The roundtable is viewed by many as a means by which destructive corporations ‘greenwash’ their image to the world by associating themselves with perceived ‘green’ NGOs in the hope of becoming attached to less damaging signifiers – the WWF is also linked with a high profile project with Coca Cola (also see **Intervention I**). A third speaker accused the corporation of creating a “modern form of slavery” through its practice of making farmers dependent on their GMO seeds and then out pricing them out of business. The final criminal of the tour was Migros, a multinational supermarket chain (similar size, scope, and ethics as British company Tesco). Dharmendra, the director of FDI Watch India (Foreign Direct Investment), made a passionate plea against European supermarket chains (such as Tesco, Carrefour, Metro, and Migros) entering the Indian retail market. Their presence threatened the livelihoods of more than 40 million small business owners and street vendors, and more than 700 million farmers (TCC001). The tour ended with snowfall and a solidarity social event hosted by a small cooperative farm run by members of *Confédération Paysanne*, local *Via Campesina* members, where we enjoyed home grown produce, local wine, and lots of interchange on different farming practices.

The ‘Tour’ marked an important point for the caravan, which is why I include it here. Symbolically it took the act of refusal to the door of the companies that whilst directly involved also represented a wider domination of corporations in many parts of the world. To undertake the tour in Geneva also exposed the multiplicity of global connections within place. Discursively invoking the trans-local, the speakers gave first hand authoritative accounts of uneven processes that each of the companies would find

difficult to dispute. Performatively it started a process of iteration, announcing the 'arrival' of the caravan and the opening of a space of global justice.

Chapter 5: Geopoetic Interventions



5.1 Consensus decision making at a Climate Camp; photo journal

Overview

The previous chapters introduced the conceptual and methodological aims of the research. The aim was to explore the alter-geopolitical spaces that emerge through the intersection of nonviolent social movement activism and (environmental) geopolitics. To achieve this, the research adopted a militant research approach and a theoretical lens of ‘spacing’ – hence the thesis is concerned with the spacing of nonviolent social movement activism and alter-geopolitics. Because of this its gaze is directed toward the symbolic, practiced and performative spaces, understood through a politics of the act to be spaces of convergence and transnational solidarity, non-hierarchical organising, nonviolent civil disobedience, and consumption. It is concerned with the everyday spaces of climate justice movements, working apart and in convergence, during the six months leading up to large scale transnational counter-summit mobilisations in Copenhagen in 2009. Chapters 1 and 2 introduced the concept of nonviolence that is

adopted in this thesis as embodied within a politics of the act; Nonviolent praxis was viewed as performative experimentations connected directly to anarchist sensibilities.

Chapter 3 explored the research approach as an extension of my own anarchist sensibilities and explained the embedded praxis of observant participation through which this ethnography was undertaken. Chapter 4 laid down the context, historical and contextual, of the social movements at the heart of this study. This chapter turns to everyday politics of the act, heterogeneous spaces that are continuously in processes of becoming whilst holding the ethical registers of commitment to mutual aid and nonviolent relationships.

Alternative geopolitical practices are a distinguishing feature of *Global Justice Movements (GJM)*, offering forward both a discursive and material challenge to dominant normative practices of neoliberal capitalism (Eschle and Maignashca 2005). As the earlier chapters have illustrated, theorists of and within GJM have started to consider this loose affiliation social movements as productive of ‘alternative globalisations’, a plurality of groups individuals finding common ground in openness to that share a rejection of the violences perceived as inherent within capitalist forms of organisation in the form of politics of the act. One of the principle features that underpin this conceptualisation has been the World Social Forums, a transnational open meeting sand ongoing process:

“...characterized by plurality and diversity, is non-confessional, non-governmental and non-party. It proposes to facilitate decentralized coordination and networking among organizations engaged in concrete action towards building another world, at any level from the local to the international, but it does not intend to be a body representing world civil society” (WSF 2011).

Chapter 4 dealt with the transnational elements of this ethnography and touched upon the importance of the WSF. The transnational meetings have been the material convergence space of the global justice ‘movement of movements’ a network of groups that are connected by heterogeneous relationships and a geographical imagination of we-ness; spaces of solidarity in convergence and apart; spaces that Gibson-Graham (2006) describe as performative. This shift away from identity politics and counter hegemonic resistance has combined anti-globalisation with an emphasis on the

production of alternatives, a rejection of reformist and (violent) revolutionary politics in favour of plural alternative configurations; “[responding to] the needs and aspirations of disparate identities without attempting to subsume them under a common project” (Day 2005:10).

The everyday embodied performances of politics that are presented here embraced an affective politics, one that intersects the mass nonviolent civil disobedience (such as Seattle 1999, anti-G8/20 mobilisations and Copenhagen, 2009), and a prefigurative politics performed in a collective register – what I have understood through-out as the re-presentation of geopolitics. The affective spaces are understood here as expanding the capacity and the possibilities to enact different ways of being together based on nonviolent, non-hierarchical forms of togetherness. Hynes and Sharpe (2009), look to a ‘politics of affect’ as connecting corporeality and ethics, “between bodies and ideas”; focusing attention upon the affective space of mass civil disobedience, the protests of what they term the anti-globalisation movement. This echoes Routledge and Simons (1994) tracings of activists driven by a ‘spirits of resistance’ the continual becoming of ethical togetherness. More recently this has been understood through the political-affectual space of Hope (see Chatterton and Pickerill 2006). Hope, as presented by Solnit is affective politics at its most viral and transformative:

“sometimes one person inspires a movement, or her words do decades later; sometimes a few passionate people change the world ; sometimes they start a mass movement and millions do; sometimes those millions are stirred by the same outrage or the same ideal, and change comes like the weather. All that these transformations have in common is that they begin in the imagination, in hope. To hope is to gamble...and yet it is the opposite of fear” (Solnit 2005:5)

Deleuze discusses hope and affect (in relation to Spinoza), as something that moves us, the opposite of sadness; hope increases the capacity to act, enlivens – sadness paralyses. Sullivan reminds us though, that anger is also a powerful force for action (2007). Bodies here are affected by other bodies (‘bodies’ being understood quite widely). Sitrin describes affective politics, ‘affectiva politika’, in terms that we have become familiar with, as produced in corporeal relationships, as a nonrepresentational response to someone or some other body. Affective politics, underpinned the popular uprisings that spread through Argentina, following protests on the 19th and 20th December 2001.

Participants in the movement recounted ‘affect’ and ‘affections’ as a driving force, as an intense feeling of togetherness, a collective capacity to keep building without a clear objective (Sitrin 2006:230-237); “Speaking of affective politics, we are talking about a lot of different things for which previously there were no words. It’s a new language, and this language constitutes a new space” (ibid: 232). Thus, for many of those involved in the Argentine uprisings affections drew people into and maintained new everyday political configurations:

“Commentators make the mistake of looking for signs of emerging organizational coherence, political leaders and a common programme that bids for state power, when the rules of engagement have changed. A plurality of voices is reframing the debate, changing the nature and boundaries of what is taken as common sense and creating workable solutions to erode the workings of market-based economies in a host of, as yet, unknown ways.” (2006:739)

Geopoetics – troubling the everyday

Brandt (1997), in a defence of the political and ethical possibilities of a poststructuralist strand of thought bonded to the text, conjures the term geopoetics in reference to the interrelatedness of poetry, poststructuralist theory, and socio-political practice. Art critic, writer, and activist Brian Holmes claims that our understandings of global political landscapes now come primarily through geopoetics rather than geopolitics - through the cultural orientations of radical mapping, creative interventions, tracings, and re-imaginings (Holmes 2007). Whilst not ready to dismiss the power of dominant geopolitical discourses, there a coalescence of Rancière’s conceptualisation of a ‘poetics of politics’ and incarnations of geopoetics; poetics of politics referring to actions that punctuate into the here and now to unsettle the grammatical order of normative discourses; to this extent they create dissensus – cracks in the perceived consensus (May 2008; Rancière and Corcoran 2010).

Routledge (2000) builds on Brandt’s work in a way that is important here, arguing for a place-specific discourse of dissent that recognises how the *place* of performance (the cultural, economic, and political milieu) is reflected in the character and form that resistance takes. Ranciere and May (2010, 2010) allude to this in highly contextual examples of civil rights and asylum respectively. Here, I consider *geopoetical*

interventions as a politics of the act that is embodied within place specific performances. The geopoetics re-presented here converge the artistic qualities of creative resistance, direct intervention, and connective aesthetics within everyday queer practices. They are situated within a long tradition of spatial tactics that have ordered different ways of being together in the world whilst problematizing and de-legitimise underlying oppressions - from the Diggers occupation of St George's Hill in 1649 to the Chipko tree huggers of India, to the women's peace camp on Greenham Common in 1986 and now the Occupy Movement.

Horizontal organising

Consensus decision making became popular with contemporary social movements through peace movement camps, taking influence from feminist politics and Quaker practices (Epstein 2003). As the previous chapter illustrated, convergence spaces welcomed a multiplicity of groups and individuals, decentralised political-ethics become both ethically and practically preferable to ensure all participants could be involved in and take responsibility for decision making. As a nonviolent means of decision making consensus is widely viewed as the model that disperses power most evenly through a group. Consensus decision-making has its roots in community decision making far further than contemporary 'democratic' forms of first past the post voting and parliamentary forms of rule. First Nation American communities have used consensus for thousands of years, and various forms, from circle meetings to federalist barrios have been central to many oppositional forms of organising where top down decision making has been rejected through either cultural or political-ethical desires of egalitarianism. In interviews with activists familiar with large scale consensus decision making in Turkey and Oaxaca, Mexico meetings of upward of 400 participants took place regularly using techniques such as small discussion groups feeding back through spokes, and that this could be a fast and effective means of decision making.

The organizational structure of the *CfCA*, and the *CJA* convergences in Copenhagen, were based upon decentralised power; this was performed through horizontal organising processes and consensus decision making practices "rather than a pyramidal hierarchy, horizontal organizing allows participants equal ownership over and responsibility for a

process” (Dysophia 2010:21). This non-hierarchical process built on past and contemporary models used by groups such as the Zapatistas, and rooted within first nation Indian practice, and later adoption by Quaker, and feminist groups. According to Quaker principles:

“Consensus decision-making is a decision process that not only seeks the agreement of most participants, but also to resolve or mitigate the objections of the minority to achieve the most agreeable decision. Consensus is usually defined as meaning both: a) general agreement, and b) the process of getting to such agreement. Consensus decision-making is thus concerned primarily with that process”. <http://www.ic.org/pnp/ocac/>

The internal political organisation of the camps and the convergence was formed around, what Graeber has described as ‘modified consensus’ (2009:88). Whilst taking many of the elements of consensus decision making, often – due to either pragmatic (time) or capacity (skill) proposals were occasionally ‘killed with kindness’. Contentious issues were often avoided, or ‘parked’ rather than fully discussed.

The horizontal structure adopted by the CfCA was based on neighbourhoods (or barrios), regional and national gatherings, and working groups. This model developed out of international counter summit convergences, where barrios have become commonplace. Neighbourhoods consisted of local or regional groups of varying size. My own neighbourhood was Devon and Kernow, the smallest organisational group, west Yorkshire, London, and the South Coast the largest. There were also a number of national working groups; a ‘process group’, who handled the organising of the national gatherings, meeting agendas and facilitation teams for the large meetings; the ‘media group’ handled media liaison, press releases, and website and also had representatives from alternative media groups including Indymedia; an ‘outreach group’ took responsibility for promoting the camp through connections with other groups and organisations; ‘land group’ and ‘defence’ were small groups that took responsibility for planning the location and defence of camp locations; communications (or ‘comms’) were responsible for the communication equipment on site; ‘entertainment’, ‘site’, ‘workshops’ and ‘kitchens’ were groups that were specifically focused on the needs and logistics of the large camps; an ‘international group’.

The process, media, outreach, and legal groups were active both in and out of the protest camps, whilst other groups aimed their time and resources toward mass actions and

protest camp sites. My own involvement was through active membership of the Devon and Kernow neighbourhood, meeting as a small and locally based group every month, and as a member of the legal and (for a short period) international working groups. The ‘legal group’ was initially set up to provide training and coordination for Legal Observers and activist legal support, but after the policing of Kingsnorth climate camp (2008) and the London G20 demonstrations and camp (2009) became increasingly involved with the monitoring and legal actions against the police far beyond the *CfCA* (see **Ch 6**). The legal group held regular virtual meetings and would feedback to every national gathering. I joined the ‘international group’ whilst acting as a spokesperson for the *Trade to Climate Caravan*, organisation was mainly through an open email list. National gatherings were held on the first weekend of the month, hosted by one of the neighbourhoods – who would commit to providing food, meeting, and sleeping space from Friday to Sunday night.

All meetings were public/open and advertised beforehand, agendas (with proposals) for meetings were emailed and available openly on the *CfCA* website, as were comprehensive minutes. All decisions were (in theory, and in the early years) taken through consensus decision making process that worked from the networked groups upward - from neighbourhood and working groups through spokes to the national gathering. Proposals were sent to the process group prior to the meeting, where they would be put through the process of consensus decision-making. Whilst anybody could put forward a proposal, it was assumed that these usually came from neighbourhood or working group meetings. In practice – and many public criticisms have been waged regarding the process - it often worked the other way around. Neighbourhoods frequently didn’t have time to discuss proposals prior to the national gathering and so couldn’t feed in via a spoke (spokesperson).

The widely accepted process of voting, for example, encourages one to reduce opposing positions to hostile caricature (Graeber 2009), where the unspoken implication—and sadly at times the manifest result—is that individuals are considered in black and white as either part of the consensus, or as enemies to the ‘peace’, ‘order’, and ‘stability’ of the community that has been administratively imagined, territorially demarcated, and electorally reified (Anderson 1991). Radical democracy replaces the latent enmity of

representative democracy (read ‘electoral authoritarianism’) with agonistic pluralism, which is rooted in a form of mutual respect that mirrors Rancière’s (1999) ‘presupposition’ of equality while allowing for the ever-present possibility of difference and dissent.

To Duncombe, the benefits of consensus decision making lay not in its political effectiveness but in the embodied involvement of all participants, the practising of new forms of doing politics; “you have to experiment with what this new world is going to be like. You’re going to fail, but it’s through those failures that you’re going to actually try and figure out what another world might be like” (Alcoff 2007). As an embodied process, high levels of emotion would frequently be triggered, and a commitment to the process working was often physically exhausting. On a personal level the first weekend of consensus decision meetings was difficult. I had been in consensus meetings before, but hand signals had never been described. At the CfCA, they were talked through, see below, but it took time to be able to interact as the body and senses are all put to work and I felt awkward and slow, finding it difficult to actively listen and judge the feeling of the room, after 6 hours I left early with a migraine. By the final meeting of the fieldwork my body was fast and fluent and I’d often find myself silently clapping instinctively.

Had the CfCA held to stricter political ethics of consensus, each neighbourhood and each working group would have been represented by a defined number of ‘spokes’ (spokespersons) at each of the national gatherings, and be mandated by the group they represent to feed into discussions, table proposals, give active consensus or block a decision. In practice, the national gatherings tended to set the agenda that was subsequently fed back to neighbourhoods. At all of the meetings between January 2009 and January 2010 there was a disproportionate number of representatives from the larger neighbourhoods, particularly London and Leeds. The representation of the regions became a point of contention at many of the meetings – there were many arguments regarding the abuse of power by the ‘process’ group who were perceived to be mainly London based and setting the meeting agenda based on what they wanted to discuss rather than what neighbourhoods were proposing.

During an open meeting designed as a space to address concerns that had been implicitly bubbling away during the planning of the Blackheath camp, issues were raised about hierarchies based on cultural capital. Many working groups were perceived as failing to share skills and this opened them to accusations of exclusivity:

“Some informal hierarchies are based on experience of using the process – we need to have less experienced people there.”

“Informal hierarchies often come into existence to get stuff done. We need to be clear about. We need to be clear about how we are empowered / accountable.”

“We need to stress the importance of teaching others about our role – more time for skill sharing.”

“There is a macho culture around capacity – stress and massive capacity should not be seen as a good thing.” (Where Next? 2009)

There was also tensions around enacting a proper model of consensus, with each neighbourhood and working group having one spokesperson – whilst many neighbourhoods and working groups already (due to time and financial restraints) adopted this system – contested a system that would give an unrepresentative balance of power; that groups such as Devon and Kernow (with around 20 active members) holding the same weight of power as London or the South Coast (with more than 100 active members). In early 2009 one neighbourhood (Westside, mainly Bristol) had withdrawn from the wider camp process all together. This balance in favour of certain groups was evident even when holding meetings in Edinburgh and Glasgow, though this interest was not reflected in physical support for the first (less high profile/ more action based) Scotland climate camp in 2009, whilst the second camp in Scotland (2010), framed as *the* UK camp, attracted media interest, a large promotional budget and a large contingent from southern based neighbourhoods. In practice the larger groups would frequently dominate meetings, with many of the proposals coming from, these and the weight of power in the room balanced in favour.

Meeting facilitation was usually very confident, but also exclusively undertaken by young white university educated people, and there was a balance toward those from London and Cambridge who also populated the media group. The internal balances of power were addressed within a number of meetings, and by summer 2010 the camp had committed to paying for one member of each neighbourhood to attend. At times the

larger groups came under criticism for announcing, rather than taking to consensus, issues that were viewed as ‘camp’ rather than neighbourhood issues. These included a number of incidents where neighbourhoods spoke on behalf of the CfCA. One of these being the announcement of the London CfCA that a climate camp would be held in London to coincide with the Copenhagen talks, under the generic CfCA banner but without consensus from the wider camp.

Before each meeting the group (understood here as those participating in the meeting) would decide on common ground rules for the meeting. As each ‘ground rule’ was put forward to the wider group a ‘temperature’ check was taken and a person sat on the floor wrote the rules on flipchart paper...this person summarised all main points and these were then placed in a prominent position for all to see throughout the meeting. The ground rules decided at a meeting in London in July 2009, are indicative of those agreed at most openly held meetings and gatherings: respect for the consensus process, respect for the facilitators, respect for the space, to actively listen carefully and avoid repeating points, white middle class males to be aware of their position and not dominate the discussions, group to help facilitators keep to schedule, journalists and police to ‘make their presence known’ - at this particular meeting 4 people declared themselves to be journalists (2 for mainstream and 2 for alternative media). In closed meetings, generally those where affinity groups would meet and or those held within action or legal tents (at camp), ground rules would usually extend to the removal or disabling of mobile phones or any other devices with the capacity to record information. Operation Bentham (the police surveillance of the Blackheath Camp) and the now common knowledge of covert policing illustrate that what may have seemed paranoid to many was actually security, and that given the depth of undercover policing, the removal of phones was probably not so useful.

Consensus was seen as “more than a compromise” [Wales HANDBOOK page 4] “a process that can result in surprising and creative solutions”. In practice, consensus decision making processes worked through a number of stages; each stage of the process should allow everybody the opportunity to be part of the decision making process; it is never about the majority rule or group compromise but about discussion and decisions made by the entire group – a relational ethics where everybody has the

responsibility to listen and has the opportunity to speak without being shouted down or made to feel uncomfortable. The benefit of the consensus model is perceived to be in the dispersal of power, the ability of everybody to contribute to decision-making, and importantly the process creates a shared responsibility – for instance all participants should either give active consensus or give a reason for ‘standing aside’ or ‘blocking’ a proposal. Each meeting, national gatherings and local neighbourhood meetings would start with a run through of how hand-signals were used within consensus decision-making. Meetings would usually be facilitated by a small team of people, working in pairs (to enable one to be a ‘hand spotter’), full proposals to be put to the national gathering would be circulated by the ‘process’ working group within the meeting agenda and publically available on the website, as all meetings were held in an ethos of openness and accountability. Proposals were presented to the group, usually by a working group, but sometimes an individual or representative of an ongoing campaign asking for support or solidarity. As meetings and the ‘camp’ as a movement grew ‘process’ often became a contested site. Issues were raised during small discussion groups at a workshop called ‘Where Next?’ at the Blackheath climate camp (Where Next? 2009):

“Decisions are often made quickly by email so participation depends on whether you're online at the time or online at all. Part of the problem is how quickly we need to make decisions.”

“Hidden process from the beginning – method of secrecy is negative to our movement.”

“We need to find a way to make sure that neighbourhoods are working groups.”

Proposal would be discussed using hand signals that have become universally adopted by social movements adopting consensus decision-making. The process and hand signals were talked through at the beginning of each meeting. An example of a proposal and consensus process can be found in Appendix1. The hand signals and order of decision making process were:

Clarification point or Question; clarification points were those aimed directly at those putting forward a proposal, where further information was required, these would be taken before general questions, to which anyone could offer forward answers. The hand

signal for these was one finger or hand in the air – to distinguish from and immediate point. *Immediate* or *direct point*; raise both hands and index fingers if you need to make an immediate or direct point, this indicated you need to skip the queue to respond directly to the person previously or currently speaking. Occasionally someone would use a *Technical point*, making a T shape with two hands, the technical point was only used when the discussion needed instant intervention for a factual matter, for instance, lunch is now ready, or we need to clear the building in ten minutes. *Agreement*; if you agree with something someone is saying slightly raise both hands and wiggle fingers as they are still talking; this is encouragement, the sign language communication for clapping. *Disagree*; point hands downward and wiggle fingers. Sometimes there would be a *temperature check*, participants would raise or lower their hands to indicate their support or lack of support for aspects of a proposal, and high hands indicated a high level of support.

Once questions had come to an end, or the facilitators, with the use of a temperature check, felt that nothing new was being added to the discussion, the proposal would move to the stage of group consensus. At this point participants who didn't feel able to give active consensus (full support) had two options, before active consensus was sought. *Stand aside*; to 'stand aside' indicated that a participant couldn't support the proposal on an individual level (or as a mandated spokesperson for a neighbourhood or working groups) but was happy for the wider group to continue to consensus. In the instance of a 'stand aside' people would be asked to explain why they were taking this route, if there were more than a couple of stand asides then the proposal would usually be sent back to the proposing group for amendments – to revise and re-propose at a later time/meeting. The group would then be asked for any *Blocks* to the proposal; a block could be used only if someone felt really strongly that the proposal went against the ethos of the group – a belief that if the proposal went ahead it would change the position of the movement so much that there would be a split and individuals or neighbourhoods would feel no option but to leave. An individual block could result in the proposal being rejected without proceeding to active consensus so, in theory, was used only in exceptional circumstances; in Wales a block represented a finality to a proposal whereas other sites would understand a block as a point at which deep reservation would be felt

and the proposal would go back to be reworked. Unless they had taken one of the two previous options all participants were expected to give active consensus (cclon:4).

Whilst the facilitator role was not seen as an impartial, there was an emphasis on the position being one that ensured the smooth running of the process; on the whole those facilitating would not be part of a group putting forward a proposal. The system for putting forward proposals for the consideration of 'the camp' was highly relational. During the gatherings between protest camps they went through the process group; anyone could table a proposal to the CfCA; the meetings were open to all and advertised on the group's website (www.campforclimateaction.org). An average national gathering would put around 5/6 proposals forward for consensus. If a larger number were submitted, the process group would select a manageable number. Those making proposals would be given time in the agenda to put forward their ideas for group discussion. On the whole these were put forward by working groups, or by related social movements or activist groups wanting the support of the CfCA. During the protest camps a system of daily meetings took place based on a process of neighbourhood and working group meetings, spokes councils and a rolling emergency spokes council in place to make fast decisions when necessary. In the context of the Scotland and Wales camps (see below) there was also the issue of working closely with local activists with whom the protest camp was performing a role of active solidarity, and with whom another dimension of decision-making practice was necessary (and sometimes problematically so).

The model of decision making at large camps, Blackheath and Ratcliff-on-Soar, followed a simple structure which was designed to allow all participants the opportunity to be part of the process but also for decisions to be made quickly. Early in the morning, during breakfast (at Blackheath and Wales these took place at 8.30-9am) neighbourhood meetings would take place running concurrently with working group meetings. As all mealtimes were structured throughout the day this provided a 'natural' point where neighbourhoods would meet. If there were site wide decisions that needed to be made, or information to be circulated this was the point where discussions would be had. There was no restriction on which neighbourhood meeting you joined (see below for more information on neighbourhood structures). Working groups would meet to discuss

any requirements from the camp, any issues arising, and would mandate a spokesperson to take any decisions on behalf of the neighbourhood within the spokes council meeting that would usually be timetabled immediately following.

By mandating a spokesperson the group would be entrusting the ethos of their meeting to be taken forward into the next. Whilst the number of participants at the camps in Scotland and Wales were fairly similar the process was different, with differing effects upon the camps. Following the initial camp meeting the Scotland camp opted to cut out neighbourhood meetings in favour of working group and site wide meetings and a plenary (site wide meeting) in the evening so site-wide meetings were scheduled for 9.30 each morning and again in the evening, whilst there were issues in the percentage of campers who participated in some of the morning meetings (often due to the need for overnight defence rotas) the meetings ran fairly quickly and efficiently and reflected the active nature of the camp (where the majority of the camp were, at once, involved in workshops, kitchens, defence, legal and media, and direct action training and support). Difficulties did arise where local campaigners joined the meetings to discuss collaborative actions and respond to direct action that was perceived to have emanated from the camp. During these discussions cultural capital existed amongst veteran activists with the unwritten 'rules' of the social movement communicated to those new and unfamiliar with process; issues such as autonomy being particularly difficult. The Wales camp adopted a more rigid form of decision making; the camp was not spatially divided into neighbourhoods but decided upon decision making through small discussion groups followed by a spokes council, followed by a feedback session during lunch and a site wide meeting in the evening.

During the larger mobilisations in Copenhagen, horizontal forms of organising took time to get established though consensus decision-making practices were used from the beginning of the process. As Appendix 1 Illustrates, the international process prior to the mobilisations adopted horizontal organising between the key group (CJA) and international spokes. But as the proposal shows, many of the affiliated movements did not have any means by which to change the programme of events or the plans for the Reclaim Power! and the People's Assembly. Within Copenhagen large consensus meetings took place every evening after dinner. Activists and spokespeople would travel

from other convergence spaces across the city. Around 400/500 participants would fill an empty warehouse on the Ranghilgarde convergence site (see **Ch 2**). Participants formed a large circle 8 layers deep, divided into language preference sections, with a volunteer translator sitting near the centre of the circle. Translations included Spanish, German, Italian, Russian, and French, the meeting was facilitated in English and usually one of the two/three facilitators were bilingual (they were not always British or American, but predominantly so).

The Ranghilgarde meeting was advertised as the main meeting, as many European activists and the Caravan participants were based on the other side of the city the participants mainly represented the CfCA and CJA contingent. The wider horizontal process was contested. Working group and convergence centre meetings were held every morning, including the working group organising the People's Assembly. As earlier chapters discuss the Trade to Climate Caravan (T2CC) was a central part of the assembly, many participants had been invited to speak, yet no one from the caravan was asked to join the working group. The group would send messages to the caravan through a European activist who was part of the CJA and one of the caravan organisers. *Due to ongoing legal cases, many details of organisation are omitted here.* Whilst spokes were involved in this one meeting, and all issues were taken on board, there were antagonisms between the groups. As an observer in the meeting there seemed to be very limited knowledge of the caravan social movements – including a British activist explaining the praxis of consensus to a Zapatista. Multiple requests were made throughout the mobilisations for caravan participant to be fully involved within the wider decision-making processes but frequently by the process groups as a request to give a presentation to the evening meeting, rather than have spokespeople representing the group actively involved in the working group meetings.

This section has looked at one of the key performed political spaces of the CJM under discussion. The praxis of horizontal organising was introduced as a continual direct democratic process that embodies shared responsibility and the act of self-representation. It talked though the genealogies of consensus decision making before detailing the practices and wider process. Horizontal organising has been presented as a non-hierarchical process that has been successfully employed in different organisational

settings and often effective. There are however difficulties making the process truly egalitarian, modified, and pragmatic consensus was often adopted due to time and capacity yet bought antagonisms regarding the process itself. Whilst the process was often useful and effective its adoption in a transnational set-up illustrated that the balance of power still lay with the majority – European and white. The next section turns to spaces of consumption to understand concepts of gift.

Food not Bombs: ‘other worlds’ of consumption

Within this research consumption played an important role in alternative (and anti-) geopolitical spaces, both in the alternative environmental geopolitical narratives and practices of struggles associated with a *Global Justice Movement*. Food security, access to land and food, bio-piracy, the production of ‘junk food’, labour rights, food sanctions, boycotts and boycotts, GMOs, have all been the subject of civil disobedience and protests against forms of corporate globalisation that has legitimised production and consumption practices that have subjected many people in the world to direct and indirect forms of violence and hardship. Some of these were illustrated in **Intervention II** and the Tour of Agricultural Criminals. From the 1970’s onward, a mass refusal to purchase South African products (in Europe), as a protest against apartheid, in 1994 the Zapatista’s rose up against the government theft of agricultural land and perhaps most notably, in 1999, 100,000 civil society activists shut down the WTO talks in Seattle. Food and consumption *are* geopolitical, though often this is only evident in discourses such as ‘the bread basket of the world’. Normative foodscapes have grown around uneven processes of production and consumption. In this section I deal with foodscapes and wider practices of consumption that intersect symbolic, political, and ethical arenas. They were identified during the ethnography, in the protest camps, convergence spaces, and national gatherings. I will introduce these practices and then turn to each within the subsection below that look to solidarity goods, veganism, freeganism, and people’s kitchens.

As a site of nonviolence food combines material and affective connections, as the embodied practices of consumption (here mainly understood in an expanded foodscape that includes narrating, growing, sourcing, preparing, eating, and disposing) are

embedded within wider political-ethical commitments. In presenting the ‘other worlds’ of consumption, there is a disruption and troubling of normative space of consumption, processes that are perceived to lay at the heart of uneven practices of global trade. In disrupting these normative relations (those that are constructed as normal, necessary, and natural), I view the acts of ‘alternative’ consumption as geopoetical - acts that refuse to justify and legitimise ‘norms’ and challenge, prefigure, and perform the grammar and geographies of consumption differently.

Consumption within the climate justice movements, particularly food, was perceived as both practical solidarity and affective politics. Hayes-Conroy recently stated that “scholars [have] not developed a means to specify the links between the materialities of food and ideologies of food and eating” (2008). As this section will explore, the political-ethics of food raises passions. The everyday political consumption of food and other goods often get overlooked within social movement theorising (and wider academic discourse) yet the ethical, emotional, and affectual spaces of food play a central role in the narratives, planning, performance, and experience of protest, affinity and solidarity. For political activists who want to actively prefigure more equitable relationships consumption is negotiated through everyday practices entangled within globally reaching narratives and shared ethical commitments.

Food has always been integral to colonialism and the imperialist imagination (Crosby 2004). Seeds and crops have always travelled with colonisers and are continually enrolled into intentional and unintentional colonising processes as territories have spread to feed the ‘rich man’s diet’ and the distances between production and consumption become spatially and temporally more demanding. Ecological imperialism has ensured that those in wealthy regions can eat what they want, when they want it, and, quite literally consume the other – water, land, genetic, and bio-diversities and animal bodies have been shaped by the dietary demands of the minority and (less so) the necessity to feed the basic requirements of the majority. Production and consumption has a heritage of being enrolled in transnational political activism through many varied routes. The unofficial sanctions of regime focussed product boycotts have been embedded within critiques of political inequality and oppression - particularly the anti-apartheid boycott of South African goods (from 1959 onward) and more recently

Israeli goods. Corporate boycotts have been pivotal in problematizing social and environmental injustices, particularly the uneven geographies of production and consumption, sweatshop working conditions, and resource use – multinational corporations such as *Coca Cola*, *McDonalds*, *Nike*, *Gap*, *Marks and Spencer*, have all been held to account through highly visible social movement and NGO campaigns (see Vidal 1999, Klein 2000, Kingsnorth 2003). The social and economic geographies of corporate connections continue to fuel boycotts of companies (and goods) linked to the arms trade and oil companies, and animal welfare repertoires have shifted from the margins to mainstream, particularly when celebrity chefs decide to take up the cause! Here, I explore the role that food and consumption plays within politics of the act and “the making of the political (eating) subject” (Hayes-Conroy and Hayes-Conroy 2008). These critical spaces of consumption queer the normative narratives and become a focus of new collective subjectivities. In this section I will turn initially to some contemporary debates around food geographies and narratives of responsibility and solidarity. Through empirical accounts, I explore the spaces of everyday ethical and practical political consumption within performances of climate justice activism, presenting accounts that go beyond acting for climate change to challenging the normative frames of consumption that underpin uneven relations of neoliberal capitalism. The section will conclude with some exploratory comments on eating with others and eating with others in mind.

Food and protest produce emotional spaces. As the Dandi Salt March (**Ch 2**) and the ‘tour of agricultural criminals’ (in **Intervention II**) illustrate, food is an international issue that directly effects livelihoods and makes people frustrated, sad, and angry. At times, particularly when material surroundings are in constant flux, such as protest camps and or political mobilisations, where situations can be frightening and life stripped to the bare necessities, regular hot food, makes people happy. The almost ritualistic role of food in protest situations has important communal affects, and as Roseneil (on Greenham Common (2000)) explains; “hot cooked food was emotionally as well as physically warming. A good meal followed by a shared bar of chocolate [...] could raise the spirits after an eviction like nothing else”. Food also enrolls imagined and material connections to ‘distant others’. The early configurations of ‘fair trade’, notably

Traidcraft, provided practical acts of solidarity, material links between communities in the UK (mainly progressive religious groups) with producers across Africa and South America. In what Malpass et al refer to 'place beyond place' these relations were often an extension to wider politically engaged lifestyles (Malpass, Cloke et al. 2007).

Whilst early fair trade configurations engaged directly with the politics of trade justice mainstream manifestations of Fair Trade hold onto the narrative "how historically exploitative producer consumer chains can be refashioned around ideas of fairness and equality" but have shed much of the political contestation in what is now a £50 million pound industry. Foods are now "embedded with information... which enables the consumer to confidently make connections and associations with the place/space of production and, potentially, the values of the people involved and the production methods employed" (Marsden, Banks et al. 2000; cited in Raynolds 2002:410) arguably they do very little to challenge the processes.

Long-term trade relationships based on practical solidarity are now common place within UK based semi permanent autonomous spaces such as Social Centres and this practice seeps across many material spaces of protest, including the CfCA camps and CJA convergence centres. Through solidarity goods groups can reduce the chain between producer and consumer, creating material connections directly with resisting other. The film *Salud y Solidaridad (Health and Solidarity)* documents the relationship between Glasgow Chiapas Solidarity Group and the 16th February municipality in Chiapas, Mexico; a relationship that has seen long-term trade and active support between the two groups in the form of coffee and jewellery sales and solidarity visits which support schools and collectives in over 40 indigenous villages (Camcorder Guerillas 2006). The more established trading networks for politically oriented solidarity goods have been between Europe and the USA with Mexico Zapatista and Palestinian producers. Whilst effective trading routes and processing often follow social centre pathways, the exchange of goods might be understood as 'feral trade', based on personal exchange through social networks, as Rich describes: "the word 'feral' describes a process which is wilfully wild (as in pigeon) as opposed to romantically or nature-wild (wolf). The passage of goods can open up wormholes between diverse

social settings, routes along which other information, techniques or individuals can potentially travel” (2011).

Alternative trading routes often involve the import of raw goods to one activist group, who have the capacity to process, and then on to others who have the capacity to distribute, often in small quantities; in the case of Zapatista coffee available at the *Camps for Climate Action* the goods were bulk imported via a well known social centre and coffee processor in mainland Europe, who bought beans directly from Oaxaca - keeping the commodity chain within activist networks and maximising the possibility of equitable trading relations. Palestinian goods were traded by groups with close working relations with cooperative producers in Palestine, whose trading was restricted due to sanctions imposed by Israel. Solidarity goods such as Zapatista Coffee and Palestinian Olives problematised exchange, going beyond the Fair Trade’s conscious consumerism based on donor control to more equitable “horizontal” relations.

Solidarity goods were traded without any pre-requisite norms being placed on the producers (such as those associated with the distribution of the Fair Trade mark). Zapatista Coffee became popularised as a solidarity good which financially supported activism within Oaxaca, the US, and Europe whilst enacting more equitable power relations between producers and consumers (Andrews 2010:90). The geographic imaginary of solidarity has become as forceful as the practiced connections, with the narratives of many social centres and activist spaces connected with other resistances through everyday consumption. As Ian Cook et al’s 2006 Progress Report on the geographies of food recounts, the story attached to goods often act as a tool through which to imagine unevenness; “like any good biography or travelogue, [they tell] a much bigger story” (Freidberg 2003: 4 in Cook 2006:656), imaginations that “can help us understand the big issues of twenty-first-century politics” (Watson and Caldwell, 2005: 1–2 *ibid*).

These often reflected the intersection of many different groups involved in the movements, and an ethic of openness to a multiplicity of individual beliefs; interstitial spaces that also necessitated constant negotiation. An emphasis on food ethics varied between groups and sites; for many there were long-term relationships with producers for others new relationships were forged around the context of the site. The material

spaces aligned with anti-capitalist groups were most likely to adopt a relational ethics, a hierarchy of food ethics that was part of their everyday repertoires; these included the CfCA, the major convergence centres of the COP15 mobilisations, and a number of host groups across Europe. These generally accepted hierarchies were performed with a number of ethical and practical motivations. The CfCA had an open narrative of veganism, following which fair trade, organic, and local goods were often favoured, as were local suppliers for goods; these were seen as the most ‘sustainable’ diets, in practice they often also served to build local relationships. The purchasing of food for large scale protest sites is not insignificant; throughout the eight days of the Blackheath camp about 2,500 meals were served three times per day (a figure based upon a count of used plates on 28/09), with much of the bread, fruit and vegetables being purchased from local suppliers, and other products from co-operative suppliers, Fair Trade organisations, solidarity goods, local food co-ops, social centres, and activist kitchens.

Food ethics were centralised through many aspects of the *CfCA*, the *Trade to Climate Caravan*, the COP15 mobilisations. Narratives of consumption were often contested spaces and a site of negotiation in and between varying ethical-political commitments; I view these as principally falling into anti-consumption, anti-capitalist, anti-hierarchical, animal rights, environmentalism, social justice, and anti-corporate ethics. Responsibility was frequently framed around issues that encompassed arguments around food in/security and anti-capitalist political-ethics, as a CfCA discussion on foodscapes illustrate:

“Plant-based agriculture is far more efficient. It uses less than a quarter of the land required for a meat-based diet as the crops are fed directly to humans and, therefore, use fewer resources...security shouldn’t be about having enough oil to fuel our increasingly unstable lifestyles. It’s about creating our own energy and our food”

“Livestock are also responsible for almost two-thirds (64%) of anthropogenic ammonia emissions, which contribute significantly to acid rain and acidification of ecosystems”

“In today’s society we are encouraged to consume now and think later. Companies spend millions of pounds obscuring the harsh realities of this lifestyle” (The Camp for Climate Action 2007).

In most literatures there is a reluctance to commit to a ‘normative base’, through many workshops enrolled food into more radically aligned anti-capitalist and anti-hierarchical

conceptualisations of food and its relationship to oppression, neo-colonialism and othering.

There is a difficult tension at play within the contested space of animal consumption, and it seems an omission to talk of violence without discussing non-human lives. The narratives above indicate the desire to frame the consumption of animal products within climate change narratives rather than anti-hierarchy - arguably reinforcing hierarchical (or anthracidal) relationships by othering animals and relegating them to commodity status. Viewing animals as an unsustainable product rather than a living being reinforces an anarchist position that, as Groling (2011) states “the odds are always against the animal”. Vegan food was widely accepted as the principal diet within the material spaces of convergence, yet tensions around the ethics of animal consumption seemed the basis of avoiding discussion on carnism. As the discussion on safer spaces (above) illustrates, racism, sexism, and ageism, were perceived as acts of violence, and viewed as incompatible with the shared ethical commitments to equality. During the *CfCA* camps and meetings, kitchens would only prepare and store vegan food. Whilst ethics were cited as a reason, it was done so within a wider framework.

First, vegan food was viewed as ‘a cultural leveller’, a diet which could be eaten and enjoyed by the majority of people regardless of religious or moral beliefs (SCC001). Secondly, there were pragmatics involved; within many of protest camps and convergence centres vegan food was viewed as the safest to prepare and eat, and usually ensured that local Environmental Health officers would leave the site alone. On arrival at one protest site, that had been divided into vegan and meat eater ‘camps’, it was recounted how food poisoning in an environment with limited facilities had taught some inexperienced protesters the basics of food hygiene the hard way. Cooking equipment was communal; it was on loan from a large collective pool of equipment that was often used by animal rights groups with strict vegan ethics. In many of the UK based camps food donations (often from local residents) were gratefully received but kept separately from the ‘camp’ kitchen, as were non-vegan freegan finds. Whilst staying at the Mainshill solidarity camp a local couple donated half of their wedding cake to the site, an act of local generosity that lifted spirits and reaffirmed relationships. The Scotland based camp was the only site where there were real contentions over food, with an

existing divide between resident activists and another temporary ‘climate camp’. Differences around food ethics, and later alcohol, seemed to be intentionally enrolled as antagonism, one point leading to a heated argument when wrappers from supermarket bacon and dozens of larger and cider cans were left around the communal fire; an argument ensued about the hypocrisy of fighting an environmental campaign whilst contributing to degradation, with people becoming visibly upset (SCC001).

Whilst veganism was framed mainly through the effect of meat production on climate change and issues of climate justice, through emissions and land use, ethically, for many, a disposition toward non-hierarchical relationships extended to non-human beings, with animal exploitation seen as inextricable linked within capitalist exploitation. Radical generosity toward the non-human, as performed through incarnations of veganism, were certainly not shared by all activists (myself included) but there was consensus that vegan lifestyle be the adopted norm within camps other collective spaces of protest (including the many people’s kitchens at the COP15 mobilisation). For Melanie Joy the problem has been one of finding a language to register meat consumption as an ideological standpoint against the normative constructions that the consumption of animals is natural or necessary. For Joy, there is a need to frame this as an ideology, as *Carnism* – the active participation in the selection of living beings that may be oppressed, murdered, and eaten as a societal norm; as a society we seem to be capable of selecting species as mere products to consume (cows, pigs, chickens) whilst being repulsed at the thought of eating others (dogs, cats, whales), yet many find it strange that some people are repulsed at the thought of eating *any* animal (2003).

Whilst there is not the scope within this thesis to explore notions of generosity toward non-humans, it must be noted that for many this was an everyday ethical-political practice where food was viewed as part of wider unequal power relations rather than separated from it; through exploitation, “while many civilizations have normalized abusive behaviour towards animals, capitalism tops them all in the intensity, frequency, and invisibility of apathetic exploitation mixed with repeated moments of sadistic cruelty”(Animal Liberation Front 2011), and hierarchical othering through forms of Speciesism; “a prejudice or attitude of bias in favour of the interests of members of ones

own species in against the members of other species”, echoed in a western normative view “that all human life is more precious than any non-human life” (Singer 1990; 2001) and the taking of life; “A man can live and be healthy without killing animals for food; therefore, if he eats meat, he participates in taking animal life merely for the sake of his appetite. And to act so is immoral” (Tolstoy 1987).

Food ethics were often a focus of discussion for those visiting the camp. At one camp a shared meal with around fifty local residents there were many discussions regarding preconceptions about the vegan food they were to be fed, which had apparently been the foci of fear that afternoon, and surprised enjoyment of the Green Thai Curry that was served (unscientifically judged purely by the amount of sceptics that returned for second helpings!). Conversations were opened about the ethics of veganism that made cooking enough curry and rice for 150 people on a hot summer afternoon worthwhile. Workshops on the political-ethical spaces of food consumption were viewed as both educational and a practical capacity building exercise; within two large protest camps daily workshops were held that combined comprehensive discussion on food ethics with the basics of field cooking (namely, cooking for 250 people from a two ring burner in protest camp conditions). During one of these workshop sessions, six of us discussed contested food ethics with an activist/food author and an experienced protest kitchen coordinator, before preparing and cooking an evening meal. We discussed ethical hierarchies, local versus fairly traded, the pragmatics of cost versus ideal; for instance tinned and dried goods bought in bulk wholesale (including staples such as tomatoes, rice and lentils) had very little provenance, and were unlikely to be either fairly traded or organic. For many, food ethics started with consuming waste and eating without contributing financially to any food system.

In the title of his 1975 book, economist Milton Friedman claimed, “there’s no such thing as a free lunch”. It is somewhat ironic that the capitalist economy, now centred upon providing the customer with what they want when they want it, would become such a provider of free lunches. In fact the excess waste of capitalist food cycles provided enough free lunches, smoothies and desserts for thousands of climate campers for almost a week. “Dave and his twin brother Andy are a new breed of ethical consumer” James Hall writes in *The Telegraph*, “often referred to as freegans.

Everything that freegans ‘consume’ – food, clothing, furniture – is scavenged, swapped, or donated” (2008). Freeganism or dumpster diving has shifted in the public imagination from a taboo act to a noble cause, often discussed in the media as a green or eco lifestyle choice. Academically the consumption (practical and symbolic) of skipped goods has yet to be recognised alongside other forms of localism more readily praised within sustainability discourses.

Climate activists based in Europe and America, have combined the ethics of climate justice with those of food politics through the practice of freeganism, as the aforementioned article explains this is increasingly becoming a lifestyle trend, associated with environmental, political, and religious ethics. For Portwood-Stacer (2010) freeganism is as an everyday anti-capitalist practice through which:

“activists register their critique of consumer capitalism and its attendant hierarchies, not by abstaining from consumption, but by abstaining from paying for their consumption. They also see themselves as extracting material value from the system without putting value back in, thus weakening the system in a small way” (2010).

For Tristram Stuart, author of *Waste: uncovering the global food scandal*, an ethical position that has contributed to ‘A Taste of Freedom’ a social and environmental group that collect waste food and transforms it into large scale meals, including a Trafalgar Square meal that fed 5,000 people from food that would otherwise have been wasted.:

“Britain currently throws away an unimaginable 15m tonnes of food every year. Wrap has tentatively calculated, after painstaking studies, that a whopping 5m tonnes of food are wasted annually by consumers alone: that is, more than a quarter of all food we buy goes into the bin...food production currently uses a large proportion of Britain's dwindling water supplies; our consumption habits are responsible world-wide for driving soil erosion and deforestation” (Stuart 2007).

Whilst freeganism isn't the domain of anarchists and anti-capitalists it has become a means through which capitalist relations have been critiqued by radical political groups committed to forms of anti-consumption (see Zavestoski 2002). Sasha Hall recently made national headlines, indicating the interest of wider publics in the debate around waste food and the ethical space of food as property; having “helped herself to food worth £200 that had been thrown away by a Tesco store following a power cut” she was arrested for “theft by finding”, despite the store admitting to throwing away more than

£3000 worth of perishable goods (anon 2011). During the Blackheath camp two transit van loads of edible fruit were saved from a south east based incinerator, with the co-operation and assistance of the plant's employees. Using a bicycle/human powered blender, fruit smoothies were available on site for two days, for the price of a two-minute pedal, a practical and symbolic act which produce much dialogue, especially with visitor to the camp, about the ethics of local food wastage. In a conversation with a local builder (and his son, and dog) he discussed how he was "type of person who fills up the fridge every week and then end up chucking a half of it away as it goes past its sell by date" He said he hated the thought of putting so much in the bin but did it most weeks. He had popped into the camp while walking his dog on the common and spoken to a lot of people on his trip around the site, he was quite clued up about all different aspects of food consumption on the camp and had "even tried" some vegan food. He didn't indicate that he intended to change his own food practices but offered to bring his out of date food to the camp rather than throw it in the bin (LC002).

Whilst freeganism was celebrated throughout European camps and many protest sites (going beyond food provision to sourcing a large percentage of infrastructure 'tat' from skips or Freecycle), across at least two sites where research took place freegan and vegan ethics often clashed and consensus proposals were dedicated to dealing with this 'food problem', in these cases spaces were negotiated that recognised the non-vegan (off-site) lifestyle of many activists and the ethics of wasting food. In one case freegan and donated food was placed in the kitchen area but separate to food preparation and clearly labelled as 'non-vegan', in a second example a donations box was kept in the Welcome Tent, again clearly marked. Finding an in-between space to acknowledge strong ethical commitments and plurality has been a difficult one in the case of vegan v freegan, exacerbated by the reluctance to confront more difficult ethical questions around othering and killing (as touched on above).

People's Kitchen: a protest technology of sustenance

Soup kitchens have always performed what Ghandi called an 'ocular demonstration' of generosity - often associated with the provision of hot food for people to whom the basics of human 'being' (shelter, safety, sustenance) have been stripped away or denied, those who have found themselves dis-located. The tradition of soups runs has become

synonymous with the urban dishing-out of care from one homogenous public to another – most recognisable through the flow of food from a charitable (generous) public to a homeless (needy) public. This has been critiqued as part of an urban philanthropic past entangled within discourses of (un)disciplined bodies. John Bird of *The Big Issue* described London soup kitchens as reducing the homeless to the position of domestic animals, (BBC 2005): “we wouldn’t feed our dogs on the streets”. On the whole these spaces have been narrated as apolitical, provision without political challenge. More radical politically oriented groups have embraced the combination of practical politics with symbolic challenge, creating critical spaces through the dishing-up of food as a prefigurative performance and a symbolic ethical-political critique.

I use the term People’s Kitchens in acknowledgement of the common term used to describe a multiplicity of activist run field kitchens which are usually organised on collective, voluntary ethos responding to specific events (international mobilisations, protest camps) or as an ongoing spatial practice (squatted cafes, social centres, regular street provision). People’s Kitchens are now familiar within the activist landscape, within protest repertoires and as part of everyday cultures. As the Anarchist Teapot explain (above) the ethos of people’s kitchen is based on the praxis of mutual aid, it also has equalising qualities in providing spaces where consumers are active in the preparation and food is available to all through donations:

Unlike commercial caterers, we are not some kind of vending machine you put money into to get a plate of food - in the spirit of mutual aid we like to be involved with what's happening and want people to get involved with what we're doing. In practical terms this also means we ask for volunteers to help us with chopping vegetables and washing up (Anarchist Teapot 2010).

Disrupting (queering) the normal foodscapes of the city, the people’s kitchens encountered during this research have included small social centre based food spaces, large scale mobile field kitchens run by long-term people’s kitchen groups. For *Food Not Bombs* one of the oldest and most established people’s kitchen networks, with groups in the US and Europe) the provision of free and cheap (non-profit) nutritious food is non-violence in action; “Food Not Bombs has chosen to take a stand against violence and hunger; we are committed to nonviolent social change by giving out free vegetarian food, thus celebrating and nurturing life” (Butler and McHenry 1992:71). As

a model for many people's kitchens *Food Not Bombs*' disruptive 'propaganda by deed' has become an important practical and political space within the everyday autonomous spaces of protest and movement building. The skills and resources to cook large amounts of food cheaply and nutritiously enable large mobilisations to function it also lays down an ethical-political challenge of how we consider the provision of food and the possibilities of doing so differently in the case of *Food Not Bombs*: "providing food in an open and respectful way to whomever wants it. We will not make people jump through bureaucratic hoops designed to control, humiliate, and often punish the poor" (ibid: 73)

In Geneva a 'kitchen' from Vienna provided three meals a day for the duration of the anti-WTO mobilizations, a variety of hot stews were served from a mobile contraption; a large boiler with built-in wood-burner below and tall chimney. There were tables of bowls, cutlery, fruit and homemade apple juice. The kitchen was centrally located and whilst it appeared on the activist maps produced for the mobilisation was open to all. In the cold of Swiss late November the giant stewing pot also served as a heat sources and gathering point. In Copenhagen at least six people's kitchens provided three meals each day, groups from UK, Germany and Denmark, including large mobile food collectives Anarchist Teapot, Rampenplan, Le Sabot, and Mykorrhizha. Each has an anarchistic ethics of food provision as a practical political challenge and symbolic display...an enacted permaculture of connection and practical action;

"The word "sabotage" derives from the French word for clog: "le sabot". To stop the machines, the workers threw their clogs into them. We find it important to fight power and to resist exploitation. This can be done by different means. We do it by taking care of a part of the infrastructure during meetings and actions: we cook...Because living together requires solidarity and cooperation that is not based on profit-making and its negative consequences, we try to live an alternative life even now, for example by seeking for short ways of transport and fair working conditions when we do our grocery shopping" (Le Sabot 2010)

"Our name is a metaphor, which compares our network with the mycorrhiza in the soil. We aim to reach all parts of our society, help others and spread valuable knowledge and ideas, to make the world a better place". (Mykorrhizha 2010)

The kitchens served meals even in circumstances where equipment and kitchen spaces were being interfered with by the police on regular occasions (in the case of at least three locations – Rangenhilde, Candy Factory, and Christiania). In all cases rotas

existed for volunteers, through personal involvement with a number of people's kitchens and through the regular shout-outs for help during meetings (at large mobilisations, gatherings, and Camps for Climate Action) the ideal of everyone taking responsibility for food production often took a while to get established. Usually, after a few days there seemed to be a steady flow of participants within kitchens and a growing number of people with skills to cook large amounts of food. Most kitchens had signs giving a rough estimate of costs and asking for a donation if possible. CfCA gave people the option of paying a donation to cover all site costs, at camps and for national gatherings, these were usually £10 for a weekend meeting and average of £10 per day for camps, in Copenhagen donations of 20 Krone per meal (£2.50). In the climate camps the kitchens always managed to break even or make a small profit, and this was true of all the food sites I spoke to. The challenge to the corporate food system also lay, then, in the workable models of food provision that are not underpinned by uneven geographies, troubling the geographical norm of maximum profit at the expense of producers.

Placing geopolitical bodies: direct action and ludic terrains

In this final section I turn to ideas and practices of direct action. Whilst understanding all of the practices above as constituting forms of direct action and creative resistance.

September 2009, UK: Six of us lay on the muddy ground, feet in the centre, trying to maintain eye contact with those either side and forming a large circle. We were connected to each other with one metre long sections of plastic drain pipes – each hand 'locked-on' to men either side. Locking-on involved wearing a wrist strap made of climbing rope and a metal karabiner that was clipped to people either side. The drain pipes ensured that police would need to bring in specialist cutting equipment, a small circular saw, similar to those used in hospitals to remove plaster casts – this was a delaying tactic to buy more time for the blockade. The men had longer arms, and our standing initial position was awkward, laying down meant that I could rest the pipes on the ground and take the weight and pressure off of my arms. Wearing three layers of clothing, including full waterproof trousers and jacket impeded movement but ensured that the damp ground didn't become a issue. At times I could relax enough to make my body 'floppy', as practised in the 'passive resistance' training workshop, knowing that this would make it difficult for people to remove us, at other times though my body would become almost rigid with fear as I couldn't get the

thought of being trodden on by police horses out of my head – even though this was quite irrational. Affinity group training had gone some way to building the trust needed to cede so much control over my own body – to rely on those I was locked on to not to do anything that would harm me, or I them – being so physically and emotionally reliant on others wasn't something I found easy. Not being able to use arms meant relying on others to give water and food. I wanted to use D-locks, rather than drainpipes. I practiced using a bicycle D-lock to attach myself to a fence pole, via my neck. A safer option was locking the D-lock around my neck to one around my friend's neck; as soon as the lock was closed my body started to shake and I had to unlock before I had a panic attack. One member of the group described being cut out of a D-lock but the police cutting team. I tried again and I panicked again (research journal, SCC001).

Locking-on and blockading, are two popular technologies of direct action – fast, cheap, and very affective in causing a pain in the backside of all those concerned in the removal of disobedient bodies. As the excerpt shows, however, bodies and technologies don't always play ball. Yet, the embodiment of hopeful dissent performed through these nonviolent acts. The intent of this section is to consider nonviolent direct action as a continuum of the performed politics explored above; understanding all of the deeds above and below as forms of direct action that are interconnected. This section will build upon the everyday spaces of activism and that have been explored (above) through practices of consuming, organising, and living together. Jordan describes direct action as “praxis, catharsis, and image rolled into one ... literally embodying your feelings, performing your politics...the transformation of personal and social space (Jordan 1998:133-135).

Ch 2 discussed how civil disobedience is most visible when performed through direct confrontation, the spacing (performance and performativity) of dissent performed in public. Sharp's '198 weapons' of 'strategic' non-violence, provided a basis for an understanding repertoires of direct action that challenged the discourses (representational and practiced) of dominant geopolitics as geopoetics – disruptions that seek to expose and de-legitimise the 'geographical norms' that have underpinned and legitimised forms of violence through differing practices of oppression. Non-violence has been understood as practiced and performative; embodied practices that register a refusal to legitimise political, symbolic, and systemic spaces of violence. **Ch 2** also

illustrated that a strategic nonviolent approach was itself contested by those who view violent resistance, insurrection or total political revolution as more successful in achieving social change, and in some cases less violent in the long-term.

In his 'Letter from Birmingham Jail', the civil rights campaigner Martin Luther King Jnr. defined direct action as spaces that seek to produce "such a crisis and foster such a tension that a community which has constantly refused to negotiate is forced to confront the issue. It seeks so to dramatize the issue that it can no longer be ignored". Uri Gordon uses Thoreau to present a case for distinguishing civil disobedience from direct action; viewing the former as a discursive challenge "a confrontational form of dialogue between subordinate citizens and the state" whilst the latter is to "literally intervene...[through] disruption and sabotage" (2007:17-18). The understanding of direct action that I adopt here is as a tactic of civil disobedience but one that does not "solicit the state" to follow Graeber's understanding, "one that proceeds as if the state does not exist" (2009:203). The *CfCA* positioned its own praxis historically within nonviolent direct action and wider civil disobedience:

"There is a long and vibrant history of direct action across the world; from the suffragettes to the civil rights movement, from Gandhi to the miners' strike. The examples of people getting together to make the world a better place are well known."

"Climate change is abstract – about the weather. We wanted to create symbolic moments of tension to break through this. This was the reason why the first camp was at Drax, Europe's biggest coal-fire station. Saying we'll shut it down was central to this idea" (The Camp for Climate Action 2009)

Affinity groups, introduced above, are seen as pivotal to direct action and many forms of civil disobedience. The concept of affinity groups goes back to anarchist organizing during the Spanish Civil War, translated from *grupo de afinidad* (Marshall 1992), and, as Graeber explains, relates to the understanding of *turtulis*, a group of close friends. The affinity group is based on affectual bonds, bonds that increase the capacity of each individual member to act (empowers). The body becomes the principle tool of nonviolent direct action; as **Ch 2** showed, almost all of Sharp's 'weapons' are bodily interventions. Seeds for Change, who presented a number of workshops for the *CfCA*, describe the affinity group as:

“a small group of people who come together to prepare for and take action. The group is organised in a non-hierarchical and autonomous way, uses consensus to make decisions and is focused on direct action. Sometimes these groups are formed just for one action, but often they are ongoing groups that organise and take part in actions over a number of years. They can be made up of friends, people from the same community or people with shared interests such as music or street theatre” (Seeds for Change 2009:1)

The main benefits of working within an affinity group were put forward as: flexibility and creativity; safety and support; long-term sustainability; countering infiltration, communication and “...a means to collective action based on equality and direct democracy” (ibid). Direct action was seen as an ethical-political responsibility that underpinned many climate justice movements in the run up to and during the Cop mobilisations:

People like the Drax protesters are the conscience of the nation. They always have been, whether they take the form of Diggers and Levellers, Chartists, suffragettes, peace campaigners or roads protesters. In the past they have helped to prevent disastrous mistakes, and have changed the law when the law was unjust. They carry the cost of reforms that deliver benefits to almost everyone. But the greater the cost they shoulder, the more likely they are to succeed (Monbiot 2009).

“As those who are not listened to have shown throughout history, targeted protests and civil disobedience can have a major impact. A day spent on the street might be my most useful service to humanity in this pivotal year. It is probably the same for the majority of us” (Simon Lewis, Physical Geographer and Royal Society Fellow, quoted in Wales Climate Camp ‘Handbook’)

Affinity groups have a history within nonviolent direct action, as small cells or units of activist who trust and support each other through the process of planning, executing, and debriefing an action. American activist group ACT UP describe affinity groups as:

“...self sufficient support networks of about 5-15 people. A number of affinity groups may work together toward a common goal in a large action, or one group may conceive of and carry out an action on their own. Sometimes, affinity groups remain together over a long period of time, existing as a political support and/or study group, only occasionally participating in actions” (cited in Graeber 2009:288)

In many cases affinity groups would be formed before mass actions, such as the ‘Reclaim Power!’ day of demonstrations in Copenhagen. In the context of mass actions affinity groups not only had the benefit of mutual aid and trust between a small group of

people, but also the larger group would benefit from risk being dispersed around a number of groups (each of which would only know the details of their own actions) and maximize creativity - ten, 100, or 1,000 small groups using different tactics, routes, times, targets, and starting points also posed a far greater problem for the police and or security.

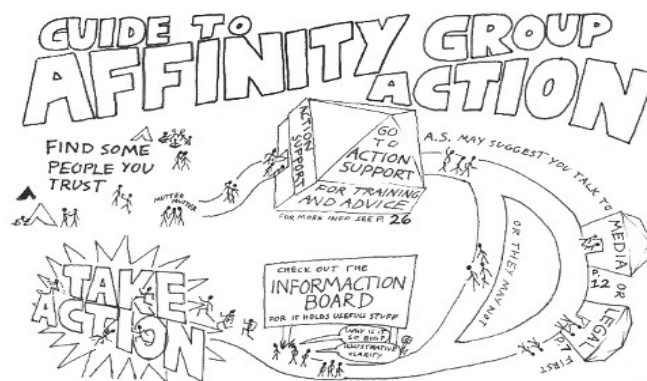
Within the mass actions, affinity groups could work within larger ‘blocs’, or autonomously. A bloc is a larger group of people, (a term taken from the political definition, a group of nations, or community acting in alliance – ‘communist bloc’ for instance) which form a pact to work together. As spatial tactic, blocs are useful to get as get a large convergence in one location from a number of starting points. The ‘swoop’ described in the introduction to **Ch 4**, used five blocs which started at various points across London to converge on Blackheath Common at the same time. The tactic has been successful in splitting police into smaller groups. As a defence technology, each bloc can organize around boundaries of capacity; physical, legal, or ethical. For instance, from blocs for families (often more carnivalesque), bike blocs to the black bloc (more oriented toward physical confrontation– see below). During large actions blocs are used to indicate tactics or style of protest, acting as a practical and security measure – more people can get involved (affinity groups and individuals) and act within their own capacity (for instance those who are non-arrestable) and as an open message to police that some blocks will include large numbers of children.

Starhawk recounts the dual importance of affinity groups, as embodying a commitment to physically hold space and as practical unit of decision-making and support within the street battles in Seattle 1999:

“When faced with tear gas, pepper spray, rubber bullets and horses groups could assess their own ability to withstand the brutality... When one group of people were swept away by gas and clubs another would move in to take their place” (2002:54).

Affinity groups, therefore, might be understood as a spatial and political tactic. As an organizational unit for direct action, the affinity group became familiar amongst animal rights, anti-nuclear, anti-road protest movements during the 1970’s - 1990’s, where groups would organize as small autonomous units (or cells) under the banner of a wider movement. *Reclaim the Streets!* were known for adopting mixed tactics which included

spontaneous events and pre-planned affinity group actions. Following the Encuentro in Chiapas (1996) mass actions based on affinity group models started to become a recognizable material presence; as large blocs of activists were recognizably acting in highly organized smaller groups. Strategies that were followed in Prague, September 1999 (anon 2000; Cuevas 2000) and later that year Seattle (Shepard and Hayduk 2002). Similarly to Starhawk, Gillham and Marx describe the affinity groups of the 1999 protests as highly prevalent; “Many of the demonstrators belonged to one of several hundred affinity groups. These groups were trained and loosely coordinated through the Direct Action Network (DAN)” (2000:215).



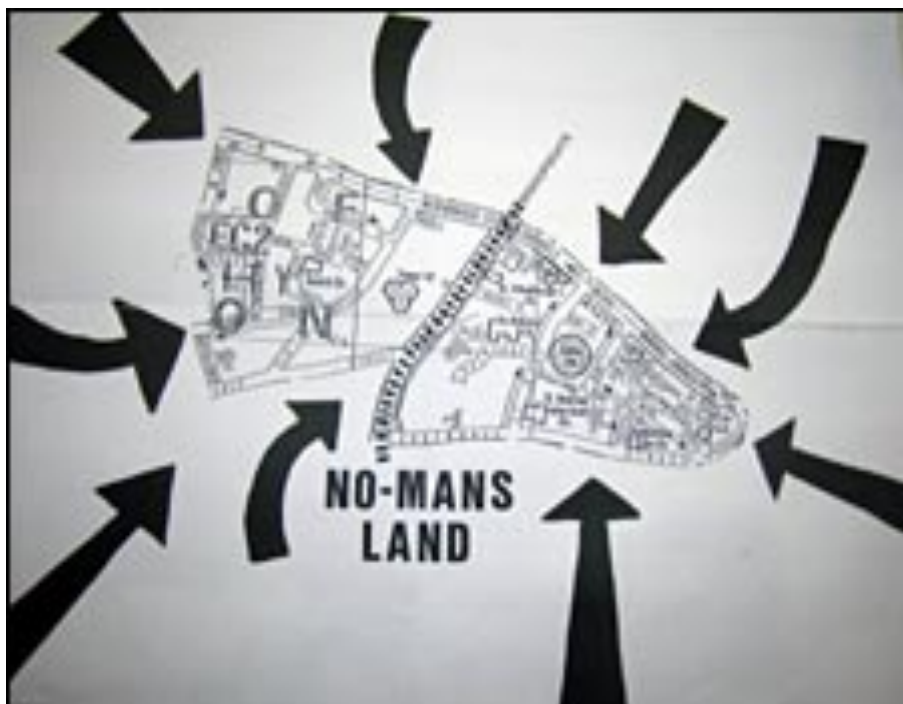
5.3 Action Support ‘Guide to Affinity Group Action’: *London Climate Camp Handbook* (2009)

‘Action Support’, at UK based camps were understood as both material space and support network through which direct action could be discussed, planned and facilitated safely and with training and support:

“The direct action at the camp will take many forms. The main thing to note is that everything you do is your own choice. Throughout the camp there will be people ready to train you in direct action techniques - like clever plans to avoid the police altogether - and legal briefings to understand exactly what will, and won't happen, if you chose to deliberately step out of line - for example, by using superglue to shut the head offices of e.on down” (CfCA, 2009).

For the majority of the time Action Support was a closed area, a space where I would not go as a researcher. However, on a handful of occasions I took part in workshops either within the camp setting or facilitated by the working group off site – these were at the invitation of groups taking part in the training. One of the workshops was bespoke; requested by an affinity group with an action already being planned.

The small and intimate level of support afforded by the affinity group becomes most evident in the taking of direct action, where the body is *the* tool of intervention and inevitably the target of those whose aim it is to prevent such actions. Direct action often stretches bodies to the limit. Bodies have been broken, physically and emotionally damaged (Brown and Pickerill 2009; Sullivan 2004). Every day, social justice activists across the global south are murdered by militia and police, jailed; in the democratic countries of the ‘north’, where freedom of speech is viewed as a constitutional right global justice activists have been killed during street protests (Carlo Giuliani, shot by police at the Genoa G8, being a notable example). **Ch 2** discussed the heritage of placing the body directly in the place of contention. Within the movements discussed here, direct action and the body has been used in small autonomous actions (five people super-gluing themselves to the floor of the Royal Bank of Scotland, 29 activist ‘hijacking’ a train on route to the Drax coal fired Power Station) and within mass actions (1000 attempting to shut down Ratcliff on Soar power Station, or 100,000 marching through the streets of Copenhagen.).



5.4: Camp for Climate Action ‘Game Plan’ (BBC 2009)



5. 5 Capture the Flag ((Last Hours 2009)

The People's Assembly, the final destination of the ethnographic journey, has already been established as a mass action, nonviolent civil disobedience (or warfare) on a large scale. The aim was to bring the prefigurative and creative ethos illustrated above into a large alternative political process and geopoetical intervention involving thousands of global/climate justice activists from around the world. Geopoetics is, perhaps, most recognised within street protests, from Reclaim the Streets to rebel clowning to black bloc activism. In connecting the geopoetical to the everyday spaces of horizontal organising, consumption above, I follow Duncombe (2007) and others in considering creative resistance more widely; through an expanded conceptualisation of 'ethical spectacle'. Whilst the scope of this thesis does not allow the depth of theoretical engagement with ethical spectacle that it deserves, though in practice it crosses all sections of this thesis. Here, in the final section of this chapter I consider an aspect of mass action that gets relatively little recognition, the pre-enactments of large-scale creative resistance. This is done in acknowledgement that the People's Assembly is documented in **Intervention IV**, and that large-scale mass actions have been engaged with comprehensively elsewhere (Graeber 2007; Graeber 2009; Jordan 2007; McKay

1996; Shepard and Hayduk 2002). One emerging point of interest, arising from the research and of direct relevance to the wider theme of affective politics engaged with in this chapter, is what I am calling ‘ludic terrains’. My argument is that these have dual purpose and are both practical and affective.

The ludic terrains that I discuss here emerged primarily within the climate camps, as preparation for mass action but acknowledge the related space of the ‘bike bloc’. The ‘bike bloc’ involved one week of workshops in Bristol followed by workshops in Copenhagen; due to the research schedule only the events in Bristol were engaged with, and as such they inform the interpretations of other events but have not been used directly. Ludic terrains are understood as a playful coalescence of the politicised body and the terrain of resistance. The geopoetical aim of mass actions are understood here as a punctuation into the grammar of the everyday “to effect a revolution in human consciousness” (Demarco after Beuys 1982 p47). The ludic terrains discussed here were not ‘protest’ events, but (what I understand to be) pre-enactments; purposeful, corporeal engagements with terrains of resistance, they might therefore, be understood as affective rehearsals – spatial experimentations to break down fear, build capacity and affinity, and familiarise the body.

In many ways the playfulness of ludic terrains, is a transformative practice for the participant (one of empowerment and freedom) and wider audiences, as a geopoetical troubling of the normative significations attached to places. Here, Augusto Boal’s hegemonic conceptualisation of the “the cop in the head” is interesting; the cop in the head being “the parent who though love stifles the child... the society that keeps people controlled through the fear of freedom” (1995). This conceptualisation of ‘the cop-in-the-head’ has been influential within many contemporary activist practices (Verson 2006) including the Clandestine Insurgent Rebel Clown Army (Fremaux and Ramsden, undated) and Climate Camp. Because the conceptualisation (like ethical spectacle, below) collapses any binary between participating activist and receptive public it lends itself to the conceptualisation of ludic terrains as spaces felt rather than understood. This is more productive and generative than appreciating creative resistance as merely a means through which a knowing ‘activist’ public seeks to transmit a flow of information to a (presumably) unknowing public. Instead, ludic terrains are connective aesthetics

embodied (ethical) relations with the world that re-present rather than represent; it is a call to the imagination, critical thinking, and creativity that is simultaneously deconstructive and reconstructive.

Reclaim Power! The demonstration preceding the People's Assembly was described on a distributed CJA flier as being both non-violent and confrontational:

“We will overcome any physical barriers that stand in our way – but we will not respond with violence if the police try to escalate the situation, nor create unsafe situations; we will be there to make our voices heard!” (Climate Justice Action 2009).

The confrontational aspect of the demonstration, therefore, prophetically narrated a situation where a commitment to nonviolent warfare on the side of the activists was likely to be met with by some form of active resistance by the Police. **Intervention IV** offers a descriptive account of the Reclaim Power! and People's Assembly, so here I focus not on the protest event itself, but on the ludic terrains of preparation for ‘carnavalesque hacking’ or protestivals (see Bogad 2005; St John 2008; Uitermark 2004) I consider this to be an aspect of protest and prefiguration that remains academically unexplored. ‘Mass action’ games have become part of activist repertoires; this was particularly so in the summer and autumn of 2009, particularly in the run up to large protest convergences and mass actions. The majority take us back to the war strategists mentioned in **Ch 2**, and the art of knowing your enemy and terrain. The games considered here, and I focus here on Capture the Flag (as a popular, and publically documented example), are purposeful and ludic performances; the processes, technologies, and bodies reimagining and performing public space in the strategic style of the Situationist International; where “the challenge is to envisage the terrain in which tactics could yield a strategy for transforming the architectural terrain” (Wark 2008). Mass action games are pre-enactments – introducing the body to an unfamiliar terrain of urban warfare. The most popular during the research period was ‘capture the flag’ with games taking place in larger British cities (including London and Manchester), events such as anarchist book fairs, and climate camps and gatherings. The games allow people to practice skills and learn the art of trust and cooperation necessary for mass civil disobedience such as the Reclaim Power! demonstration in Copenhagen.

‘Capture the Flag’ emerged as a war strategy game largely associated with militarised movements such as Boy Scouts, who took inspiration from the historical battlefield practice of capturing the enemy’s flag as the final/winning act of battle. The game is strategic and based on territorial domination. Practically, the players are divided into teams and given a number of flags, larger games have between two (see poster below) and five. Flags remain in a base camp that remains accessible. Strategically it has a number of goals, the principal being to capture your opponent’s flags, which involves tactics of both attack and defence. Players must capture flags, one at a time, and return them to their own base within their territory. When a player enters enemy territory they can be captured and detained by the opposing team. During the large camps, the games would be played on a daily basis, usually at lunchtime and attract up to 500 participants (LCC01). Different tactics and scenarios would be used – such as the addition of police, police lines and barricades. Urban variations used the city streets, and games would be spread across a large area, temporally and spatially capturing public space. Games would often be highly theatrical performances.

The games were important in a number of ways. They acted as practical corporeal rehearsals of protest conditions and affinity group tactics; as one participant recounted "an opportunity for people to familiarise themselves with the area - the geography - so they know what to expect when we have to act quickly" (Rodgers 2009). Obrador and Carter explain, after Lees, talk of ‘emancipatory practices’, “performative responses in/to the city that seeks to enhance emancipation while unsettling dominant identities of place” (2010:529). The ‘swoop’ in London (see **Intervention III**), Reclaim Power! (see **Intervention IV**) both adopted playful creative resistances, with tactics recognisable from mass action games.

Concluding comments

This chapter has presented three interconnected, but also quite different spaces that come together through the conceptualisation of affective politics, linking back to the idea of spacing nonviolence through the politics of the act. In many ways this chapter has touched upon the most familiar terrains that have been engaged with by contemporary academic explorations of a prefigurative practices (see Day 2005,

Greaber 2009, 2010, Gordon 2007). But in bringing in the conceptualisations of geopoetics, I have confronted them through the idea of spacing and troubling, queer practices that act into and disrupt normative landscapes of doing – consumption, decision-making, and political action. Each of these can be understood as politically affective, but also as spaces that are continually in a process of negotiation (and internal antagonism) between activists as common ground are sought. Whilst each of these ethical spaces if mediated through the spaces and technologies of the protest camp of large scale mobilisation, relation ethics and contingency are important factors. Through appreciating the spacing of nonviolence and alternative (geo)politics and closely teasing out the discursive, symbolic and performative aspects an ethic of doing remains at the heart of discursive outward performances – non-hierarchical, nonviolent, and anti-capitalist – yet relational ethics frequently enable a level of contingency.

Intervention III: Staging - Being swept along with the ‘swoop’



I.2: Anti-Tar Sands Demonstration, BP Headquarters, St James Sq, London; Amelia Gregory (2009)

In July 2009, a large participatory decision making session took place. Many small discussion groups formulated ideas to make ‘the swoop’ a practical and spectacular start to the summer climate camp, to be held somewhere in London. Fancy dress themes, means of communication, symbolic targets, and practical support were deliberated before the final plans for this highly staged protest were put in place. At 12noon on the 26th August 2009 the swoop began. I joined the Purple and Red bloc in St James’ Square, outside the headquarters of oil giant BP, at 12 noon. We were one of seven blocs that were swooping on an unknown location in London to set up a 10 day climate camp. Having registered for text messages we waited for instructions. According to the target map (see **Ch 5**) we are gathering at BP as a symbolic confrontation of its ongoing role at the forefront of climate change causing industries and wider ecological and social injustices:

“The multinational oil and gas producer British Petroleum plc is the world's third-largest oil company and the world's fifth most profitable company, producing 3.8 million barrels of oil equivalent per day. BP’s interests remain squarely in the

world of fossil fuels, despite attempts in the last decade to present a green front with the tagline 'Beyond Petroleum'. In December 2007, proving the emptiness of BP's claims to be moving beyond petroleum, BP entered into two partnerships with Husky Energy worth £4.9 Billion to extract oil from Tar Sands in the Canadian Wilderness. Producing crude oil from Tar Sands emits 4 times as much CO₂ as conventional drilling and the Tar Sands industry is predicated to produce 100 million tonnes of CO₂ by 2012, equivalent to a fifth of all the UK's emissions. Falling oil prices have delayed the project by at least a year but BP has yet to shelve the project entirely. The company has also slashed funding for its alternative energy projects, such as wind and solar, and in June this year it closed its renewable office in London" (Camp for Climate Action 2009c)

Blocs were mainly chosen through proximity to arrival location (divided between North, South, East, and West London, an accessible bloc, and a bike bloc). The starting locations for the blocs were symbolic 'targets' the headquarters of oil multinationals Shell and BP; the Bank of England, where Ian Tomlinson was killed by police during G20 protests (April 2009); multinational mining giant Rio Tinto; the site of the 2012 Olympics; and Stratford tube station, where Jean Charles de Menezes was shot dead by police in 2005; a final bloc consisted of autonomous groups, who would be updated on final location but were free floating around the city. The symbolism therefore, went beyond environmental degradation and climate change, highlighting (to participants and media) the ongoing campaigns against policing, and in solidarity with local opposition groups fighting the Olympic development which had displaced people, and sites with no consultation. The only prior information that had been given, on the CfCA website, was that the swoop could take up to 24 hours, and that the final destination (the camp location) would be within the M25 and that we would need an A-Z (map book) and an all day travel pass. This meant that everybody had to be prepared to spend a long time on the streets of London, carrying food supplies and camping gear. We would be informed of where to move to via text message, to which we had all registered before hand via the website.

I was legal observing, and due to a last minute request from the media working group (at 7am) I was also 'buddying' two journalists, a role that involved feeding them information regarding the choice of targets – not necessarily easy when only the 'land working group' would have prior knowledge of these. About 200 'swoopers' were gathered in St James Square, and following a number of short talks directed at BP, the

highly anticipated first text message arrived and hundreds of mobile phones beeped in unison. We were asked to head to Trafalgar Square, where we waited, ate lunch and played football with a giant inflatable globe in front of the National Gallery. The gallery had been targeted as an institution that receives sponsorship from both BP and Shell. We were joined by a large number of Police, journalists, photographers, and television camera crews who waited with us, watching every move. I distributed 'bust cards' and gave legal briefings to those who wanted one, at this point it was mainly photographers - complaining at the high use of stop and search tactics. A second text message arrived. We were asked that we stay put for the time being. Another hour, more games on the gallery steps, then a third text; walk to Charing Cross train station, a 5 minutes away. Tension and excitement started to ripple through the group. One reporter that I was 'buddying' took a phone call, a CNN helicopter had spotted police and activists at Greenwich Park; was the camp going to be in Greenwich Park? he asked; Why Greenwich Park? he demanded, I said I didn't know (I really didn't know!). At the station a further text, take the train to Lewisham, (one of my journalists had already got a taxi to Greenwich).

We jumped aboard two over ground trains, for the fifteen minute journey. Within our carriage a group of us mused with journalists about the location of the climate camp, we were all still guessing, consulting the map and coming to the conclusion that Blackheath Common as a likely destination (rather than the adjacent Greenwich Park). I chatted to a journalist from The Telegraph, hurriedly recalling historical links to the Peasants Revolt and Wat Tyler, neither of us could recall dates. Two journalists from Danish TV were uninterested in these historical connections, they enquired about possible confrontations with the Police; Denmark, they said, was keen to know what to expect from the arrival of climate camp later in the year for COP15. At Lewisham station, in a slow snaking procession, consulting maps and text messaged directions, we converged with a second stream of people, the 'silver' bloc; this was the accessible bloc, for those who didn't want to, or couldn't, move around London with the cat and mouse tactics of the sloop. The woman continued to tell me that they had seen some of the bike bloc.

As the two groups converged we walked the last mile together up the hill toward Blackheath Common. As we arrived so did the other eight blocs; people simultaneously

poured onto the top of the common from every corner and quickly dropped rucksacks and started to form a large human fence. Excitement and the spectacle of the ‘invasion’ with the skyscrapers of Canary Warf in the background felt electrifying, tiredness, heat exhaustion, and hunger was immediately forgotten. Personally, I had been convinced that I would hate every minute of ‘the swoop’; running around London for up to 24 hours, directed by text message, with the distinct possibility of arrest, and a couple of journalists had filled me with dread. I am happy to admit that if it wasn’t for the ethical feeling of responsibility that drove me to act as the LO for the group, or the research opportunity to be involved in every element of the camp, I would have happily have taken the train and pitched up the next morning. Yet, the corporeal journey, the fear and relief, hope, excitement and affective solidarity of being part of a huge united swarm onto Blackheath Common was worth the pain. It was no coincidence that such a high heralded the beginning of the hard work, rather than the end. The site was now occupied and defended with a human fence; a village sized protest camp now needed to rise up from the ground in a matter of hours.

As a staged protest event the ‘swoop’ is of interest to this thesis because as it brings together elements that have otherwise remained within fairly autonomous sections. These talk directly to current discussions around the staging and location of protest (Blumen and Halevi 2009; Houston and Pulido 2005) and also to the corporeal enlivening of affective solidarity and collective action (Juris 2008; Roelvink 2009) . The use of text messaging is also of interest, building onto work that has tended to focus on social media sites (Pickerill, Gillan et al. 2010). Following the prevalence of SMS to facilitate summer riots in 2009, the seemingly simple text message will probably rise in prominence as both a technology of mass organising (first used in Serbia in 2000) and start to gain academic and police interest in its use.

The location of the camp itself was a highly symbolic act. The locations for the swoop worked as a staged performance for both participants and audience (the media, the police, the public, and potential participants). It also acted practically – to get a large number of activists to one temporal-spatial location with limited prior warning to the police (only a handful of people were aware of the Blackheath Common destination prior to the site take – with even lorries being kept waiting until the last possible

moment (according to a fellow L/O aboard)). Affective solidarity (after Juris, see **Ch 5**) was steered through both the proximity of politicised bodies and by new the fairly recent protest technology of text messaging. This enabled thousands of bodies to be highly mobile, to swarm at a moments notice. The pre-enactment and corporeal acclimatisation to (what I am calling) ludic terrains ensures that enough participants are familiar with fast paced movement through the urban environment whilst the proclivity that comes from spending time together playing games, eating, and talking facilitates forms of trust and proclivity among the larger group. Staging protests via instant messaging has become a highly effective way of effectively holding a large area, by necessitating the division of policing across an entire city, and effectively having numerous protests taking place simultaneously with a shared common signifier.

Chapter 6: Geopolitical Bodies and Securitisation



6.1: Police armed with CS Gas and Clown armed with red nose; blue bloc at Reclaim Power! 16/12/2009, Copenhagen; author's photo journal

This final empirical chapter takes a diversion, as in the principal protagonists of performative space are not the activists that have been engaged with, but actors that have as yet remained silenced within the thesis – the police. The introduction started with arguing that the war on terror has been a dominant performative space that has shaped geopolitical understanding during the last decade (alongside climate change). Here, in keeping with the principal aim of the thesis, to explore the intersection of geopolitics and nonviolent social movement activism through the spacing of nonviolence, I engage with the spaces of securitisation that are symbolically, discursively, and performatively shaping the protest landscape (and public space more generally). Having implicitly and explicitly established the ‘spaces of becoming geopolitical bodies’ through prefigurative performances, practical and imagined transnational solidarity, and ethical-political commitments beyond the self – I now turn to the external practices of the securitisation of geopolitical bodies. I do this by turning first to an excerpt from a research journal before looking to wider understandings of

policing and protest. I then turn to representations of disorder, the body as a site of insecurity and practices of surveillance, legal interventions to control the mobility of politicised bodies, returning finally to Copenhagen as case where all of these were brought into play.

December 14th 2009: The evening started with a large plenary discussion in Christiania with Michael Hardt, Naomi Klein, and Tadzio Muller – reflections on the mobilisations. The discussion descended into contestation on responses to police violence – the panel calling for a commitment against any use of violence on the 16th, to which audience responses centred on the actions of the police to the peaceful actions during the last few days, people should be able to defend themselves seemed to be the response. Not keen to join the after talk party I headed out of Christiania with friends. On trying at midnight we were greeted with sirens, police vans, helicopters, and police had completely blocked all entrance roads. A handful of ‘campers’ from the UK told me that the party, and Christiania was being raided by hundreds of police, including the large circus tent was packed for a post-plenary party. It was claimed that tear gas was used, including in the tent, and the police had set about rounding up activist and forcing them to sit in lines on the ground with hands cuffed behind backs. I put on my high-visibility ‘legal observer’ jacket in the hope that the police would let me through, I was wrong! Coach loads of riot police arrived, 40 police vans and 26 dogs with handlers marched into Christiania. We waited, joined by a large number of plain clothed police - 2ft taller than most activists, dressed in smart black hooded tops and (quite visibly) wearing earpieces. In small groups some people were allowed to leave as others arrived (on route from the Ragnhildgade meeting to the party). People started to gather, watched by camera crews, shouting that the police let people in. Anxiety started to spread that the plain clothes cops might act as agent provocateurs; the atmosphere was tense and rumours that cobblestones and petrol bombs were being thrown within the cordoned off area meant that any object thrown at the police from where we were standing would probably escalate quite quickly. By 2am, people were permitted to leave but I was not allowed back in. A group of German (activist) medics in bright orange kits with large backpacks (including tear gas and pepper spray antidotes) invited me to stay at their makeshift hospital for the night, where we arrived in a small van having been followed and stopped and searched on route from Christiania. The medic space was shared with German and Italian media activist; a well equipped room with 6 camp beds, located in the only warm and dry rooms in the Telghomen convergence space. I returned to Christiania when it was light. Tear gas canisters and debris was scattered on the ground. I felt physically sick

on finding the cinema door locked and the windows of the nearby activist trauma centre smashed and the door broken. I was let in through the well hidden back door. The caravanistas were all OK, none had been arrested but some had incurred physical injuries before locking themselves inside, Sina's leg was in plaster and she was being interviewed for Indymedia. Everyone seemed shocked and excited in equal measure, an air of surviving the latest battle (from research journal TCC002).

Overview

The events that occurred on the 14th December 2009, recounted above, might be described as the “police management of protest events” (Della Porta, Fillieule et al. 1998:111), the spatial practices that embody the State’s tolerance and countering of dissent. Earlier chapters touched upon ‘policing’ through forms of disciplining the self, through Ranciere’s adoption of the term in relation to more general forms of governmentality; the social discipline of civil obedience that he, Foucault, and De la Boétie understand as circulating through society. Here, I turn to the institution of the Police Force, those mandated by the state to maintain public order and enforce legal regulations governed by parliament. Interestingly, particularly in relation to practices presented throughout this chapter, the Metropolitan Police seemingly combine both concepts within their own definition of ‘police’; “the arrangements made in all civilised countries to ensure that the inhabitants keep the peace and obey the law. The word also denotes the force of peace officers (or police) employed for this purpose” (The Metropolitan Police 2011). The legal, tactical, and embodied technologies through which public space is governed has impacted upon places and processes through which citizens can enact freedom of speech, but has remained of limited research interest to geographers, or academics more widely.

The sites in which civil disobedience comes into contact with policing will always be sites of contestation. Recent levels of physical violence, practices of containment and intimidation, and undercover infiltration have led to recent challenges to contemporary policing, from the public, media and the law (in the form of damning Judicial Reviews). As Plows proclaims, in a personal reflection upon her own research within social movement activism, “levels of violence meted out to activists as a matter of course are shockingly high, whilst conversely it is a remarkably under-reported fact of mobilisation

in the press and in academia” (2002:68). Thus far, this thesis has focussed on the interconnection of social movement activism and geopolitics through embodied and performative practices; these have been positioned as anti-geopolitical sites and praxis that are performative of alternative-geopolitical spaces; sites and praxis that face a multiplicity of contestation - ethical, cultural, and political. Here, I return to the site of the geopolitical body, through the performative arena of the policing of dissent; how the geopolitical bodies are, at once, acting beyond and contained by the state. The chapter present empirically grounded discussions on the representation of policing and protest, the securitisation of the geopolitical body, and the struggle for territorial control within specific terrains of resistance. First, it calls for an expanded conceptualisation of intersection where policing and civil disobedience converge.

Policing Dissent

Della Porta and Petersen et al (2006) adopt the concept of the ‘policing of protest’ as a potential area of academic interest; where technologies of spatial control underpin, yet remain significantly bounded to the event and to the geographies of the street. In response to these limitations, I present conceptual appreciations that acknowledge a fluidity and contingency within these spatial processes – of both policing and oppositional practices. I do this through two interconnected concepts; the *policing of dissent* and the *securitisation and the geopolitical body*. The first looks to the expanded terrain of spatial control that flows beyond the materiality of the protest event. The second is concerned (in both senses of the word) with the relationship between active citizenship and securitisation; how counter-terror narratives and legislation have performatively affected the political activity of individuals. Where, (paraphrasing Walter Benjamin), the ‘ignominy’ of the police is made visible in “the fact that in this authority the separation of law-making and law-preserving violence is suspended” (1978:287; cited in Secor 2007).

Understood here, the policing of dissent goes beyond bounded and dialectical appreciations, looking to regulatory, tactical, and affective technologies of spatial control adopted to manage public (dis)order. As **Ch2** explored, in approaching critical appreciations of (in)security, legal geographies, and biopolitics are interwoven. In many

senses the policing of dissent, during the time-space of this research, was about another performance abstracted from the street - one of representation and survival – as two groups attempted to recover from the events of the London G20 protests in April 2009; for the *Camp for Climate Action (CfCA)* this was about remaining focussed whilst recovering from traumatic events, for the police it was about regaining media and public support after accusations of infringing human rights and murder. The relationship between social movement activism and the governing of public space/order has received academic interest. This engagement has focussed on the antagonistic or dialectical relations, predominantly in isolation from wider issues of policing, citizenship, and dissent. In part this may be viewed within wider normative appreciation of the relationship between the state and citizenship within protest events; sites where the state must (be seen to) balance between public order, citizenship and freedom of speech.

This balancing act – the level of tolerance that the state will grant to any group of dissenting citizens – has been used to represent differences between authoritarian regimes and democracies; the former accepted as those that are the most repressive toward public performances dissent. Democratic states have long vilified the repression of citizens in authoritarian regimes, and the policing of public protest in the street have been enrolled as a benchmark to wider freedoms; the policing of protest being perceived as the embodiment of the state apparatus. Whilst acknowledging the high levels of political and physical violence endured by political activist on a daily basis, *and* during popular uprisings within authoritarian regimes (see Gregory 2007), the representations and condemnation from many democratic governments have often masked a multitude of hypocrisies; witnessed in the quick response to condemn the use of tear gas and plastic bullets in the early stages of the ‘Arab Spring’ by ‘democratic’ countries that later acknowledged their role (and governmental consent) in the manufacture and sale of arms from the US and Britain to North West Asia (see Morrison and Trew 2011 and the introduction and methodology sections of this thesis).

In a recent critique of *Occupy Movement* evictions across US cities, Naomi Wolf claimed that the brutality that was rained down upon the protestors by the Police (including night-time raids and tear gas) was unparalleled (2011). It was certainly unnecessary, as police meted out physical violence to protestors who actively performed

non-resistance (see **Ch 2**). As Wolf explores, the crackdown seems entangled with economics and party politics in the states. Unparalleled violence? Unfortunately not! Even if we take the militarised responses to popular uprisings across North West Asia and North Africa (which Wolf doesn't mention) out of the equation, and focus on police responses in democratic nations we are still confronted with the harsh reality that physical violence and intimidation against citizens practicing nonviolent dissent; live bullets against protestors in Genoa 2001, and police operations in London for the 2009 G20 (the subject of ongoing judicial reviews), where, amongst a number of violent incidences police armed with Tazar guns raided social centres being used as sleeping spaces (see legal observer footage at http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-2ynk9S_c3E).

The spaces of security and insecurity within the policing of dissent in 'democratic' states - the militarisation of police practice, and the increased use of surveillance and biopolitical forms of control - are arguably violent geographies that have been neglected (or treated as historical norms). The policing of dissent presented here emerged through substantial engagement with social movement activism and transnational protest events involving the *CfCA*. It will give a background to recent research on the policing of protest before presenting a number of sites through which protest, dissent, and geopolitical bodies become the focus of government control. Adopting a (militant) ethnographic methodology, of 'participatory observation' ensured that 'being there', as Luis Fernandez and Jeff Juris reflect (2009; 2008), involved running the same risks as other participants, enduring the same situations, and experiencing the emotional and corporeal affects of insecurity and spatial control quite literally bearing down upon you (after Ahmed 2004). A 'benefit' of multi-site ethnography ensured that those encounters took place across various sites. Feeling the insecurity of police tactics was both physical and emotional and a chapter of diary excerpts alone could paint a damning picture of contemporary policing of dissent. **Ch 4** illustrated how active participation in protest sites often demands placing ones body into highly charged assemblages of bodies and technologies; where emotion and affect, excitement, fear, physical harm, affinity, and empowerment can occur within the same space-time "feelings are ordinarily absent in our daily lives, and are thus experienced as personally transformative" (Juris 2008, after Routledge and Simons, 1995).

Proximity to resisting and controlling others - friends, strangers and police - generated material that is inescapably infused with embodied experiences and subsequent reflections of situations that are unpredictable, fast moving and relational. Within the six months of research personal encounters with the police included: sustaining heavy bruising and cuts to my chest and arms when a male officer threw me to the ground (19/10/2009); unlawful demands to give my name and address (29/9 and 3/10/2009); removal from a police commandeered public bus and being held for 30 minutes whilst officers unlawfully requested details without legal grounds for detainment (2/9/2009); removal from a tram in Geneva and subsequent search (28/11/2009); being kettled six times (including four times in Copenhagen); getting tear gassed (Geneva 26/11/2009 and Copenhagen 16/12/2009); 'subdued' with metal batons (19/10/2009 and 16/12/2009); photographed and filmed by the police (in UK and Denmark) - many times; being corralled by police with and without dogs and/or horses (19/10/2009, 14/12 and 16/12/2009), and probably added to a Domestic Extremist database. Whilst these incidents were sometimes painful, frightening, and annoying, it is the sulphur smell and lung burning sensation of being tear gassed, the trauma, the heart stopping sensation of watching, hearing, and feeling others (including friends) being 'ordered' - kicked, trampled on and beaten with batons, physically restrained, unable to breathe due to inhaling tear gas, unable to see when pepper spray burns their eyes – that leaves a lasting affect and which I cannot do justice to through the written word.

Personal experience of police violence, intimidation, harassment, and surveillance quickly started to feel like a normative terrain - you become corporeally attuned to situations that once terrified you. In threatening situations empowerment is often entangled with the overcoming of fear, the ability to stay (relatively) calm when faced with brutality, when getting hit no longer stops you from acting politically. The implementation of laws and the policing of protest and dissent have contributed to shifts in how resistance is performed (understood here as practice *and* conscious outward representation) and have been performative of new discourses of nonviolence. Whilst, by far, the majority of people involved in this research the polices violence has been performative of an adopting of non-resistance, creative resistance, and passive resistance, though some have either adopted a tactic of property destruction or shown

physical resistance to police in irruptive situations. As Sian Sullivan and Tadzio Muller illustrate, body and emotions can be empowered by the practices of fighting back (Mueller 2003; Sullivan 2004).

Below, I discuss a number of representations and political/legal technologies of securitisation legitimise spatial tactics of control; targeted at both protest sites and the site of the geopolitical body - technologies that go largely unmentioned within academic accounts of the policing of protest. This will be followed by insights into how the law has created sites through which security is performed by surveillance. Finally I turn to the protest site, how policing affects the geographies of the street. As my ongoing role within activist legal support added another layer of understanding and reflection, a bearing witness beyond the immediacy of the events, before turning to empirical insights upon the sites of policing and dissent I offer a short discussion on the role of activist legal support, acknowledging their active role in generating a public debate in which the other sites discussed are positioned and how/why this role provokes internal antagonisms.

Activist legal support and legal observing, as it is performed within the majority of groups under discussion here, is not a neutral role – it is undertaken *with* and *for* activist groups involved in protest and direct action. The is not one of one of negotiation, though on many occasions the police attempt to communicate to groups via legal observers; the majority will refuse but on one occasion, the removal of the metal ‘S’ from the Shell Building (August 30 2009), a novice Legal Observer did take on a role of negotiation – telling a large group of activists that if they returned the letter the police wouldn’t arrest anybody, an act which bought (vocal) consternation from protestors and other Legal Observers. The activist legal group attracted a wide range of participants. My Legal Observer training was undertaken by two practicing solicitors who had been compelled to give their time to the *CfCA*, and establish an active legal support group, following the Kingsnorth climate camp, and London G20 protests. In time I started facilitating training workshops, due to my own concerns about policing practices.. Activist legal support was also given (freely) by legal professionals, and a firm of solicitors, Bindmans, acted on behalf of the group, giving police station support for free

and representing the ‘camp’ in subsequent Judicial Reviews and group claims against police practice.

In Copenhagen the *Climate Collective* and *CfCA* both had legal observers and a legal hub to monitor arrests and policing practices. A Danish group, *Mothers Against Violence*, also monitored the policing of protests but were organised very differently to the activist oriented groups; applying for police permission to attend events and describing their role as neutral observation - they acknowledged but distanced themselves from ‘activist’ legal observers. In practice legal observing was often a case of listening hard as well as watching, people would often shout for assistance or police badge numbers, and listening and watching changes in police movement (numbers, formation, types of officer arriving/leaving). Whilst legally obliged to do so, many police officers would not wear identifying badge numbers, making the reporting of their actions difficult, by the summer of 2009 legal observers had acquired cameras to record such incidents.

Practically, the activist legal support group activities built upon models adopted across Europe (in particular) in response to the policing of anti-summit and anti-NATO demonstrations – where heavy and violent policing has led to semi-professionalised activist legal support networks comprising of activists and legal professionals. Legal support went beyond Legal Observing and Observers. Practising solicitors are prohibited from giving advice on illegal activities, so support was in the form of sign-posting and access to legal books, legal observer support for actions and mass protests, and providing a activist legal support desk, where any arrests would be reported, so that the group could follow these up, tracking down detainees, ringing friends or family (if activists had left details), contacting police stations for updates (any charges, likely release time) and arranging for those detained to be met on release (as they would often no phone or wallet and release would regularly be in the middle of the night).

The *CfCA* legal group often became the target of internal antagonism. Philosophically the law and policing is a contested space within the social movements and direct action groups more widely. Many adopt a full Gandhian ethos of refusal – including non-recognition of the law. For those perceiving themselves as anarchist subjects in a classical understanding view the law as the bureaucratic arm of the state (and do not

recognise the state/law) and those adopting an insurgent position see the police as a structure to be destroyed through revolutionary force. For many, as discussed above, the police had personally impacted on lives through disproportionate use of force. During this research activists within *CfCA* were involved in open debate regarding the policing of dissent and freedom to protest which at time involved direct talks with police representatives. Whilst antagonisms were evident these were usually openly discussed during the national gatherings. An incident, during the setting-up of the London camp, shifted antagonisms into direct confrontation as collective action was taken against what a small group perceived to be the legal group ‘entertaining’ the police.

Superintendent Julia Pendry, accompanied by another officer entered the legal tent and was immediately asked to ‘leave site’. Having spotted Pendry (well known in London for her role in the overseeing clashes between police and Palestinian anti-apartheid activists) sections of the *Whitechapel Anarchists Group (WAG)* barricaded the tent, set up a sound machine, and chanted ‘Harry Roberts is our friend’ (a reference to a police killer) and ‘kill, kill, kill the pigs’, whilst the tent was painted with ‘all riot cops must die’. Whilst some campers outside the tent attempted to calm the situation others were keen for people to be allowed to air their views which later bought contestation from the legal group. Whilst the legal group could sympathise with many of the issues raised by the *WAG* (internal media time was given to the *WAG* to put their side of the argument: Climate Camp Radio 2009) some felt the ease at which the ‘safer spaces’ agreement was ignored and conflict resolution failed – in many other circumstances the likely outcome would have been the arrival of the Territorial Support Group (TSG).

As **Ch 3** explained, this research was predominantly undertaken within the UK and Denmark and this is reflected in the regional and contextual scope of this chapter. Regrettably, due to the aim and scope of this research, there is no room for discussions of political violence and the repression of protest encountered on a daily basis by fellow activists from outside of the UK, though it is important to mention that these are often frequent and pose very real threats to life and liberty. During the *Trade to Climate Caravan* one participant was notified of the murder of Panamanian colleagues, targeted for involvement in oppositional, anti-land grab, protests (at the hands of government sponsored militia), and shortly following two Columbian participants had to move into

exile, and closer to home two participants from Belarus were imprisoned for taking part in anti-nuclear demonstrations.

Government response to protest and dissent within democratic states has been linked to two temporal-spatial events, each of which impacted upon the spaces of protest and active citizenship; popular uprisings in Paris, May 1968 and (almost thirty years later) in Seattle, 1999; the first might be perceived as shifting the policing of street protest to a process of managed tolerance and the second as the moment where protest sites became represented as a drawing of battle lines where police go to war against leaderless transnational mobs. More recently, the policing of dissent has been performed through strategies of control; unfolding representations of danger, legal frameworks, subsequent interpretation, and policing practices (tactics) – technologies that legitimise the repression of civil society and nonviolent social movement action. Within the research here, the embodiment and performances of nonviolent organisation and direct confrontation has been responded to with technologies designed to prevent and counter dissent – spatial control that includes material barriers and weapons, corporeal violence, containment, imprisonment, surveillance, intimidation, and fear. In Chapter 2 nonviolent civil disobedience was represented through ‘sites of refusal’ (the refusal to legitimise violence) and within a family tree alongside movements that have used public demonstrations/contestations to fight societal change – including those we now take for granted, suffrage, worker’s rights, abolition of slavery and the end South African apartheid.

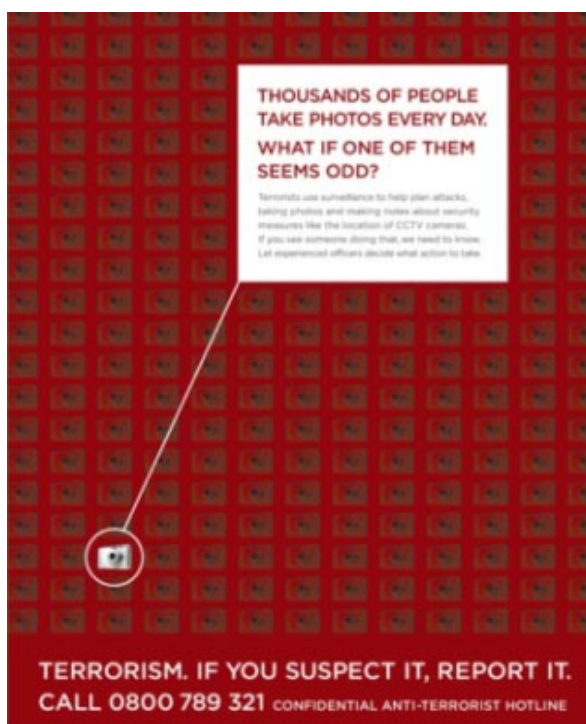
Chapters 1-4 argued that the social ‘movements’ are ongoing processes of location and dis-location - collective forms of dissent, cycles of acting together and acting apart, through practical and imagined solidarities between heterogeneous *geopolitical bodies* - those that act within an imagined constituency that act beyond the borders of nation states. These can be understood as both anti-geopolitical and alter-geopolitical as actions increasingly turn toward global institutions and corporations (beyond-state actors and issues) and - the sites engaged with in this research have involved the moments of locating dissent, where dis-located groups and individuals converge (face to face) in collective forms of contestation. As the constituencies and scope of protest have become more transnational – particularly with the rise of the practiced and

imagined networks of the global justice movement - so the policing of protest has adapted to the mobility of geopolitical bodies.

Here, the policing of dissent is primarily concerned with the governing of citizens in public spaces, yet it is important to acknowledge the increasing impact of private security and the blurred boundaries that separate public and private territories. Many city centres are now private domains, owned and managed by property companies, such as Land Securities, where security companies are tasked with the surveillance and control over the ordering of everyday usage. As Morag Rose (2010) and Paul Cloke, [ADD Ref] and others discuss, these practices of securitisation expand traditional conceptualisations of public disorder; targeting those not using (consuming) space 'correctly'; skateboarding, loitering, wearing hooded tops, eating and drinking are amongst activities that are highly regulated. The private securitisation (and its entanglements with publically funded policing) was evident during the London based climate camp (26/9 – 3/9/2009). When demonstrations against the Barclays Bank investments in arms manufacturers (on the 28/09/2009, in conjunction with Stop DSEI) involved protesters entering the private space of Canary Wharf (a large financial district that is home to many banking and corporate head quarters) – the heart of the 'world city' (Massey 2009), a space that offers a highly securitised home for (arguably) some of the least ethical corporations in the world (see **Ch ??**). On entering this terrain of resistance security guards met activists as they alighted the DLR train, attempted to stop them from leaving the station (using their bodies to block exit gates) and ensured that people had to run the gauntlet to get to close to the bank – which around 100 people did manage to do after being chased around the sanitised high-rise lined roads (LCC001). Yet, whilst the securitisation of private space is important here, the focus is turned toward the policing of dissent that is state sanctioned and performed within public space.

Legally, public protests in the UK - indeed any gathering of two or more people within public space - are highly regulated through legal powers justified by the necessity to 'maintain public order' (particularly since the 1994 Criminal Justice and Public Order Act). For some groups the law will be 'enforced', employed to severely impact the freedoms (and agency) of individuals. Of course, not every group protesting in public

places will be confronted by the force of the law (in both senses of the word), be greeted by riot police, or become the subject of police surveillance. The law, and its interpretation and implementation by the Police, are contingent to a multiplicity of external security factors. The spatial strategies of the Police are affected by a number of political discourses and media representations. Following 9/11 these powers have increasingly been deployed within a wider geopolitical discourse, the ‘war on terror’; “counter-terrorism regulation by the state has been underpinned by discourses of (in)security” (Mythen and Walklate 2006:736).



6.2: Poster, Metropolitan Police ‘Anti-terror Campaign’; content.met.police.uk/Page/Campaigns

As this chapter explores, whilst laws specifically aimed at anti-/counter terrorism *have* impacted wider freedoms, it is the shift in spatial methods through which existing laws and police practices (such as surveillance) have been implemented through discourses of securitisation. Yasmin Alibhai-Brown has recently called referred to this as the “creep of authoritarianism... [as] fearful populations are easily persuaded that only extreme measures can protect their land and rights” (2011). Sections of the community are perceived as disproportionately targeted by policing and securitization, for instance British Muslims, who have been treated “en bloc” as a “risky, suspect population” (ibid). In addition to securitisation through police powers, public and

private spaces have become the target of performative refrains around vigilance and suspicion, where constant surveillance through CCTV cameras, and more recently ‘footpath technology’ (the tracking of mobile phones), have been widely accepted as securing everyday places and spaces; public, work, domestic, and moral [add more refs,] (Katz 2008) In conjunction with representations of protest as sites of violence and disorder legal regulations and heavy handed policing had been relatively unchallenged by public opinion (or the mainstream media).



6.3: Billboard, Metropolitan Police ‘Anti-terror Campaign’; <http://content.met.police.uk/Page/Campaigns>

The events of September 11 2001 have arguable affected an acceptance of legislation and police tactics, yet it is important to remember that anti-authoritarian and anti-geopolitical groups have historically been represented as a threat. Religious, political, and social movements have frequently been the target of state repression. Whilst current legal frameworks under discussion here have exploited a ‘geopolitics of fear’ in order to introduce repressive strategies and tactics of securitisation these are also a continuum of legislation aimed at the suppression of oppositional groups and activities. Butterworth’s historical account explores (2010), anarchists and Islamists were the focus of the first police construction of a ‘war on terror’ at the end of the C19 – with both groups being seen as a threat to ‘western civilisation’. Almost a century later, laws started to be introduced specifically oriented toward political dissent. These responded to a number of civil society mobilisations, largely reacting to a Conservative government whose policies and actions that unified otherwise diverse constituencies (see below): Miner’s

Strike (1984/5), Greenham Common (1981/96), land rights (particularly concerning Stonehenge and New Age Travellers), mobilisation and street protests against the introduction of the Community Charge (Poll Tax) (between 1988 and 1992). The 'Poll Tax Riots' (1990) put scrutiny on both protestors and policing, as an underestimation of turnout (250,000) and the police blocking-off of Trafalgar Square to contain thousands of protestors culminated in rioting, looting, and physical injury to protestors and police (Burns 1992; Channel 4 1990). As protest and dissent started to shift from the representational top down A to B marches, to the more DiY, prefigurative bottom-up (leaderless) re-presenting of society, laws started to respond.

As recent HMIC reports have made reference to, police find leaderless the most difficult to deal with (2009). In 1994, the Criminal Justice and Public Order Bill was widely perceived to have been introduced to clamp down on these new forms of leaderless, non politically affiliated forms of dissent; raves, critical mass and traffic protests, hunt saboteurs, squatting, and road protests. There was widespread concern and criticism of the Bill before it passed into law in 1994 (see various chapters in McKay 1998). Under the discretionary powers invested within the Criminal Justice and Public Order Act major restrictions could be placed upon political gatherings in public places; since which it is at the discretion of the police as to whether any gathering of two or more people may be considered a political demonstration/march (which requires prior permissions). If the aim of the act had been to destroy activist groups, through legislating against a wide range of groups as well as specific activities (for instance Section 63, which was titled 'powers in relation to raves') it largely failed; it galvanised rather than dispersed a constituency committed to direct activisms.

Historically, the targeting of repressive policing toward specific groups has been perceived as successful in creating division, whilst more generalised legal assaults can serve to radicalize more moderate campaigners into direct forms of action (McAdam, Tarrow et al. 2003). Recently, the spacing of anti-terror (through legislations and technologies of control) has been contested in regards to the application against a multiplicity of groups, for the social movements here, controls went far further than could have been imagined; in the name of 'domestic' (national) security. In 2011, when confirmation emerged that elements of the *CfCA* had been infiltrated by covert policing

– something that was widely assumed but most participants were still shocked at the length and depth of the covert operations upon groups of people whose criminal acts were limited to aggravated trespass and criminal damage due to superglue. The remainder of this chapter will turn to the policing of dissent in relation to events as they unfolded, and the interpretation and application of the law in response to the social movements discussed within this thesis, and the performative affects on the performance of both policing and protest.

Police cars would always be stationed within close proximity to the open and widely advertised meetings, to an extent that spotting the police was always a good indication that you'd found the location. An exception was the London based meetings in the run up to the Blackheath camp, where, amidst an intense period of discussions between the legal working groups and the Metropolitan Police, officers were not (visibly) monitoring those attending – information confirmed on the day to *CfCA* legal team, by Superintendent Julia Pendry (the appointed Silver Commander for 'Operation Bentham' - the policing of the 2009 camp). Though widely advertised meeting in Russell Square did attract two local (rather than Met) police officers whose attempt to hide behind a bush was greeted with an invited to come into the open to observe. Discussions between *CfCA* legal team and the Metropolitan Police had started after the group announced its call for a Judicial Review into the policing of the G20, and the police were coming under media and public scrutiny.

By the time that the decision to mobilize in Copenhagen was taken (in July 2009) police reports on 'Operation Oasis' and the policing of protest (at the 2008 climate camp at Kingsnorth Power Station in Kent) had just been released. The camp had attracted 1,500 participants and the report noted that the 8,128 incidences of stop and search under section 1 of the PACE Act (Police and Criminal Evidence) was both "disproportionate and counterproductive." Questions had been raised in Parliament (by the Liberal Democrats) into the police tactic of sleep deprivation, where those staying at the camp repeatedly endured loud music played throughout the night. The pre-emptive arrest of 114 men and women 'suspected' of planning direct action against the Ratcliffe on Soar Power Station had bought consternation and Judicial Reviews had been granted by the High Court in relation to Kent Police and later the Metropolitan Police forces; a Judicial

Review being a case where a public body is charged with a dereliction of duty. Updates on all of these are included in the thesis conclusions.



6.4 “Commander Simon O’Brien said his officers would be “politely and proportionately” asking campers to move on” (Campbell and Leville 2009)

“This is not a riot” – representing disorder

Media representations have impacted upon the contemporary policing of dissent. **The sighting of nonviolence** is increasingly important within protest spaces; as chapter 2 touched upon, both Gandhi and Sharp recognise the cultural affect of a nonviolent aesthetic. In this section I turn to the policing of protest as ‘image event’ (after Juris 2008), the contingency of representation as a performative space. In practice, the social movement actors engaged with here attempted - even when confronted with physical violence from the police - to retain a non-combative and creative response. A political-ethics that rejects physical violence as conflict resolution underpins this embodied refusal to legitimise violence, but increasingly social movements are aware of the power that media representations and cultural narrative have on the public acceptance of heavy handed policing.

The impact of protest with respect to the mass media tends to work in the opposite direction. Spectacular actions draw significant media attention, but the coverage is more likely to be disparaging. For their part, traditional marches and rallies are less likely to elicit media interest, but when they do, they generally receive more sympathetic

treatment (Juris 2008:84). One notable example was the May Day 2000 détournement of the Winston Churchill statue (outside of the UK Parliament), where an image of Churchill with dressed with a Mohican hairstyle created from a strip of turf got widespread media coverage and public condemnation against Reclaim the Streets (portrayed as event organisers) and the subsequent imprisonment of the protagonist (BBC News 2000).

The research here began at a pivotal moment for media representations of the policing of protest and dissent in the UK; arguably, triggered by a series of events during the London G20 mobilisations. The most significant of these was the death of Ian Tomlinson on the 2nd April 2009. The newspaper seller and bystander, died following an assault by police officer Simon Harwood of the TSG (Territorial Support Group – aka riot police) (Lewis 2011); an act which was (crucially, here) caught on camera and circulated around the world (The Guardian 2009). Until this moment, the mainstream media had presented the G20 protests along archetypal post-Seattle counter-summit lines, a battlefield where anarchists bent on destruction got what they deserved. The CfCA legal group initiated the gathering of statements and footage to ‘clarify the circumstances’ surrounding Tomlinson’s death amid early accusations of police and media cooperation:

The police started a cover-up immediately, claiming police and medics had been prevented from attending to him, although eyewitnesses reported seeing Ian Tomlinson being attacked by police shortly before his death. The corporate media parroted these police lies even though eyewitness accounts contradicted this (Indymedia 2009).

A number of witnesses spoke of perceived media and police collusion on at least one occasion; on the 1st April demonstrators were kettled and then corralled along Threadneedle Street (in the financial heartland of London), directed toward the large, glass fronted Royal Bank of Scotland. Many activists have claimed that camera crews (and the FIT (see below)) were already positioned inside. The militarisation of policing (as discussed above), has extending to the use of embedded journalists as providers of ‘legitimate’ reports of protests (Scahill 2003) As a surveillance act, the Forward Intelligence Team (see below), positioned within the building, were able to gain footage of many activists. This had two consequences that would ordinarily both favour the

police. An image event, pictures of the windows being smashed by what The Telegraph called ‘anarchist rioters’ (2009) quickly circulated around the world. Yet, initial reports became contested as the release of images showing non-resisting protestors being beaten with batons whilst holding their hands in the air and shouting ‘this is not a riot’ on the same day as Tomlinson’s death shifted this narrative. Corporate (mainstream) and alternative media (including Indymedia) shared a moment of agreement on violent policing.

As sections of the mainstream media suddenly turned their attention to the policing of protest, within the *CfCA* antagonisms over the performance and representation became evident in national meetings (particularly prior to and within the preparations for the London camp, mass action at Ratcliffe on Soar, and the mobilisations in Copenhagen). Some were concerned that there was an over emphasis on the ‘image event’. The principle being debates around representation versus praxis; a reluctance to openly discuss the group’s anarchist roots (which underpinned everyday activism) or to critique capitalism, this was perceived as being sacrificed in favour of looking media friendly (‘fluffy’); “If we do neither out of fear of a mainstream media backlash, then we are reduced to being another NGO... The answer is not to water down our actions and our messages, but to be bolder than ever” (Dysophia 2010). Whilst many embraced a plurality of tactics, and solidarity with groups even where political-ethics over property destruction differed, there were concerns that the media group were bowing to public and corporate representations of violence rather than challenging this discourse.

Total policing – the body as a site of insecurity

In responding to the UK based summer camps in Scotland, Wales and England the policing may be summarised as hands-off, eyes-on, as the much touted new ‘community style policing’ of protest included high level surveillance. This section looks to how surveillance has become a central tool in the policing of dissent – and policing more widely. It uses the example of the London climate camp as a starting point before moving to explore how the anti-geopolitical body has become a site on insecurity. Prior to the start of the London camp an open letter was sent to the

Metropolitan police and the corporate media – it responded to a number of requests by the police force for information on the location of the camp.



6.5: Eyes and ears of 'Operation Bentham', CCTV and sound device overlooking Blackheath climate camp 2009; photo journal

Total Policing: surveillance of dissenting bodies

Whilst most details had been widely advertised and discussed openly the location of the camp was kept secret. The Metropolitan Police had publically committed to the use of 'community style' policing, yet the last minute injunctions that stopped the Somerset based annual *Big Green Gathering* – a small 'green' festival which had attracted environmental groups for almost 20 years - was seen as an indirect attack on the climate camp, whose main source of income came from running an entertainment area at the festival; "[BGG organisers] accused the police of taking a politically motivated decision to shut down the festival on the grounds that it attracts environmental activists and would have raised money for a major climate change demonstration, Climate Camp, to

be held next month.” (Vidal 2009). To those involved in organizing the camp it was perceived that whilst the policing *would* be less heavy handed, the camp would be far from left alone.

In the event policing by paranoia quite literally took the place of heavy-handed policing. The material presence of the camp itself – occupying common land – gave very little legal cause for police involvement. Yet, the absence of police was as interesting as the presence of another new resident of Blackheath. Shortly after arrival at Blackheath Common the climate camp was joined by the panopticon itself, a tall narrow Cherry Picker crane with a camera and microphone directed at the camp for the duration (image 6.5). ‘Operation Bentham’ (the coordinated policing of the Blackheath Camp) didn’t need to be hands on; its primary tools were sight and sound. Speculation had abounded prior to the event, once the operation name was released – so this was not a complete surprise; an assumption was made that the ‘policing’ would, at least in part, be undertaken through participant paranoia. Initial queries as to whether audio equipment was being used were seemingly confirmed when a conversation between a member of *Fit Watch*, (anti-surveillance activist group), and a legal group member was relayed back to the legal group, understood as tactic of intimidation – the police recounting a conversation about ice cream, saying ‘we had always assumed that X was vegan’ (LCC001). The constant surveillance – life lived under CCTV - did affect the shape and use of the camp – a set of areas soon became ‘closed’, designated as action planning zones – out of sight and using flip charts and blackboards for communication purposes, other actions would be planned in the open as acts of defiance, aware that police would arrive at the gates at a given time to follow activists. The legal team had already adopted a practice of using ‘safe phones’ and site communication equipment frequently switched frequencies but assumed that all messages were intercepted.

Neither surveillance nor police infiltration was a surprise, since the 1980’s many environmental activists had MI5 files and as Doherty explains from 1992 the police employed detective agencies to spy on and infiltrate groups such as *Reclaim the Streets!* By March 1996, shortly after the introduction of the Criminal Justice and Public Order Act, the ACPO (Association of Chief Police Officers) had announced that they would be increasing the use of anti-terrorism teams and surveillance against these movements

“despite the lack of any serious violent incidents at any road protests the spectre of environmental terrorism of environmental terrorism was being used to justify the need for domestic intelligence spending” (Doherty 2000:68). When confirmation that of the details of hundreds of climate protestors (and more recently Trident Ploughshares campaigners) were being held on a ‘domestic extremist’ database it didn’t come as a complete shock:

“...information about the political activities of campaigners is being stored on a number of overlapping IT systems, even if they have not committed a crime...thousands of so-called domestic extremists. It filters intelligence supplied by police forces across England and Wales, which routinely deploy surveillance teams at protests, rallies and public meetings” (Lewis, Evans et al. 2009).

The National Police Organised Intelligence Unit (NPOIU), a “secret body that runs an intelligence database of political activists” (Hattenstone 2011:17) administers the gathered information. NETCU (National Extreme Tactical Unit), NDET (National Domestic Extremism Team) and MI5 oversee the surveillance and pooling of ‘forward intelligence’ (see below), coordinate tactics, and liaised with corporations in regard to countering ‘domestic extremism’ - defined as “the activity of individuals or campaign groups that carry out criminal acts of direct action in furtherance of a campaign” (MI5 2011). By labelling group members as ‘domestic extremist’, those affiliated with *CfCA*, *Trident Ploughshares*, and *Plane Stupid*, fell within a category of national/domestic security threat that had been traditionally associated with armed insurgent groups including Al Qaeda and the IRA (Irish Republican Army). Together these police groups share similarities with the US Department of Homeland Security (see CBS News 2009), which has also been criticised for treating anti-war, environmental and social justice groups as a threat to national security. Interestingly, NETCU view affectual as well as material threats as socially destabilising, and a justification for expanding the targets of surveillance (whether or not anti-globalisation can be viewed as ‘single issue’ politics is another debate all together):

Domestic extremism is most commonly associated with 'single-issue' protests, such as animal rights, environmentalism, anti-globalisation or anti-GM crops. Crime and public disorder linked to extreme left or right wing political campaigns is also considered domestic extremism... campaigns rarely cause a danger to life, but in some cases the aim is to create a climate of fear (National Extremism Tactical Coordination Unit (NETCU) 2011)

A persistent, visible, and controversial surveillance and data gathering tactic frequently employed by the police at UK based protests is undertaken by the Forward Intelligence Team (FIT). The FIT work in small teams, usually in pairs and accompanied by civilian police photographers. The FIT use film and still cameras to collect information on participants – and are now a frequent presence at many demonstrations (including smaller, regional, demonstrations). Whilst there is little information about exactly when environmental and social justice campaigns started to become the target of such surveillance, by 1996 they had started to make their presence felt to nonviolent protest groups, as George Monbiot wrote in *The Guardian* at the time:

“...environmental protest is becoming the state’s “necessary enemy”, replacing miners, communists and terrorists as a justification for lavish spending on domestic intelligence... There was an uninvited guest at the street party organized by traffic protesters in Brighton last weekend. An inspector with the Metropolitan Police’s Forward Intelligence Team, he seemed to know rather more about the rest of the guest list than the organizers did” (1996).

In addition to the collection of data, the FIT are commonly perceived by many campaign groups, familiar with their presence, as a tactic of intimidation:

“... the FIT team has established an atmosphere of constant and targeted surveillance of known activists and "potential trouble-makers". The effect on political protest is often debilitating. "We spend our time speculating what the police might do to us, rather than what we ourselves want to do," said one protestor” (Provost 2008).

On numerous occasions where people were being filmed or photographed (during protests or entering/leaving events, train stations, meetings) I attempted to speak to FIT officers and was greeted by a wall of silence; activists told me that the ‘FIT never speak’. On one occasion, having asked why the team were filming a particular group within a larger march, I was quickly grabbed by a police officer and told I would be arrested for assaulting the officer with the camera – to which a number of witnesses came to my defence. Even under recent Freedom of Information Act requests, the FIT have declined to give information on how and why they select events and people to film – though have admitted that data collected will be kept on record for up to seven years (What They Know 2009).

Campaigners against this ‘total policing’ include *FIT Watch* (UK) and *Copwatch* (Australia and USA) an organisation opposed to the use of ‘intelligence led’ policing. Members of *FIT Watch* would physically perform physical interventions to the FIT collection of data. These included tactics such as a large *FIT Watch* banners, or placards between police cameras and the body of protestors. They also photograph the FIT and post images of surveillance groups and undercover officers on the group’s website, which has been shut down by the police on a number of occasions. They view surveillance by the FIT as an infringement on civil liberties and an act of intimidation – they are not affiliated to any particular social movements and the *CfCA* legal team and *FIT Watch* had understandings not to intervene in each others roles:

“The police should not be compiling protest databases nor should they be profiling activists and we work to challenge these practices... We have been responsible for obtaining important evidence regarding the existence of police protester databases, the use of extremism units to monitor protest, the harassment of journalists by FIT, and the inclusion of protester details in Criminal Intelligence Reports” (FIT Watch 2011).

Since 2007, *FIT Watch* (and more recently the *CfCA* legal team) have monitored the use of surveillance in the pre-emptive targeting of individuals, with a growing body of material suggesting that people who have no criminal record have been placed onto national databases. Prior to Lewis and Evans’s report in *The Guardian* (2009, above) the groups had taken special interest in the number of cars stopped and searched on route to protest sights – on the morning of 19th October, an advertised day of action against Ratcliff on Soar Power Station a number of cars and one minibus were intercepted at various locations outside of the vicinity of the protest. On talking to those intercepted the majority had never been detained or arrested – should not have had a police record – yet shared one commonality, using the vehicles when attending a monthly *CfCA* meeting. Another was a member of *FIT Watch*, detained for over an hour whilst ‘every inch’ of the car was searched (ROS001).

Forward intelligence has become the focus of wider concerns about surveillance. Its use to execute ‘pre-emptive’ arrests - those where no crime has been committed – was controversially used on the eve of the 2011 Royal Wedding; 52 people were arrested prior to the event, including two academics (Amy Cutler and Chris Knight) and a busker

“The protester had only got a few bars into his version of the Beatles' Yellow Submarine, recast as "we all live in a fascist regime", when the plain clothes officers moved in” (Booth, Laville et al. 2011). Intelligence is also being used to single out of activists from larger groups with an increase in the use of ‘snatch and grab’ squads – where a group of around six police officers, often plain clothed (not displaying badge numbers) targeting one individual for what (at the time) seems to have no provocation; a small group of UK Uncut protestors, playing guitars and singing in a London park were recent victims of this tactic (as captured on video by Tzimnewman3 2011). The detainment of CfCA ‘international group’ member Chris Kitchen, on route to a meeting in Copenhagen in October 2009, bought consternation about the misuse of intelligence, and the treatment of nonviolent activists as terrorists, from beyond the ‘movement’; police having used anti-terrorism powers to intercept him as he arrived at Folkestone ferry terminal (Rouse 2009) – The Guardian later revealed Kitchen as one of a number of activists befriended by undercover Metropolitan Police officer Mark Kennedy (2011).

Whilst political groups have been infiltrated and the subject of police surveillance for many years there has been a massive rise in its use since 9/11 – legitimised as part of the wider war on terrorism. Joseph Fitsanakis (2008) lists examples from the United States, where police have admitted undercover intelligence gathering within Anti-War, Quaker, Environmental and Women’s groups, at academic conferences:

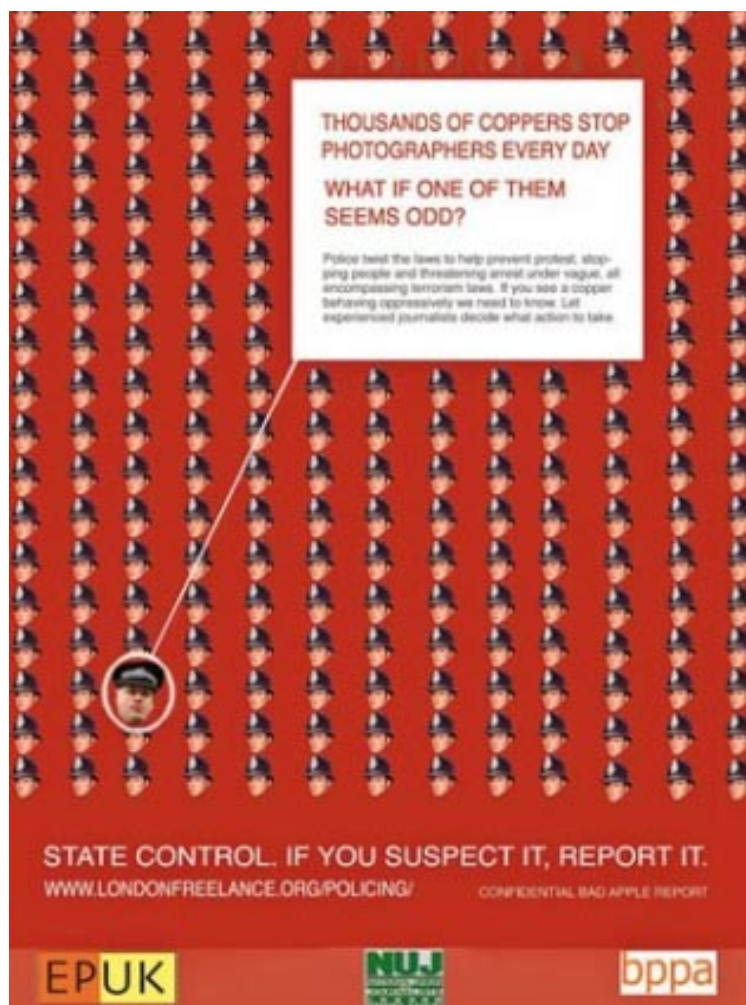
“Their sheer number certainly suggests a dramatic proliferation of undercover surveillance operations directed against political activity. Furthermore, they substantiate the limited information civil liberties observers have managed to access through the ever-widening net of official government secrecy. We know from congressional testimony records that, in 2003, US Attorney General John Ashcroft authorized in excess of 170 emergency Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act (FISA) warrants —a number far greater than that corresponding to the past 23 years”

Stop and Search powers have also been used for surveillance and data gathering, notably under Section 60 of the Criminal and Public Order Act (1994) and Section 44 of the Terrorism Act (2000) and were the foci of criticism from a number of groups during the period of this research. Whilst each set of powers had very different (legal) intentions both were perceived as being targeted a particular sections of the community. Groups such as the *Newham Monitoring Group* and *Liberty* had long been campaigning

against the seemingly random and excessive use of stop and search on young black and Asian males (Jameson 2007), and press photographers were becoming increasingly agitated by a what one described as a ‘daily occurrence’ where police in central London were demanding camera kits be searched, ‘ignoring NUJ identity cards’ (LCC001) in what one photographer described as intimidation and a balancing act, so that the number of black males being searched didn’t seem so disproportionate “last week I was searched twice in one day...they (the police) spent two hours stopping and searching white, middle aged folk coming out of the British Museum, it makes the numbers look better” (LC001). Leading photographers to initiate their own anti-surveillance subvertising and groups, including *Photographer not a Terrorist* (see images 6.6, also see 6.3 for original).

In similarity with SOCPA and Section 60 (of PACE), Section 44 of the Terrorism Act (see below) can be applied to a defined geographical area, affording the police a set of powers that could be used therein; these included stop and search without specified grounds and the power to make people within the area remove masks. *Liberty* claim that the discretionary powers are “so broadly drawn” that “for almost 10 years all of Greater London was designated as an area in which anyone can be stopped and searched without suspicion” (2011). The powers afforded to police under ‘Section 44’ had (until recent changes noted below) obvious benefits over ‘Section 60’ through which an officer must have reasonable grounds to suspect a crime is about to (or has) been committed by the person being searched – for instance, police should state clearly what they are looking for (spray paint, weapons etc) with obvious restrictions on who could be searched. There has been widespread criticism that counter-terrorism regulations have been used to intimidate target groups that were known to have no links to ‘terrorist’ activities (acknowledging the concept of terrorism itself is socially constructed and contingent) led the European Court of Human Rights to demand changes to the Terrorism Act in 2010. Subsequently, the police need to provide reasonable grounds of suspicion of involvement in acts of terrorism. The change led to a dramatic decline in the use of anti-terror powers, validating many of the claims bought against its application. In between September 2008-2009 there were 200,775 incidents of stop and search under this

counter-terrorism regulation, the same period of time after the changes saw 45,932 incidents, a 77% drop (Batty 2011).



6.6: Counter anti-terror policing campaign by freelance journalists organisation; EPUK (Editorial Photographers UK, 2009) http://www.epuk.org/files/800w_epukposter.jpg

The same powers used to stop and search allow for the removal of face coverings. Whilst this is also the subject of controversial calls to extend these regulations to religious clothing this thesis doesn't have the scope to explore the cultural and religious ramifications of this. SOCPA currently prohibits the wearing of masks and facial coverings (excluding religious) within the vicinity of Parliament whilst section 60 of the CJPOA (outlined above) affords police the power to use 'reasonable force' to remove any form of facial covering. Culturally the discourse of mask wearing in protest has centred on media representations of suspicion where as there are a number of reasons why protestors decide to cover their faces. Practically, the increase in surveillance has been central to this but political cultures of protest also involve wider narratives of anonymity and 'we'ness.

For many political activists the adoption of mask wearing is linked directly to the roots and ethos of the global justice movement, and viewed as an embodiment of solidarity, a political-ethics of engagement. In 1994 the Zapatista adopted the universal use of masks as a dual performance, ethical and practical; protecting identity in a politically violent terrain of resistance, and as a cultural act of voice-plural – a visibility and solidarity in anonymity – “nosotros no somos nosotros” we are not ourselves (Notes from Nowhere 2003:242-243). As **Ch 5** discussed, in relation to direct action, masks and disguises are integral to many confrontational tactics, from black bloc to clowning. Within the surveillance spotlight the mask, of course, has very practical benefits. In countering the policing of dissent this has been performative of an increased in the use of mask to counter surveillance and a refusal to legitimise representations that enable the targeting of certain groups over others. The performance and performative spaces of mask wearing during the anti-Summit of the Americas mobilisations in Quebec in 2001, were an act of creative resistance whose ethos has been reproduce by many groups since.

The city of Quebec banned the wearing of masks for the duration of the summit; in response arts-activists initiated a large scale intervention – to mock the law, enact solidarity, and to embody the ethos of the GJM - ‘the gift of masks’., an intervention/performance where everybody wore masks and the individual anti-geopolitical body disappeared. In the run up to the mobilisations, the Cactus Network set-up a clandestine mask factory and screen printed 10,000 brightly coloured bandanas (2009); “hand-printed with a fantastic, grotesque, carnivalesque smile. ..like a soft weapon” (Holmes 2003). Along each edge of the mask a Zapatista infused saying was written:

"We will remain faceless because we refuse the spectacle of celebrity, because we are everyone, because the carnival beckons, because the world is upside down, because we are everywhere. By wearing masks we show that who we are is not as important as what we want, and what we want is everything for everyone" (from bandana – personal collection).



6.7: Police assemble prior to moving into demonstration, Copenhagen 16/12/2009; photo journal

Making public space safer

This final empirical section turns to the policing of protest – the spatial practices of securing the street. It looks to current UK practices before turning to empirical material garnered within the large scale protests of Copenhagen 2009. It explores how legislation is introduced and implemented and continues to explore the affect on anti-geopolitical bodies and how this can be performative of counter-repression tactics by activists. In the UK the NETCU *Policing Protest: pocket legislation guide* lays out 60 pages of legal powers that can be used within the policing of protest, from the Labour and Union Act (which limits how and where strike pickets can take place) and Highways Act, to the Terrorism Act (2000). Three of these are geographical and have had particular impact upon the mobility and freedoms of activists and campaigners, and have allowed special powers within specific location under SOCPA, Section 60 (PACE) Section 44 (Terrorism Act).

The peace camp positioned (by Brian Haw) outside of the Houses of Parliament is widely believed to have been the impetus for the introduction of SOCPA (Serious Organised Crime and Police Act 2005), sections 132 – 138, which *severely* restrict “demonstrations in the vicinity of Parliament”, a geographical area “one kilometre in a

straight line from the point nearest to it in Parliament Square”, which includes Whitehall, and Downing Street entrances (Serious Organised Crime Agency 2005:96-102). In effect, for Haw to converse with anyone at the location of his one-man vigil, without at least six days notice, contravened the Act, as permission is needed for two or more demonstrators. SOCPA also places controls upon the use of material objects such as placard and banners (written permission needed and numbers dictated by the police (Section 134)) and a ban on the use of loudspeakers (section 137). SOCPA has been widely criticised and an attack on civil liberties and as Shami Chakrabarti, of civil rights group *Liberty* spoke of SOCPA, as a "blow to free speech...[placing] the right to protest is under severe threat in this country" (BBC News 2006). When the SOCPA was subsequently used to remove the Democracy Village protest camp (see above), Deborah Orr of *The Guardian* pointed to the wider symbolic significance of the absence of protest:

“The Westminster protesters gave tourists the impression that our politicians can handle dissent...They'd have been slightly misled, of course. But not as misled as they will be by an empty, manicured lawn, speaking only of a nation content and at ease with its wise and noble political masters” (Orr 2010).

On the street, the ‘management of protest events’ has struggled with what ‘public order’ might look like, and has had a tendency – and this is a refrain of almost all people I spoke to – to treat all demonstrators through a ‘worst case scenario’, as sites of terror - imminently violent. In exploring how the body has become a site of insecurity in relation to the policing of dissent; the use of surveillance as a tactic of securitisation was presented through the empirical reflections on the policing of the climate camp in London 2009, where the police proclaimed an adopted a ‘community style’ approach that included high levels of surveillance but the subsequent responses to student and anti-cuts protests has shown that the ‘hands-off’ approach was short-lived. The intersection of geopolitics and social movement activism is most visible within large-scale counter summit mobilisations. Those that took place in Copenhagen 2009 encountered spatial tactics and police discourses familiar in post-Seattle summit policing.

The spatio-political dimensions of counter summit protests that have the added element of transnational actors – elites and activists, these, according to Gorringer and Rosie (2008), take the form of ‘global protests’, giving the impression that the risk posed by protestors seeps beyond the state in which they take place. Smith and Cowen (2010), Zajko and Beland (2008) have interrogated the spatial practices of counter summit policing, with the former offering forward detailed accounts of how Toronto was spatially zoned throughout the duration of the G20 summit. Whilst the policing of protest and dissent was the focus of debate in the UK, the Danish government were preparing for the anticipated arrival of up to 100,000 climate justice activists and civil society groups to Copenhagen for a social forum and demonstrations to coincide with the United Nations COP15. As earlier chapters explored, the CJA had framed the transnational mobilisations in relation to Seattle 1999, incorporating the tenth anniversary into representations of global justice movement counter summit activism. The Danish Government responded by approving a package of laws targeted transnational protest; securing territory, mobility and anti-geopolitical bodies. During and following the management of the ‘protest events’ criticisms were waged about the infringements on human rights and to civil liberties.

At the end of November 2009, shortly before the COP15 talks, and the start of counter mobilizations, the Danish Government announced the temporary relinquishment of the Schengen Agreement. Since its implementation in 1995 the agreement has allowed free travel within the member states – which make up the majority of Europe; it is harder to enter Europe (as a whole) BUT within Schengen territory border controls were relaxed, effectively creating ‘fortress Europe’. Between the 1st and 18th December 2009, Denmark resumed border controls, to heighten domestic security for the period of the UN COP15 talks. The relinquishing of Schengen was a pre-talk indication that Denmark recognised the major oppositional constituency to be European; it also provided a practical means through which to monitor those entering the country. The Danish state also introduced a new legal framework relating to civil disobedience, called the Rascal Package (Lømmelpakken); a set of powers that “...allows the police to detain people up to 12 hours without arrest, and which radically increases the sentence for obstructing police work in conjunction with disorder” (Wahlstrom 2010). Whilst European media

took little notice regarding the powers being afforded to the police, Human Rights groups were becoming increasingly concerned with how the laws would be interpreted and applied in practice:

A new improvised prison has been built in an old industrial warehouse on the outskirts of Copenhagen. 37 cages each measuring 5 by 2.4 meters have been installed in the warehouse. Each cage is designed to hold 10 protesters within the 12 square meters of space in the cage...Referring to the UN laws about prisoners, the general secretary of Amnesty International Denmark, Lars Normann Jørgensen, told *Politiken* that combined with the new protest package innocent people could end up in the cages, "These people have done nothing illegal, and the police have no intention of charging them. They just want them off the street," he said" (Repotage Environ 2009).

The police could arrest and detain people with very limited suspicion that any criminal act was likely to take place; the legislation also banned face coverings/masks. In addition to these the police in Denmark had territorial zoning similar to the British Section 44 (Terrorism Act 2000) and SOCPA, where frisking (stop and search) could take place without grounds.

I was based in Copenhagen from the 3 – 18 December, during which the Rascal Package was widely implemented. The main programme of demonstrations took place between the 12th and the 16th December. They started with a large march that formed part of a global day of action and culminated with the Reclaim Power! demonstration. Under the Rascal Package more than 2000 activist were pre-emptively arrested, some of whom were targeted on multiple occasions. On December 12th, a large march through the city coordinated as part of an international day of action attracted an estimated 100,000 participants, mainly connected to from civil society groups (for instance, two coach-loads of campaigners from Friends of the Earth North East England), NGO's, and Trade Unions, families and individuals. The march had gathered for a rally outside the Department of the Environment for talks, before heading toward the Bella Centre. The area was packed with bodies, giant puppets, flags, banners, and placards, samba bands and street performers from all around the world. The police soon singled-out a large section of march, calling themselves the 'system change not climate change bloc'; you tube footage clearly shows, and witnesses described hundreds of police running toward, targeting, and using a great deal of physical force against the group before containing and arresting (indynessuno 2009). A second group were arrested early in the evening, they were kettled as the demonstration passed close to Christiania; forced to sit in rows

on the cold and freezing road, before being handcuffed with cable ties those detained were taken away in coaches and detained in purpose built cages (see image below and Indymedia Australia 2009)



6.8: “A police officer opened one of 37 metal cages in a former beer depot in Copenhagen to house protesters arrested during the climate conference”; 6/12/2009, *New York Times* (2009)



6.9: Police block roads and detain activists following the International Day of Action 12/12/2009, Copenhagen; Nissen (2009)

Almost 1000 people were arrested on the 12th; they were detained on the outskirts of Copenhagen in specially designed cages, for up to 12 hour. Two young males I was sharing accommodation with were amongst the detained, were released at 6am on the 13th and had to find their way back to Christiania; they spoke of freezing weather conditions (of -8), their hands kept tied behind their backs with plastic cuffs, when one group managed to release their hands (and reportedly sung a rendition of ‘if you’re happy and you know it clap your hands’) police deployed pepper spray into the cages (TCC001). Many other abuses of detainees were reported:

“... police readily handed out what the Danish press delightedly termed “baton soup”. At the slightest provocation, police “kettled” protesters and used tear gas and pepper spray...[protestors were] imprisoned in wire cages in freezing conditions without access to either toilets or a telephone...some arrestees experienced the indignity and discomfort of wetting themselves” (Mason 2010)

Of those arrested during the mobilisations 23 (around 1%) were given grounds (reasons) for their detainment and only three were charged with any crime, and a number were deported (without charges being brought against them) (Westin 2009). Following the first wave of mass arrests, the Copenhagen Chief of Police responded to criticism by stating that “it’s inevitable that some innocent people get arrested” (ibid).

As the week of demonstrations in Copenhagen progressed kettling became a familiar event. During a ‘No Borders!’ demonstration (on 14/12/2009) I was contained within two kettles and narrowly avoided a third; at one point we were directed down a narrow side street and greeted by police officers and vans blocking the opposite end as another line of officers and vans slowly moved behind us, effectively crushing and containing everybody into increasingly confined space. In response to the mass arrests in Copenhagen it was decided (at the nightly meeting in Ránhildegard) that the police tactics of kettling, snatch and grab squads, and intimidation needed would be countered by collective action – for practical and affectual purposes – bodily protection and regaining agency to act, personal and group empowerment. It was decided that on subsequent demonstrations, those including a procession, that people would take back some power by forming a human chain around the demonstration - a barrier of people, linking arms to protect those inside from the police. From personal experience, the role incurred intimidation from sections of the police.

The Reclaim Power demonstration and subsequent People's Assembly (discussed in **Intervention V**) was, unsurprisingly, the overarching target of the repressive policing in Copenhagen - prior to and during the unfolding of the day's events. In the early hours of the day a few 'prominent' members of the *CJA* were arrested – some as they left the official talks and others during raids on homes, including academic Tadzio Muller, “fuelling anxiety” (see van der Zee 2009). The Ragnhildgade convergence space was raided on the morning of the 15th and the Candy Factory bike workshop in the evening, with police (reportedly) telling the occupants to hand over the 'weapon of mass creative resistance' that had been advertised as part of the Bike Bloc – the police reportedly left with a number of bikes and a small block of Lego, handed over when the police had refused to leave without 'the machine'.

Concluding comments

Having introduced this chapter as a somewhat sideways shift, in many ways contradicting my own criticism of the geopolitics' obsession with 'violent geographies'. The role of activist legal support has illustrated a number of tensions within movement practices, in particular the reformist demands (for legal change) made of the state and the use of the state's own judicial system upon itself. The chapter illustrated the state's own contradictory spaces, a judicial system that is being used to implement anti-terror laws to protect its citizens that in-turn impact and restrict the mobility and freedom of those citizens and have been used to justify levels of physical violence on nonviolent forms of oppositional resistance. The expert knowledges and increased professionalism of activist legal groups, in the UK and Denmark, have also illustrated another contradiction within the state system, not only has it been shown to breach it's own laws but the level of autonomy afforded to judicial processes often work against the state. The spaces of securitisation and the practises of new securities, presented through the embodiment of nonviolent resistance and activist legal support, provide the most startling arguments for the serious consideration of 'spacing'.

Intervention IV: is this what democracy looks like?



IV.1: Preparing to Reclaim Power! Bettina and Lenora at Tårnby Station 16/12/09; photo journal

16th December 2009, Copenhagen: At 2am of the 16th we (the caravanistas) were still planning for the day ahead; maps provided by the CJA covered a table in the Christiania cinema as we discussed meeting points, strategies to keep the safe as a group, emotional and corporeal tactics to keep calm and not panic (breathing and visualisation exercises), had a legal briefing, and an outline of who would be speaking at the People's Assembly. We were now aware of arrests taking place across Copenhagen, particularly that of CJA activist and academic Tazio Mueller, following the talk and events of the 14th in Christiania. The terrain of resistance (after Routledge 1996) for the Reclaim the Power! demonstration was divided between a number of blocs. We would be gathering at 8am, in front of Tårnby metro station (the Bella Centre station would be closed for the day), as part of the 'Blue bloc, 'carrying the People's Assembly...[and] following a Police approved route' (see Ch 4 and Ch 6, Climate Justice Action 2009c). A 'green bloc' and 'autonomous groups' would be forging their own route to the fence and attempt to gain access, a 'bike bloc' would be swarming, 'opening space'. At 10am all the blocs would converge from all directions at the fence of the Bella Centre Caravan participants would be speaking at the People's Assembly, each speaker would talk for 5 minutes, to be

followed by a whole assembly horizontal participatory process – small group consensus decision making circles on different themes, discussing and addressing ‘real solutions’ to climate [in]justice. A large ‘yellow bloc’ of accredited (and disillusioned) delegates from inside the conference would be disrupting the conference and staging a walk out to join the People’s Assembly before an anticipated start time of 12noon. After much discussion during working group meetings on the 15th, (see Ch 4) and an after general assembly late meeting the evening of the 15th it had been decided (with little input from caravan participants apart from European organisers) that caravan participants would be carrying the large banner at the front of the Reclaim Power! demonstration and other speakers for the assembly would travel in the sound truck (images IV.3, IV.4).

We left Christiania before 7am and took the metro to Tårnby, where a couple of thousand people were starting to gather. An early morning police raid on the Ragnhildgade sleeping space was impacting on arrival times. A band consisting of radical samba bands from throughout Europe, and people trained during the last week were already providing some rhythms of resistance by 8am. Legal Observers and Activist Medics were clustered in last minute briefing sessions and bust cards were distributed. When a sound truck arrived (carrying CJA activists, technologies and other speakers for the People’s Assembly) there was confusion as a mean of protecting the truck and the demonstration were corporeally negotiated. People on the out side linked arm to create a barrier between demonstrators and police, who in turn formed processions either side. The initial stage of the demonstration was ‘legal’; police permission had been granted for a procession from the Tårnby train station to a cross roads adjoining the Bella Centre main car park, which had been fortified with fencing for the week of talks (Ørestad Boulevard and Vejlands Allé see image I.2 E-2).

Within my own affinity group, the caravanistas, fear and exhaustion had already affected the number of participants, with some members of the Caravan deciding to stay away in fear of what police responses may be. The absence of geopolitical bodies who had travelled thousands of miles to speak, was one biopolitical affect of police and activist representations of another Seattle. For one member, a young activist from Columbia, the -8 freezing conditions didn’t deter her from wearing a thin cotton dress, in the hope that police would see that she was not a threat or ‘black bloc activist’. The

majority of us opted for three layers of clothing (as protection from the cold and the police). I undertook the role of legal observer accompanying the Caravan participants as they formed the first row of the demonstration and was joined by an Italian members of Ya Basta!, a small group who formed a couple of lines behind the Caravan participants to protect the group if necessary.

The police were visible in relatively low numbers for the main demonstration – by which I mean lining the route but not outnumbering the participants. We (LO) received messages that the ‘green bloc’ had been ‘taken out’ by police (about 200 activists were pepper sprayed and many detained by police on leaving their train station meeting point). As we approached the cross roads, the end of the ‘approved’ route we were alerted to police snatching people ahead and wrestling them to the ground (to which many of the media turned their attention). At the front of the demonstration we now had two street theatre groups (see Capitalist for Climate Change – image I.4), we could hear the samba band but only rarely the sound truck, which was about 0.5km behind us being protected on all sides by the demonstration. From further down the snaking procession of people the chants of ‘Power, power, power to the people, power to the people’, and ‘What do we want? Climate Justice! When do we want it? Now! Could be heard starting from the sound truck and resonating through the sea of bodies. At the front of the demonstration different chants were blending with the samba beats ‘Our climate is not your business!’, ‘Our world is not for Sale’.

On reaching the end of the designated route, and arriving at the fence to the Bella Centre, the police presence multiplied; police vans, dog-handlers, and police dogs greeted us from every angle. Chants of ‘This is what democracy looks like’ (a familiar refrain – a refrain from Seattle 1999 - in the face of state/police violence) Police with dogs lined the edge of the canal adjacent to the Bella Centre and quickly moved bodies and vehicles to block routes into the conference site and away from the area. As we moved beyond the bridge the police vans formed a strong, almost impenetrable line behind us, doors opened and officers poured out. At this point fear and adrenalin became overwhelming, each geopolitical body that continued to walk knew that if the People’s Assembly was to take place some form of battle would take place – a temporal-spatial moment that had been anticipated for six months. I rely on my photo

journal (see **Ch 3**) to help account for the events that followed – to act as a register for the moments where descriptive words cannot capture the events.

We were quickly surrounded by police officers. An announcement was given in English that was amplified through the speakers on top of the vans:

“This is the Police. In the name of the Queen and the law I declare this demonstration over [or halted]. You must disperse and clear this area in an orderly manner or this place will be cleared by the police. Anyone staying here will be arrested” (research journal CC001).

Police started to split the group, many protestors were quickly kettled and others headed to the sound truck, recognising that it was likely to be targeted (image IV.3 and IV.4). Those inside the sound truck called for everyone to protect them, and those who weren't being kettled close by formed a human barrier between police and truck. The People's Assembly spokespeople inside of the truck made what seemed to be a final battle call before the imminent charge:

“The world is watching! This is undemocratic! This is embarrassing! Remember why we are here – to cross borders, to cross nations, to cross cultures. The people most affected by climate change are the people on the ground, the people at the bottom, the people's movement. When the people cannot speak there is no justice!” (research journal CC001).

By the end of this impassioned speech, police were boarding the truck, arresting some of those who were due to speak (on grounds that they were inciting a riot). Those surrounding the truck were being systematically beaten with metal batons and tear gas was used for the final assault on the truck (see Appendix 5 for indicative video footage). Tear gas dispersed many people to the margins, as activist medics gave emergency treatment for eye damage and breathing difficulties. The sulphurous smell hung in the air, even away from the initial point of impact, I could feel it clinging to my lungs and making my eyes water for sometime. The evening before a new friend, an activist media with links to the black bloc had bought me a gift, a small cellophane package containing a small plastic gas mask – these were illegal to use under the Danish law, and I had declined the kind offer, for fear of being arrested, but as I felt my lungs being scorched I regretted my dismissal of standard black bloc technology. Once the clouds of gas

disappeared into the atmosphere (and bodies fought its affect) a collective push started with a new determination to form the People's Assembly.

Within the Bella Centre more 200 accredited conference delegates staged a walk out; they included a physical geographer/climate researcher, NGO representatives, commentators such as Naomi Klein, and government officials from Bolivia (and possibly Venezuela). As a group they played music and chanted as they left the conference centre and made their way toward to a section of fence closest to where the demonstration was now contained. The group were physically stopped from leaving and pushed back toward the conference centre by the police (see images IV.7 and IV.8). Police continued to form lines and kettle large groups. As bike bloc swarms started to arrive bicycles were used as a protective barrier between police lines and protestors, as was a temporary wall made from a number of tied together inflatable mattresses, embodying the permaculture activist ethos of having a multiple use for protest technologies (see **Ch 5**).

Once that a positions had finally been corporeally 'negotiated' – the police and vans formed containment lines but allowed the protestors moving space, and did little to stop people from leaving the site across an adjacent patch of boggy scrub land. Remaining protestors acted within the space of containment created by the state of Denmark. People started to re-group. A large blue and red parachute was laid on the ground. A circle of bodies started to grow outwards as people started to realise the People's Assembly was about to begin. Translators and speakers started to gather with the Bella Centre in the background. The caravan megaphone took the place of the sound system confiscated by the police. A replacement spokes council gathered – many of the proposed speakers were absent – arrested, unable (or too scared or demoralised) to get through the police lines, or contained within the conference centre. There was also a lot of internal antagonism being performed, angry exchanges between a small group of activists who felt that a small group of people were taking control, and being defeatist; letting the collective body down by deciding to hold the People's Assembly in the road, rather than continuing the push into the Bella Centre, to shut the conference down.



IV.2: Police vans block the road – Copenhagen 16/12/2009; photo journal



IV.3: Police kettle protestors close to the Bella Centre – Copenhagen 16/12/2009; photo journal



IV.4: Protestors and Police surround the sound truck carrying spokespersons and equipment for the People's Assembly – Copenhagen 16/12/2009; photo journal



IV.5: Police seize the sound truck – Copenhagen 16/12/2009; photo journal



IV.6: UNCOP15 delegates walk out to join the People's Assembly - Copenhagen 16/12/09; photo journal



IV.7: UNCOP15 delegates are pushed back by Police - Copenhagen 16/12/2009; photo journal



IV.8: People's Assembly starts to take shape despite containment - Copenhagen 16/12/2009; photo journal



IV.9: Dave from the Canadian Postal Workers Union speaks to the People's Assembly -Copenhagen 16/12/2009; photo journal

This emerging internal contestation built onto emerging critiques that had surfaced in the days after the large demo on the 12th. Through the dissemination of a pamphlet titled “Greenpeace/greenpolice” highly critical of the emergence of a leadership and narrative within the oppositional movement, which was perceived by more radical intellectual factions as a practice of internal policing by a largely invisible CJA. Criticisms included a dictatorial approach to tactics and a watering down of a narrative. Claims were made that the CJA had chosen to side with NGOs, adopting a discourse of environmental crisis rather than having the courage to use the large scale mobilisations to attack capitalism. An embrace of mainstream discourses ‘violence’ which left the black bloc unsupported during the demonstration and mass arrests of the 12th (see **Ch 6**), criticisms which had already resulted in thousands of Italian, Russian, and German protestors leaving the mobilisations before the Reclaim Power! demonstration. The anger seemed directed toward a perceived hijacking of what could be a fluid and diverse movement by a small group of people who were interested in the outward performance of democratic process rather than actual democratic process (dismissing rather than openly negotiating differences).

Despite tears of frustration and visible anger amongst a section of the demonstration the People’s Assembly was declared open. The Assembly was always meant to be the start of a process, to begin by offering ‘real solutions’. A number of people spoke, translated to the assembly. A couple of minutes each, in conditions that frequently made it difficult to hear. Northern and Southern movements were represented, as were two Trades Unions. Each of the speakers opened a new trans-local space, grounding global processes in local struggles. One of the first to speak was Pete, representing the Vesta’s workers, a British ‘green and red’ struggle on the Isle of Wight, where wind energy employees had lost their jobs and formed a coalition with climate activists. Why were so few Unions out on the streets? he asked – the Trades Unions and Climate Justice activists need to be working together, for solutions. We can’t separate these issues anymore – work, labour rights, globalisation, and climate change were intrinsically connected. Dave, of the Canadian Postal Workers Union spoke in wide agreement with the sentiments and for solidarity across the spaces of global justice activism.

Bettina spoke on the energy struggles in Oaxaca, where large energy companies have been systematically ‘acquiring’ productive farmland for large wind-farms. This was not an argument against renewable energy but against corporate energy, ‘the privatisation of the atmosphere’, and the enclosure of the wind. Energy needs to be decentralised, produced and used in communities – she finished by thrusting Pachamama into the sky and shouting “viva Zapatista”. Alexandra an ecologist from Ecuador spoke of 150 years of oil exploitation and land degradation that was coming to an end. The solution they were proposing from Ecuador was to leave oil in the ground. Oil is the biggest cause of climate change, the international community could pay for this not to be used; Alexandra started a chant that circulated (like a Mexican wave) ‘keep the oil in the soil, keep the oil in the soil’. A Via Campesina spokesperson spoke of the solution that is already happening but being crushed, low impact ‘sustainable agriculture’ emphatically reiterating that “climate change is not an environmental issue”. Pepe of the SEAFish for Justice Group, spoke of the small fishers based within South Asia provided and the complexities of ‘sustainable development’ with reference to both climate and trade issues. Livelihood was being destroyed by climate change and the international policies – the green development mechanisms – that were irreversibly destroying fishing grounds.

A horizontal process followed the speakers. People formed small discussion groups and spent time sat on the cold damp road to formulate ‘real solutions’. Each group then fed back to the wider assembly, given 1 to 2 minutes each (these are all documented in Appendix 8). About 15 groups fed back to the assembly. The responses reflected the European dominance; 6 of the groups spoke directly of the need to have assemblies in many cities, discussing and practicing real solutions within communities. One group spoke out about how ‘we’ (understood here as European interpretation of a Climate Justice Movement) have shown that we can protest well, that we can stage large events, but we haven’t been able to translate this where we live, in the everyday situations we find ourselves. 3 groups spoke of the need for global networks, and a global movement. The majority of groups spoke of local production and consumption, only 1 group mentioning food sovereignty directly. The weather, impending darkness, and continued pressure from the police had ensured that these final feedback sessions became a string

of sloganistic shout-outs. A decision had been made by the emergency spokes not to disperse, but to move in procession back into the Ragnhildgade convergence space to continue the discussions, though many people did head back in smaller groups to the city. The procession was led by the caravanistas and Via Campasina spokespeople who remained. Before the ground was cleared of the parachute an American (veteran of Seattle) gave a final affective shout-out to the assembly before cheers, whistles and clapping – applause from the assembly to the assembly:

“We fucking did it! We fucking did it ourselves! We fucking made them shut it down! They beat the shit out of us! They beat the shit out of the people inside [the conference]! The minister from Denmark resigned! It has been a huge day for the people of the world” (anonymous US activist closing the People’s Assembly).

Whether we ‘fucking did it’ is highly subjective, for many present it will probably depend on how much ‘shit’ was kicked out of you, and whether it was worth it. The aim of this six month ethnographic journey was always to follow two groups of people to the People’s Assembly, the effort and the passion, the symbolic, discursive and performed spaces that opened as a movement was manifested. This final intervention, both the performance and the written thesis section, was always a destination set in progress from the beginning. It might not have happened, in many ways it didn’t – as in it never fulfilled its own vision of shutting down the UNCOP15. The conference was momentarily bought to a halt, not because of the People’s Assembly and mass scrimmage of activists, police, and media in the streets outside, or that fact that many delegates walked out of the conference, but because two protestors jumped onto the stage. This small act of nonviolent civil disobedience was a direct intervention of equality - a refusal to legitimise a process by acting directly into the highly choreographed conference with an alternative address to the audience by uninvited speakers. But how might we understand the People’s Assembly?

This was also a highly choreographed performance. The People’s Assembly did take place, and it was (on the whole) a horizontal process. Alternative political practices were performed and alternative ideas (solutions) were publically presented. Symbolically then, the assembly enacted a defiant refusal of the silence imposed though

the formal conference. It performed direct confrontation, through symbolic location, a commitment to nonviolent tactics even in the face of physical harm enacted by the police, and non-hierarchical political process – a performative manifestation of the discursive terrain that had developed during the proceeding months, here, made real, was a people’s movement, the ‘Climate Justice Movement’ in the flesh. The People’s Assembly existed symbolically, discursively and performatively, the issues were publically named, networks and interpersonal relationships formed, the policing of dissent denied. The absences from this performance are also important. Other discourses were also productive – violence, exclusivity, and spectacle over substance permeated prior to and after the event.

Chapter 7: Coda

And as imagination bodies forth
The forms of things unknown, the poet's pen
Turns them to shapes and gives to airy nothing
A local habitation and a name

Shakespeare, A Midsummer Night's Dream

Ethnography is an approach to doing and writing research, the endings of which are to find a register, 'a local habitation and a name', through which the more-than-representational fragments can be given some shape. Chapter 2 and 3 introduced a conceptual framework through which the ethnographic pieces were interpreted and re-ordered into recognisable shapes; *spacing nonviolent confrontation*. As the introductory chapters made clear the observant participation at the heart of this ethnographic practice was borne of long-term personal connections (practical and ethical-political). In respect of academic rigour the research period had temporal bookends – it started on the 1st July and drew a line in the sand on the 16th December 2009. Whilst empirical engagement was substantial during this period (see **Ch 3**) it remains a highly contextual and partial account. Here, in the concluding chapter, I tie up some loose ends and weave in some new threads of connection.

First, I offer a summary of the study and present some practical updates - what happened next, this acts as both a narrative device (filling in the gap) and an additional layer of triangulation. This will be followed by a process of reflection, initially looking to what emerged from the research, the ethnographic and conceptual highlights. The ethnographic highlights will bring together points of interest that cross the empirical chapters and are worth reiterating. The theoretical and conceptual insights will present the emerging themes that a consideration of the spacing of nonviolent confrontation offers. These contribute to a number of future research directions that would be of academic and social movement benefit. Because my own research performance was centrally positioned within this research, I reflect on the ethnographic process; the benefits and limitations of a 'militant' position and multi-sited following. In considering 'impacts' through an expanded conceptualisation (as **Ch 3** touched upon), I tease out

some points where this research has made some minor contributions within and beyond the academy.

A brief recap...

The thesis departed from the point where the pieces of an ethnographic study started to knit together – an attempt to bring the fragments gathered over six months of substantial yet partial research into focus. The introductory chapters laid down the foundations of the thesis, the routes and roots of two groups of people up to and including the People's Assembly into focus. The aim of the research was to look at nonviolent civil disobedience and alternative assembly in the six month run up to, and including, Copenhagen in December 2009 – in short, the intersection of social movement activism and geopolitics. The research brought together ongoing debates within radical geography, critical geopolitics, social movement theory, nonviolent conflict studies, with the cultural theories of performance and performativity in order to contribute to emerging work on anti- and alternative geopolitics (principally after Routledge 2003 and Koopman 2009, 2011). These have been understood throughout as 'geopolitics from below', and more specifically (here) the re-presenting of geopolitics (performative nonviolent configurations).

The introductory chapters (1-3) situated the study at the intersection of geopolitics and social movement activism; making a call for the serious consideration of nonviolent geographies and (performative) re-presentation I outlined the three conceptual arenas, nonviolent confrontation, social movement activism, and alternative geopolitics. I took these forward in relation to the sites and groups that were engaged with during this research. These have been presented as newest social movements, those who are ethically committed to a politics of the act rather than a politics of demand (after Day 2005), they are also understood as producing a set of interconnecting spaces of solidarity (mutual aid), nonviolence, alternative (environmental) geopolitics. These spaces were understood as performatively becoming. The spacing of nonviolent social movement action was outlined as a means through which the performed and performative aspects could be productively engaged with. The research approach was outlined as a militant, ethically and politically engaged process, where social movement

participation and activism where understood as a way of feeling and knowing, and of sharing partial identifications.

Personal note and practical updates

This is a thesis about movement, including my own. When I started this research was about creative resistance, joyous celebration – where art meets life. For one short moment different elements of life and work collapsed in one space, in fact they were all present in one small location. As we reached the Bella Centre on the 16th December and police started to tear gas the mainly non-resisting crowds I spotted a group of fellow geographers and we stayed together momentarily, trying to comprehend what was unfolding around us. Caravan, Camp for Climate Action, activist legal support, colleagues, neighbourhood affinity group friends, fellow Exeter students, Police, media, and the majority of geopolitical elites were together in a corner of Copenhagen, a fairytale city. Following the People’s Assembly we dispersed. Following the subsequent press conference, I spent the evening in an informal de-brief session, talking with caravanistas, a new friend (a German black bloc activist and PhD student) and a fellow academic, social movement and counter summit ethnographer (and anthropologist). Over wine and food we attempted to find a common register to describe the day’s events, without resolution. Each had our own version of events - our bodies were visibly flagging but our minds were buzzing with stories. The next morning most of us said tearful goodbyes and headed back to our individual lives. Many things are left unresolved, open.

Spatial and temporal distance hasn’t stopped the ‘caravanistas’ from keeping in touch and acting in solidarity with one another, the virtual spaces of the internet have ensured that many of us speak at least once each week. We share information about ongoing struggles and make calls for, and offer, solidarity where needed. Two young activists from Belarus have been imprisoned during the last year, for their anti-nuclear campaigning – the caravan sent joint letters, and communications on behalf of themselves and social movements that they act with, to embassies calling for their release and alerting the Belarusian authorities that people were bearing witness (they were released after 21 days, without charge). Two participants from Columbia are living

in exile after militia threatened their families and murdered comrades. We all remain connected and struggles remain. Caravan participants continue to feed-back to the group on events and such as the Mother Earth Conference in Bolivia (2010), the World Social Forum in Dakar (2011), The Cancun and Johannesburg UNCOPs 16 and 17 (2010, 2011), and a recent Climate Caravan in Bangladesh (2011).

Activist legal support work continues, though the writing of a thesis, employment and family responsibilities often taken precedent. I continued to be actively involved in legal support for the CfCA up to the start of the August 2010 camp, occupying the grounds of the Royal Bank of Scotland, in Edinburgh (hospitalisation drew a swift end to my camping). The CfCA legal working group became part of the Green and Black Cross (physically and financially). The Green and Black activist legal support group has a far broader remit, a move favoured by the majority of the working group. Recent sites of support have been with Student Anti-cuts protests, UK Uncut, and Occupy groups, and supporting ongoing court cases. In a personal capacity I welcome this shift, and the wider emphasis on policing and protest/freedom of speech.

In November 2010, a student occupation took place at Exeter University; a two week display of creative resistance - 'free education', non-hierarchical decision making processes, a people's kitchen, an anti-cuts café, kidspace, dancing and music, as academics and non academics filled the largest lecture theatre on campus, and imagined a world they thought was unimaginable (see Cook and Burton Forthcoming). Many of those involved in the occupation set down temporary roots in the city centre as the Occupy Exeter protest camp (November 2011 – February 2012). Two really exciting observations struck me when visiting various Occupy camps. The first is that the current wave of 'occupiers' are not the 'usual suspects', the movement has brought together young and old, many of whom have been quietly politically active (community, church, union, student, ant-cuts, social/trade justice campaigners) but never before been driven to taking (direct) action that brings them into direct contestation with authority. The second has been the wealth of practical skills and political-ethics - these emerged within numerous social movements, were iteratively and affectively deployed by the CfCA and have *performatively* become the 'norm' within many of the occupy protest camps – the

decision making, including large scale general assemblies, creativity, popular education, people's kitchens have been written into the fabric of camps.

In spring 2011, following a small gathering in the south of England, the 'Metamorphosis' statement was released on behalf of the *Camp for Climate Action* that seemed to bring to an end the 'organising' structure of the movement, this followed three 'Where Next?' meetings:

"The decision not to organise a camp, nor organise as Climate Camp or the Camp for Climate Action, will be a shock to some, and may provoke a lot of questions. We hope these decisions will give space and time for those questions to evolve into new forms of effective and inspiring action and organisation. This is no retreat from organised large-scale action on climate change, rather a freeing of our energy to organise much more effectively all year round ... This closure is intended to allow new tactics, organising methods and processes to emerge in this time of whirlwind change. With the skills, networks and trust we have built we will launch new radical experiments to tackle the intertwined ecological, social and economic crises we face" (Camp for Climate Action 2011).

The statement was greeted with bemusement by many neighbourhoods affiliated to the group many of the working groups quickly disbanded (or shifted sideways), effectively bringing the *Camp for Climate Action* organisation elements to an end. A new group, the *Climate Justice Collective* emerged for this process "formed by people from *Camp for Climate Action* who wanted to explore new forms of anti-hierarchical organising that would free us up from some of the conflicts and frustrations of the past" (CfCA 2011). In many ways this metamorphosis reflected, 'a perception of failure', a stage on social movement development noted by Moyer (2001) in his Movement Action Plan (MAP). Moyer perceives eight phases that social movements pass through: 1) beginnings - within 'normal' social conditions, 2) highlighting the failure of institutions, 3) recognising favourable conditions, 4) gaining public recognition as a movement, 5) *the perception of failure* - activists get demoralised when actually the movement is doing well, 6) majority public opinion, 7) achieving some successes, 8) continuing the struggle. Stage 5, then becomes the pivotal stumbling block for movements committed to ethical-political change through a politics of the act, and how to remain motivated and acknowledge realistic expectations when there is not overarching demand to which success can be tested.

We might also understand this as a problem with a heritage within European and US social movements where points in a cycle of contention (returning to Tarrow (Ch 1/2/3) see a dropping off of active participants. For the CfCA it has been where there are no big events (camps or international mobilisations) to plan for and everyday organisational tasks (outreach, neighbourhood meetings etc) seem to lack focus and any roots within place/location. From a participant perspective the camp descended into a cycle of asking and debating the wrong question – trying to find a common goal, destination, and ‘mission statement’ rather than acknowledging the strength lay in *not* committing to one. The ‘camp’ was a space produced by heterogeneous relations, people involved in many diverse forms of social justice activism (in its widest sense), its success had been the convergence of so many different groups (church, environmentalist, trades union, social justice) with a shared commitment to doing things differently – to living, learning, and acting together, to change. Antagonisms came to the fore over the issue of whether the CfCA was an anti-capitalist movement that focussed on climate change, or a climate-change movement that was also anti-capitalist. Their own narrative of climate justice became overshadowed in the debates that ensued. The falling apart of the ‘camp’ became the foundations of other movements, less concerned with finding a label, or formulating demands, but sharing an ethos of refusal and prefiguration. Skills, political-ethics and resources have in some small part enabled wider critiques of capitalism through manifestations of UK Uncut, Occupy, Grow Heathrow, Bristol Urban Eco village – responding in part to calls that emerged in Copenhagen to mobilise in all of our cities rather than all travel to one.

The British Police have come under public scrutiny regarding the policing of protestors and the covert operations of the National Public Order Intelligence Unit and which oversaw at least three police officers living amongst climate justice activists in the groups worked with here. Perhaps, the most damning criticisms of the police operation came from within, most infamously Mark Kennedy detailing his own concerns about the policing of environmentalists and his personal treatment received from officers believing him to be an activist: “I experienced a lot of unjust policing...[on one occasion] they kicked and beat me. They had batons and pummelled my head. One officer repeatedly stamped on my back. I had a finger broken and a prolapsed disc”

(Hattenstone 2011:18). During the court case of 114 climate protestors pre-emptively arrested in 2009, ‘suspected of planning’ to enter the Ratcliff on Soar Kennedy guilty of was exposed as an agent provocateur – he was amongst those arrested – charges against all 114 were subsequently dropped.

Following the pre-emptive arrests in Copenhagen (**Ch 6**), more than 250 activists took the Danish Police to court for unlawful arrest and detainment. On the 16th December 2010, one year after the Climate Summit events, the City Court of Copenhagen deemed the mass arrests as illegal and demanded that the Danish Police pay compensation of 9,000Kr to those (Danish, German, Italian, and British participants) who took the case to court. Knud Foldschack, the lawyer for some of the claimants arrested on the 12th of December, said:

“The events on the 12th of December 2009 have damaged the reputation of Denmark abroad. A lot of internationals came to Denmark to demonstrate with an expectation that Denmark was a country where you don’t have to fear the police. They were deeply disappointed” (Climate Collective 2010).

Riots on mainland Britain during of the summer of 2011 culminated in renewed debates around policing and how far police should and could go in controlling ‘public order’. Jenny Jones, the Green Party member of the Metropolitan Police Authority, claims that these discussions are tantamount to the "approval of the tactics of war on London's streets"(BBC News 2011) Debates continue over where and when the use of tear gas, plastic bullets and water cannon can be justifiably deployed against dissent (BBC News 2011). A consultation process is currently underway (Winter 2011) for extended powers for police to remove face coverings or to ban them altogether within some public areas and during protest events. Powers would supplement (or replace) existing provisions under section 60AA of the Criminal Justice and Public Order Act 1994, and would be enacted supposedly to "prevent build-up of disorder". New curfew powers when and where the police ‘fear’ a potential for disorder. These powers would go much further than current dispersal powers under the Anti-Social behaviour Act 2003. New technologies of spatial control have been designed in anticipation of the London 2012 Olympics, amidst speculation that the mega event will impact upon the use of public space and mobility in London and beyond mobile walls to replace police lines,

effectively blocking off areas at short notice and without prior warning. It is widely believed that Section 44 anti-terror legislation will be placed over the entirety of Great Britain during the events, and it has already been announced that military personnel and resources will be mobilised – including helicopters (London) and at least two naval frigates (Weymouth harbour and London Thames). The discourse of security that is already shaping responses to the mega event seems likely to provoke a performance of militarisation that could serve to reiterate a perceived insecurity that in turn could be used to defend an increasingly militarised Police Force (but at the time of writing this is mere speculation).

Judicial Reviews – in April 2011 the police were found to have acted unlawfully during the G20; the court “establishing that (a) the containment of the Climate Camp, and (b) the pushing operation to move the crowd approximately 20 to 30m to the north at the southern end of the Climate Camp were not lawful police operations” (Joshua Moos and Hannah McClure v Commissioner of Police of the Metropolis (High Court 2011)) (see also Anon 2011; Dodd and Lewis 2011). In June 2010 the Kent Police admitted that the use of stop and search tactics were, for the most part, unlawful and agreed to pay compensation as did the Metropolitan police following the widespread stop and search (including teenage twins) during peaceful demonstrations outside of the annual DSEI arms fair in London.

Theoretical and conceptual insights

I adopted the concept of spacing nonviolence to think through the relationship between the performances of nonviolent confrontation and the performative becoming of ‘other ‘ or alternative geopolitical ‘worlds’. Theoretically, through considering the ‘spacing’ of nonviolence the re-presentation of geopolitics could be understood through a set of discourses, praxis, and performativities. I have established through this research that these are understood these are both representational and non-representational. With this they forge frameworks for nonviolent action (or warfare) based upon commitments to a politics of the act, a progressive political space where new spatio-political configurations are prefigured amidst contestation. I understand this as the re-presentation of geopolitics due to its envisioning of the world and of re-configured

global processes. I pose interconnected phases of nonviolent warfare that iteratively collapse any boundary between the performed and performative – re-presenting geopolitics; *spaces of refusal*, *geopoetics* (including authority and connective aesthetics), and *geopolitical bodies*. They each have discursive, symbolic, and performative elements which trouble and shift the geographical norms, manifest alternative geopolitical spaces.

Alternative geopolitics underpinned this thesis. Within the arenas of research I have illustrated that geopolitics from below and nonviolent transnational configurations contribute to wider geopolitical practices and theories. The embodying of an alternative geopolitics might be understood as enacted critical geopolitics, the contestation and deconstruction of elite/dominant geopolitical discourses whilst prefiguring new spatio-political configurations. In considering the spacing of nonviolence and the politics of the act has important implications for thinking through what alternative geopolitics might encompass; a progressive geopolitics from below. The thesis has illustrated that a politics of demand is still central to anti-geopolitical discourses, I understand this as a radical geopolitics, aimed at attacking to root of the problem; here embodied within iterative demands for ‘system change not climate change’. However, alter-geopolitical spatio-political configurations are emerging, practices that encompass the radical but in the prefiguring of new geopolitical spaces (such as transnational networks, the WSF, and the People’s Assembly) embody a progressive geopolitics.

Power was positioned as central to both an understanding of violence and nonviolence and to the embodying of an alternative geopolitics. The progressive spaces understood throughout the thesis as alter-geopolitical are founded upon understandings of power; ‘dominating power’ and ‘resisting power’. Chapter 2 introduced these and followed Sharp et al (2000) in understanding these as entangled in multiplicitous processes. The chapter also laid out frameworks for understanding the deconstruction of power through nonviolent means. The understanding of power within the discourses of the groups and movements herein was positioned as anarchistic, due to focus on processes of dominating power that included representational and hierarchical processes of oppression. The empirical explorations have illustrated that resisting power also takes many forms (some of which might be understood as dominating and oppressive).

That the Camps for Climate Action, the Caravan, the Copenhagen mobilisations, and the People's Assembly all organised over spatially dispersed networks and through non-hierarchical processes is illustrative of the productive power (popularly known as people power) of practiced and imagined global citizenship associated with collective visions. The range of powers associated with the alter-geopolitical spaces: the *power to* open new ethical-political spaces (such as camps and assemblies); the *power within* that forms the 'spirit' of resistance and self-empowerment to act collectively and autonomously; *power with*, acting in solidarity with resisting others. I have also critiqued the power dynamics within processes that are narrated as non-hierarchical, illustrating that powers to dominate are often still present, for instance the peer pressure that can occur within camps and mobilisations, the uneven power distribution (through access to resources and to decision making processes), and power that comes with cultural capital (the inside and sometimes exclusionary knowledges). The heterogeneity of the convergence space also meant that different, often divisive, appreciations of power were brought into internal contestation, particularly around gender roles and hierarchical forms of organising – the first seen here as particularly problematic.

Refusal has been established across the thesis as a distinct rejection of normative frameworks attached to representation, neoliberal capitalism, and domination (acknowledging overlaps between), a moment in time where you shift your actions away from those that are perceived to justify or legitimise violences. Here, as an act of nonviolent confrontation (or warfare) *refusal* is established only through its publicity – the naming/problematising within public (understood in the collective rather than property sense) space. It is through refusal that post-capitalist discourses were performed. As **Ch 4**, **Ch 5**, and **Ch 6** explored throughout the empirical chapters and the prefigurative practices therein, there was an emphasis on ethical-political performances of refusal being as visible as possible. Symbolically, the location and staging of the camps, counter-summit mobilisations, and – quite literally on the doorstep. Discursively (symbolically, and performatively) 'climate justice' was important in de-legitimised the dominant geopolitical discourse of climate change. 'Climate Justice' foregrounded ethical spaces and uneven geographies (see **Intervention IV**); it is a discourse that names and cannot be separated from wider socio-economic processes – unlike climate

change, a discourse that has been wrapped around scientific and techno-managerial green-capitalist processes. Foregrounding trans-local spaces gave authority to the refusal to legitimise, discursively and symbolically the People's Assembly would not have performatively manifested an alter-geopolitical space without the voices of authority.

Geopoetics, the everyday and spectacular punctuations into the grammar of the geographical norm were embodied within the performed (staged and routine practices). The material spaces – by which I mean the camps and the caravan – facilitated and mediated a set of practices, internally and externally, that were *geopoetical*. These were re-presentations that queered normative (understood as discourses presented as natural, normal, and necessary) of organising, consuming, and taking action; they prefigured new socio-political and economic practices, understood as post-capitalist and infused with anarchist sensibilities. The practices presupposed an equality to do democracy and living differently. The performances were not about making demands public or requesting permission or societal acceptance, they were about a politics of the act that intervened directly into the grammars of the status quo with the intend of social transformation; to make decisions by consensus, to live communally, consume differently. As public performances these connective aesthetics were not representing change they were the change.

Geopolitical bodies are the being and becoming of acting in solidarity with resisting others. Nonviolent civil disobedience is emotionally and corporeally challenging, for the majority of the social movements within this research this was not necessitated any direct daily oppression (as it was for many participants of the T2CC) – to this effect taking action was beyond the self, undertaken as a form of global citizenship – motivated by felt connections to movements and sites through out the world. This embodied of the discourse of a Climate Justice *Movement*. The ongoing becoming of my own geopolitical body meant running the same risks, especially with the police, and the body taking on corporeal pre-discursive practices instinctual responses. Building, living, eating, deciding together, defending, and taking direct action all became corporeally normal practices, new daily routines. My own form of 'holidarity' (see **Ch4**) also opened insights into the mobility of activist, the nerves of arriving at sites

where there were no familiar faces and the practices and processes were the common factors – the forging of new friendships, and the joy of arriving somewhere strange and finding friendly faces. *Geopolitical bodies* were also problematised by external discourses of security, constructed as a threat to the domestic (through the domestic extremist database)

The following section presents reflects upon the research approach, but it is worth a brief discussion of these in relation to theoretical insights, as this was imperative to this particular appreciation of ‘spacing’. Two aspects of the approach have wider implications; the first, might be thought of as becoming geopolitical body, the second relates to untangling the knot of the convergence space. In **Ch 4** I likened the convergence space to a knot, the entanglement of many otherwise (kite-like) independently existing actors. Untangling the convergence space involved a temporal leap forward – speculating how and where movements would come together, spatially, temporally, and imaginatively – through multi-sited ethnographic process of connections, affiliations, and affections were followed. Movement discourse and performative practices were most important in the manifestation of a ‘Climate Justice Movement’– tracing the discourses and practices along their lines of flight proved important here. Multi-sited ethnographic practice enabled insights into the iterative political-ethical discourses across different material and virtual sites.

The material sites – the building of face-to-face relationships has been positioned here as pivotal. Virtual spaces (the internet) were well used to disseminate material, mobilise, and central to mobilising across spatial distance but it was within the mediation of material spaces, by which I mean the camps, counter-summit convergences, and street protest where new prefigurative forms of collective action and affinity group working could be practised; seen and felt to work. The protest camps in particular, adopted technologies of material organisation (internal geographies) and process (decision making, consumption, affinity group action, creative protest and living together). Roseneil (2000) offers in-depth ethnographic insights into the everyday spaces of Greenham Common protest camp – as a space that performed a refusal to legitimise the presence of US military and bombs and that also re-configured everyday relations; queering geopolitical and everyday normative discourses through the

performativity of feminist praxis. Here, I have established that new norms, new collective subjectivities have been reiterated across a number of different sites and facilitated through nonviolent forms of organising.

Reflections upon a ‘militant’ performance

The multi-sited ‘militant’ approach had a number of benefits for researching social movement practices. It allowed consistencies and contingencies to be observed across different locations and through changing assemblages of people and technologies - where groups acted under an iterative discourse that was outwardly committed to a politics of the act and transnational connections. The multi-sited and participant observer role was important in recognising the importance of the material make-up of the camp as reiterative and performative (see above). The approach also benefitted from the risk taken from the outset, to follow the movement of the movements. The connections opened out through this approach, and a commitment to developing and using a toolkit of methods as, when and where they became necessary enabled a flexibility and fluidity to the process that a commitment to a set location or group would not allow for. A militant ethnographic approach was a risk, not just personally (and to those I was with), but also to the successful completion of PhD research project, a responsibility I had to the university and academics supporting my work. There were many paths not followed and many routes to Copenhagen that will remain off the map.

The approach necessitated myriad of negotiations occurring at any one time and meetings and actions frequently required last minute travel, ad hoc accommodation and high levels of trust (from both sides). One example of time, effort, and expense was the Ratcliffe on Soar ‘mass action’ - three months worth of targeted national meetings, three workshops with a small affinity group, and lots of targeted research (on Power stations, mass actions, de-fencing) had to be omitted from the bulk of the research – though the experience has been informative. On the evening before the action the legal group were notified of a court injunction, meaning anyone within the vicinity of the Powers Station ‘fence’ would be breaking the law. The resulting action was a heavy going 24 hours and included some of the worse police violence, and physical injury (to me and others). My footage of events is being used in ongoing civil action against dog handlers, which

resulted in a woman sustaining abdominal injuries. As soon as the injunction was announced, my research hat had to be removed and I participated in the event in a legal support/solidarity capacity only – so as not to put anyone at risk (including myself).

During the unfolding of the research process the aims shifted considerably. This was partly due to an ethic of approach that responded to the movement of the movements rather than staying true to a defined set of theoretical objectives. Whilst nonviolent action, performance, and performativity have remained a theme from the initial proposal, almost everything else has shifted sideways. Originally the research also wanted to provide in-depth insights into two other large areas – the environmental and the creative resistance aspects of the CJM. Initial research foregrounded spaces of ethical spectacle and the performativity of creative resistance, the ethos of these remain but as Scheper-Hughes (1992), Fernandez (2010) and Juris (2007) also explore, observant participation entails a commitment to remain open to events. Events have a habit of taking over once the researcher becomes an actor within the process of unfolding. Sideward shifts, new considerations, and different questions emerged during the research process. These had theoretical and empirical implications; especially as the policing of dissent became a major emerging site theme, as did the importance of the trans-local.

Some shifts were part of the gradual unfolding – new questions and areas of concern that arose from desk and field research – others due to the reality of time-scale and a commitment to academic rigour. Firstly, an emerging theme of the CfCA was the reiteration of transnational connections (see below, and **Ch 4** in particular), this was not a movement that was contesting the nation state as a primary target. The CfCA was acting practically, and in the geographical imagination, beyond the state – targeting corporations, and international policy and nonelected institutions, and acting in practical solidarity with groups spatially dispersed across the world. In this sense an early appreciation was to position the movement as committed to internationalisation, as a transnational movement (in narrative, practice and scope). This shifted the focus from the performance of autonomous geographies to an interest in how grassroots geopolitics from below might be found close to home. This resonated with an emerging body of work on alter-globalisations. Secondly, to have remained within a narrow remit of

‘creative resistance’ and ethical spectacle was an interesting prospect but whilst this remained central it was put into a wider conversation that looked equally to the performed and affective political spaces of everyday practices – the political-ethics and nuances of decision making, consumption, living together – and importantly, why these discourses were perceived as nonviolent.

Initially the idea was to bring far more of the climate change debates into the research – to actively explore the policies, actions, and events that the social movement actors were critiquing. This became an almost impossible task within the scope and size of this research project. Group narratives were recognised early on as focussed upon anti-capitalist debates (anarchist sensibilities) and the practicing of new social configurations – this was not a climate change movement. Where corporate and governmental policies and environmental degradation were foregrounded the complexity would have (realistically) have only enabled one line of substantial enquiry. The aim was never to undertake participatory action research project of or with a specific group, but to understand wider movement articulations and to undertake these lines of enquiry within participatory forms would be to colonise the voices of contestation. Therefore, the narratives of climate change, along with anti-capitalism, remain (predominantly) those of the groups themselves. These spaces were opened out through, and informed by the substantial level of personal involvement and relationships that rhizomatically sprouted.

A dominant shift, with many consequences, was the inclusion of the Trade to Climate Caravan. Originally the research was also only ever supposed to be an ethnography concerning the Camp for Climate Action and *their* journey to and participation in the Copenhagen mobilisations. One week before the Trade to Climate Caravan was due to meet in Geneva I received an invitation to take part. I had been in contact with the organisers but had not expected to meet the group until the later stages in Copenhagen. Participation came about due to my position within social movement activism and academia. As **Ch 4** mentioned, my participation was based on activist legal support, networking, and documentation – it was enabled because of my position in academia, which opened financial resources for travel at short notice. In many ways it was difficult to negotiate a space in the research for the caravan. Prior to participation a substantial amount of work had been undertaken with the CfCA and in the research journey would

have been far more straightforward (one week in Copenhagen), and the written ethnography would undoubtedly been ‘cleaner’ (and easier to construct and read) had the caravan not featured. However, the caravan was always intended to be a pivotal component to the People’s Assembly – the participants were the authoritative voices of climate injustice. In practice the opportunity to be part of the caravan added a whole new dimension to the Copenhagen mobilisations – the good and bad aspects of international counter-summit organising. Whilst it threw many spanners into the works when interpreting and presenting the research, it offered forward many insights into the understanding and practicing of transnational organising, and the importance of invoking the translocal to give wider movements authority. It also speaks back to debates around the decolonising of solidarity, contemporary social movement theories.

Policing and protest was another area of research that emerged through the unfolding of events, the intensity and centrality of which could not have been predicted at the start of this journey. Undertaking activist legal support had always been viewed as a means through which activist and academic worlds could compliment each other. As an act of solidarity it had usually involved training, researching and advising on obscure legal queries (for instance, “is it illegal to enter a bank naked?”). As the research unfolded the relationship between nonviolent social movement activism and the policing of dissent became intensified, as both came under media and political criticism and the group came under the police spotlight. The establishment of new legal powers to justify heavy handed policing and to control public space meant that legal observing became more of an academic ethnographic practice than originally planned. In the end, I must acknowledge regret that the ethnography was not solely devoted to the policing of dissent and the securitisation of activists and activism.

Establishing future areas of research

Whilst the research was contextual it has established a number of conceptual and theoretical avenues that I feel are worth pursuing the future. The first takes us back to the beginning of this research. Nonviolent geographies have been shown to be productive areas worthy of exploration. Within contemporary geopolitical landscapes nonviolent social movement have been established as a site of political and social

change (Chenoweth and Standing 2011, Roberts and Garton-Ash 2009). My own research here, has offered a minor contribution to understanding the performative possibilities of nonviolent collective action. A gaping hole remains within political geography for sustained engagement with the sites and practices of nonviolent confrontation – as a vector for exposing political and systemic violences, for redressing a media and research bias toward violence, and for better understandings of state and international technologies that counter nonviolence.

Securitisation and the policing of protest and dissent are another avenue of possible research that could offer forward important insights into external control over the use and users of public space. Again, the research here was contextual but it identifies a number of possible directions for future research. In the short term, this research establishes that there will be a need for sustained engagement with the policing of mega events (a gap already identified by Bennett et al (2011)) and in response to emerging discourses of violence in the aftermath of Summer riots in 2011. Within the UK, Europe and the USA, how public space is used for the display of political opposition should be taken seriously in regard to the study of security, the militarisation of policing, and freedom of speech. Within both of these areas of concern, what becomes most apparent is the benefit of using cultural tools of enquiry to explore political geographies and geopolitical spaces. Whilst critical geopolitics has used cultural tools to deconstruct the textual discourses that underpin the geopolitical imagination there remains plenty of space for a focus on embodiment of alternative geopolitics to be taken seriously as sites and vectors of geopolitics from below.

In Chapter 2, I urged caution in too quickly embracing the argument that understands environmental politics as paralysed by a post-political condition; a consensus around the idea of sustainability in particular. As Chapter 4 and Intervention 4 illustrated, there is a heritage of contestation around ideas of sustainability and green politics. The conceptualisation of geopoetics was founded upon the continued queering and troubling of the status quo but as the thesis has also explored, the convergence of spatially dispersed and ethically-politically diverse actors around complex debates has had impacted upon the heterogeneity of grassroots movements. In mobilising around a narrow set of debates and avoiding spaces of internal contestation some of the groups

are at risk of creating their own post-political condition. Future research (particularly activist oriented) might productively engage with these debates to gain better insights on the limits to politics of the act, of particular interest would be to closely examination of the absences; this may be around the silences (the contentious issues often left out of consensus decision making processes) and/or exclusions (voices and bodies that remain absent, through physical or cultural distance).

A note on impacts

As Chapter 3 laid out, my own understanding and approach to research ‘impact’ differs considerably to the recent push for neoliberal impacts, outcomes, and collaborations that has been promoted to make university more relevant to an exclusive few (increasingly corporate but also policy interests). Much of the research approach was aimed at impacting on the here and now, contributing critically informed insights into movement discussions and putting research and teaching skills at the disposal of social movements. However, there are a number of additional impacts, outputs, and collaborations that have emerged due to connections between academia and social movement activism. Unapologetically they place an emphasis on praxis. Since 2010 I have been actively involved in an Anarchist Reading Group (ARG) at Exeter University, the remit has been to create a public space within the university – between academics and non-academic committed to sharing work and ideas about radical praxis. In 2010 the ARG collective were awarded a postgraduate grant (from the AHRC) for a seminar series and a conference; the Engaging Radical Ideas Conference was free to attend, open to all, held in the centre of Exeter, and attracted (academic and non-academic) participants from around the country. The panel sessions, films, arts workshops, participatory workshops and methods training brought together more than 200 people, the majority of whom were non-academic and received good feedback.

In 2010 the Camp for Climate Action proposed to send 6 activists from the UK to represent the movement at the Mother Earth Summit in Bolivia. During the consensus process that followed, insights from this research were used to secure an equal amount of financial support for non-UK social movement actors to attend the talks. In the end the decision was passed to send three spokes from the UK and give money to three

activists from the 'global south'. This was not an easy process and it became fairly evident that many participants perceived the CfCA to be a major climate justice social movement; at its peak, the Blackheath camp, around 3000 people actively participated whilst movements from the global south with upward of a million participants would struggle to send one spokesperson.

The research has been used within a number of public talks, on the trans-local spaces of climate justice, on the policing of protest, and on the use of activist research for social movements. It has also informed popular education workshops, with local groups. It also formed the basis of a local radio debate on politically engaged research within the increasing commodification of academic knowledge. I have fed information of relevance into ongoing debates on the policing of protest. More recently it has informed my involvement with an emerging network of academics from within Human Geography and International Relations committed to education for peace and non-violence, which has received funding as The Kropotkin Institute for Peace Education (based at Newcastle University). The network (and institute) aims to work with schools and academic institutions in collaborative projects and the creation of materials that look to the practices of peace and nonviolent relationships.

Concluding comments

This research and subsequent thesis was intended as a militant project. The aim was always intended to focus on the doing of research, embodying solidarity within the space of academic enquiry. It therefore understood nonviolent social movement activism as a means of understanding the world, of being and becoming geopolitical with resisting others. Theoretical ambition was never the principal goal but as the research unfolded theories came together within a conceptual framework of spacing, and this in turn has both shaped the written thesis and enabled a number of insights regarding the performative spaces solidarity, nonviolent praxis, and ultimately of alternative geopolitics. In many ways this is a result of starting a research process with ethical-and political proximity and gradually, through developing a more critical gaze upon events, creating both personal and academic distance – seeing the possibilities of re-presenting geopolitics, the performative possibilities of experimentation, but also the

difficulties and inherent impossibilities of attempting to manifest transnational social movements.

Appendix 1: Proposal and decision process for the CfCA affiliation to the People's Assembly

Introduction:

Going to be a presentation, then read proposal, then discussion and consensus.

Copenhagen info:

- COP is explained. (Conference of Parties to Kyoto Protocol). Climate Justice action is introduced: last September a group was set up in Copenhagen to see what could be done. In December in Poznan a (more international) group was set up and a call was drafted, which was then endorsed by CC at a meeting last year. This year they organized some more, this time in Berlin.
- Mass action has now been formally agreed. Network has agreed name (Climate Justice Action). Some of the more progressive NGOs, groups representing eco/climate debt, various indigenous groups, and various European groups, some involved in direct action.
- Specific goals agreed.
- Critical of COP generally.
- In Copenhagen there will be a big march on the 12th December. Organised by various affiliation groups.
- On the Sunday there will be another big action, directed at the capitalist mode of production (specific target as yet undecided) in Copenhagen.
- Throughout the week there will be specific themed days on stuff, and support for autonomous direct action.
- On Thursday the 16th, there will be 'this action which we are going to talk about now'.

Proposal: 'Reclaim power – pushing for climate justice'

At the start of the ministerial phase of the UN-climate negotiations we will take over the conference for one day and transform it into a people's climate justice summit.

The UNFCCC is failing to solve the climate crisis. We are no closer to reducing greenhouse gas emissions than we were when international negotiations began fifteen years ago: emissions continue to rise at alarming rates, while carbon trading allows climate criminals to pollute and profit. Together, we, thousands of people active in the emerging global movement for climate justice, are saying enough! No more business as usual, no more false solutions! Together, we will reclaim power and push for climate justice.

Our goal is not to shut down the entire summit. However: this day will be ours, we will speak for ourselves and decide what is, and what is not, on the agenda. In particular, the

voices of those affected by climate change from the Global South will have a forum. Using the force of our collective body to achieve our goal, our Reclaim Power! march will push into the conference area and enter the building, disrupt the sessions and take over the podiums. To this end, we will overcome, move around, or flow through any physical barriers that stand in our way, we will also carry tools that will help us overcome such barriers. We do not intend physical harm to anyone, and will not respond to any attempt by the police to escalate the situation. Our action is one of civil disobedience, open to people from all backgrounds, ages, and levels of experience.

We will meet at a common starting point, which will be legal and announced to the police and media - there will be a police liaison. From this starting point, we will march towards the conference centre and begin our push for climate justice. We are planning for multiple action scenarios, in order to be prepared for different kinds of responses from the police as well as changing situations. In order to facilitate action planning, and to be able to take quick decisions during our action, we will set up an action council drawn from the various groups and networks participating in the action.

Clarifying questions:

The decision here is to actively support this action – mobilize for this action. The proposal of what actually happens has already been decided – we cannot change it.

Question: is this something that is going to happen one way or another, or are we going to be taking on a hell of a lot of work to do this?

Question: Is it actually possible to take over the conference.

Question: What is the date and time?

Question: Is there any option at all of changing the proposal.

Response: The reason we are doing it at the end is to get as many people as possible.

The reason we are doing it for ONE DAY is because some people do not want to shut down the conference completely, but others refuse to legitimize it: this action is shutting it down for one day, denying its legitimacy, without disrupting it altogether.

As to whether it's possible – it's a massive amount of work, but doable: the most important thing is to get as many people there as possible. Climate camp's main work would be GETTING AS MANY PEOPLE THERE AS POSSIBLE, not organizing per se.

YES there will be a lot of response from police, army etc. IT WILL BE DIFFICULT. There are however contingency measures in place for a number of scenarios, including the police going crazy and shooting people, though keen to assure us all that this is not going to happen.

We can perhaps submit a proposal or some concerns, but we cannot change what the action actually is.

Question: logistically, in the event of getting in there, what exactly is the message, and how will it be different to what has happened at previous G8s (massive scrum which the officials dismiss as the inevitable action of angry loonies, separate from the Serious Politics happening inside)?

Is there a way of getting the message across if we can't actually do what we're planning.

Question: (since if we get 5,000 people there we can pretty much do what we want) what arrangements have been made to get everyone there?

Question: Copenhagen is on an island – IS THERE ANYWHERE FOR US ALL TO SLEEP OR WILL WE ALL BE COLD AND HOMELESS IN DENMARK IN WINTER?

Response: When we get inside, there are arrangements being made, the group has come up with shared messaging which it wants to use.

How it would be different from previous G8s – we will be given more legitimacy by the involvement of indigenous groups and people from the global south.

Interjection: Having a mass ruckey thing is important to de-legitimizing the institutions involved.

Response: part of this action is (we have, on reflection decided not to have a frontline entirely made up of people from the global south).

If we cannot actually get in: We will try to get as close as we possibly can, try to get through the police line etc., when as close as possible we will stop, and invite people inside to come out and join us, and just hold the summit wherever we are.

There are some charter trains etc being organized, but there is no real mass transport being organized. If there is, people will still have to pay for their own transport.

Coach is return £100. Apparently you can get the ferry for £40, but this is not definite.

What do you do inside?

When you get inside, it becomes international law: remit of the Copenhagen police ends, they cannot come and do stuff. We are under the jurisdiction of the UN, and they really do not like to do anything about that.

Question: Want to know more about CJA's messaging – what IS the message?

Answer to that question: The network is quite diverse, and there are tensions within it about COP – some are completely opposed to its mere existence, others still hope the process may do more good than harm.

Another answer: It is going to be difficult to get inside, but the symbolism of the actual people of the world rising up against it is important. The media angle is going to be very important. A question is whether CC intend to have their own message too.

Point: there is an ongoing debate about messaging. No-one is happy with the UNFCCC process – the question is to what degree you expose the illegitimacy of it.

Point: there is really no precedent of so many DIFFERENT groups (from the spikiest activists to the more progressive NGOs) coming together over an action. The networking possibilities are extraordinary. An inherent problem though is that there is not that much that everyone involved agrees on.

Point: We have always been saying that Copenhagen is part of the focus of the Camp – it is important to do this.

Facilitator: This will anyhow have to be put before the wider Camp process.

Facilitator: we will take more points, but please bear in mind that this is about Camp action, not the legitimacy of the Copenhagen process.

Point: the messaging is the most important point of the action. The way forward with this is, taking into account the unprecedented nature of this and the diversity of opinion of those involved, we should agree on SOME messages that we CAN all agree on.

Point: we have already agreed that we are supporting action in Copenhagen, and this is the action which is happening in Copenhagen. We will inevitably be mixed up in lots of other messaging – the question is whether CC is comfortable with this. We have talked before about the possibilities open to us, when we believed something good might come out of the talks, now it seems more likely that this is the only option we have.

Concern: we could bugger it up and just be stood around outside getting kettled. Which is annoying. WE COULD ALSO BE BLAMED FOR THE INEVITABLE FAILURE OF THE MEETING TO PRODUCE ANYTHING.

What CC has to bring to this is ORGANISATION.

What we should do is think about different WAYS in.

Point: check out Zero Carbon Caravan for transport.

Point: The police ARE GOING TO REACT. By October, people from all over the world are going to realise that this is very important. There will be thousands of people coming from all over the world. There will not be enough accommodation.

Facilitator: We're getting somewhere insofar as no-one is saying it's a terrible idea, but we need to bash out logistics.

Point: It will not be that easy to get in. The concern is whether we trust the spectrum involved to be politically on target. A better way of looking at the spectrum of involvement is to see it as going from people who think the entire process is illegitimate to people who think the system itself is legitimate but this instance will produce nothing good.

Point: It's a good proposal and we should support it, but we should think about what committing to it entails. We have committed to stuff in October, and as committing to this will entail trying to get a load of people to go somewhere in December, committing to this could mean that we tie up all our capacity in Copenhagen, leaving ourselves unable to do stuff in the UK.

Process point: should we do blocks first? Apparently not.

Clarification: haven't we already decided to do this?

Answer: No, we have agreed to put out messages of solidarity. This is a decision to dedicate CCUK to mobilize for this.

Question: is there any possibility that we might do something in the UK instead?

Answer: There is scope for this but additionally not instead. This is the proposal on the table now.

Stand asides: None

Blocks: None

Active CONSENSUS

Appendix 2: Schedule for Trade to Climate Caravan and Copenhagen

Geneva to Copenhagen 27 November– 18 December

27 November -Geneva

Arrive in Geneva at 18.30, dinner and first meeting with caravan participants

28 November

11.30 Lunch at Bain des Paquis, on the lake

2 pm: Main demonstration against WTO, Place Neuve

Evening: Food, music, relaxation at the main venue, Salle Communale de Plainpalais, 51 Rue de Carouge – all workshops to be held here for the next few days

29 November

10am - 6 pm: Assembly/ workshops: WTO and Economic Crisis, WTO and Agriculture, WTO and Climate: What alternatives?

7 pm: Official reception of participants by the mayor and authorities of Geneva

30 November

Rallies all day in front of negotiations venue (corner of Rue de Varembeé and Ave de France). A ‘caravan’ tent will be there throughout the summit. Food will be served.

Afternoon: guided tour of Genevan financial criminals

8 pm: Agriculture workshop organised by Uniterre (VC Switzerland)

1 December

Presence and rally outside negotiations

Afternoon: Guided tour of agricultural criminals

7 pm: Climate caravan event

2 December

Attend rally outside negotiations

Afternoon: Guided tour of climate criminals

3 December Freiburg

7 pm: Dinner at Haus 37 (Vauban)

8 pm: Open Caravan Meeting: Why we travel from Geneva to Copenhagen

4 December

10:30 am: "Cycling for a different climate" - action in Freiburg

12:30 am: Lunch

5 December Frankfurt & Cologne

10 a.m: press conference

12 a.m.: action at the European Central Bank

2 p.m. lunch

4 p.m. meeting with activists from the protest camp against enlargement of the airport

Travel to Cologne:

6 p.m. dinner at the Allerweltshaus

8 p.m. speech on neoliberalism, climate politics and perspectives from the global south

6 December Cologne

11 am: Public talks and workshops on different topics

3 pm: Demonstration for another climate and an alternative agenda

6 December Berlin

Caravan Delegation to Berlin - Three or four participants will form a delegation and travel to Berlin, for the following program

11am - Guided antifascist city tour

3pm - Non-commercial agriculture café

4pm - Interview with alternative media

5pm - open end Public event with presentation by participants, food, and discussion in

7 December

9 – 11am - Meeting with members of Linksfraktion in German Parliament

Early afternoon - Train trip to Hamburg, to join the rest of the caravan

7 December Hamburg

The caravan will be hosted in Hamburg by a broad alliance of organizations, including Initiative gegen die Moorburgtrasse durch St.Pauli/Altona, Atmospheric Disorder, Eine Welt Netzwerk, Bundeskoordination Internationalismus (BUKO), Avanti - Projekt undogmatische Linke, BUND -- Jugend Hamburg and Flüchtlingsrat Hamburg.

7.30 pm: Meeting in Werkstatt 3 with talks, exchange and workshops, (Nernstweg 32, 22765 Hamburg, metro stop: Altona)

8 December - Day that the caravan re-converges

Action day in the harbour of Hamburg

Afternoon: Western route bus arrives

7 pm: Small delegation to visit Moorburg – site of proposed new coal fire plant

7 pm: Big public event and parallel workshops in different parts of town

9 December Arrive in Copenhagen/Christiania

10-11 December

Tribunal on Ecological Debt, organised by Jubilee South

12 December

International day of action - <http://www.globalclimatecampaign.org/>

1.30 – 3pm Chairing Klimaforum workshop/session: *Learning from the everyday practice of transition*

3pm meeting with Academic blockade participants following Klimaforum session

13 December

2am start - Hit the production! Action of mass civil disobedience: blocking the harbour.

12noon Academic Blockade

Farmers' Action day - Via Campesina against meat-industry.

14 December

No Borders Action! No climate refugees!

Jubilee South - Reparations for Climate Debt!

15 December

Resistance is Ripe! Agriculture day of actions.

16 December

Reclaim Power! Action of mass civil disobedience People's Assembly

Appendix 3: Trade to Climate Caravan Sponsors

Greenpeace Köln	Climate Justice Now! (CJN)
Robin Wood Köln	Our World is Not For Sale (OWINFS)
Campusgrün Köln	Belgian Social Forum
FDCL, Berlin	Corporate Europe Observatory (CEO)
Stiftung DO (Germany)	Rosa Luxemburg Foundation, Brussels Office
Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung	
Siemenpuu Foundation (Finnland)	Africa-Europe Faith and Justice Network (AEFJN)
CETIM (Suisse)	Bundeskoordination Internationalismus (BUKO)
EED-Evangelischer Entwicklungsdienst (Germany)	Initiative gegen die Moorbургtrasse durch St.Pauli/Altona, Hamburg
Norddeutsche Stiftung Umwelt und Entwicklung (Germany)	Atmospheric Disorder, Hamburg
InWent ATTAC Agrarnetz	Eine Welt Netzwerk Hamburg
Verein der Fraktion die Linke e.V. (Avanti - Projekt undogmatische Linke
Stiftung Menschenwürde und Arbeitwelt	BUND - Jugend Hamburg
ATTAC France	Flüchtlingsrat Hamburg
Attac Köln	Confédération Paysanne (VC)
die LINKE Köln	Kölle Global
DVG-VK Köln	Interventionistische Linke Köln

Appendix 4: Methods of Nonviolent Action According to Gene Sharp

1. Public Speeches
2. Letters of opposition or support
3. Declarations by organizations and institutions
4. Signed public statements
5. Declarations of indictment and intention
6. Group or mass petitions
7. Slogans, caricatures, and symbols
8. Banners, posters, displayed communications
9. Leaflets, pamphlets, and books
10. Newspapers and journals
11. Records, radio, and television
12. Skywriting and earth writing
- 12a. IT messaging - Mass SMS and e-mailing
[This method was developed in Serbia 2000 by OTPOR (Resistance) during the nonviolent campaign against Slobodan Milosevic]
13. Deputations
14. Mock awards
15. Group lobbying
16. Picketing
17. Mock elections
18. Displays of flags and symbolic colours
19. Wearing of symbols
20. Prayer and worship
21. Delivering symbolic objects
22. Protest disrobing
23. Destruction of own property
24. Symbolic lights
25. Displays of portraits
26. Paint as protest
27. New signs and names
28. Symbolic sounds
29. Symbolic reclamations
30. Rude gestures
31. "Haunting" officials
32. Taunting officials
33. Fraternalization
34. Vigils
35. Humorous skits and pranks
36. Performances of plays and music
37. Singing
38. Marches
39. Parades
40. Religious processions
41. Pilgrimages
42. Motorcades
43. Political mourning
44. Mock funerals
45. Demonstrative funerals
46. Homage at burial places
47. Assemblies of protest or support
48. Protest meetings
49. Camouflaged meetings of protest
50. Teach-ins
51. Walk-outs
52. Silence
53. Renouncing honours
54. Turning one's back of Persons
55. Social boycott

56. Selective social boycott
57. Lysistratic nonaction
58. Excommunication
59. Interdict cooperation with Social Events, Customs, and Institutions
60. Suspension of social and sports activities
61. Boycott of social affairs
62. Student strike
63. Social disobedience
64. Withdrawal from social institutions
65. Stay-at-home
66. Total personal noncooperation
67. "Flight" of workers
68. Sanctuary
69. Collective disappearance
70. Protest emigration [hijrat]
71. Consumers' boycott
72. Non consumption of boycotted goods
73. Policy of austerity
74. Rent withholding
75. Refusal to rent
76. National consumers' boycott
77. International consumers' boycott
78. Workmen's boycott
79. Producers' boycott
80. Suppliers' and handlers' boycott
81. Traders' boycott
82. Refusal to let or sell property
83. Lockout
84. Refusal of industrial assistance
85. Merchants' "general strike"
86. Withdrawal of bank deposits
87. Refusal to pay fees, dues, and assessments
88. Refusal to pay debts or interest
89. Severance of funds and credit
90. Revenue refusal
91. Refusal of a government's money
92. Domestic embargo
93. Blacklisting of traders
94. International sellers' embargo
95. International buyers' embargo
96. International trade embargoic Strikes
97. Protest strike
98. Quickie walkout (lightning strike)
99. Peasant strike
100. Farm Workers' Special Groups
101. Refusal of impressed labour
102. Prisoners' strike
103. Craft strike
104. Professional Industrial Strikes
105. Establishment strike
106. Industry strike
107. Sympathetic Strikes
108. Detailed strike
109. Bumper strike
110. Slowdown strike
111. Working-to-rule strike
112. Reporting "sick" [sick-in]
113. Strike by resignation
114. Limited strike
115. Selective strike
116. Generalized strike
117. General strike
118. Hartal

119. Economic shutdown
120. Withholding or withdrawal of allegiance
121. Refusal of public support
122. Literature and speeches advocating resistance
123. Boycott of legislative bodies
124. Boycott of elections
125. Boycott of government employment and positions
126. Boycott of government depts., agencies, and other bodies
127. Withdrawal from government educational institutions
128. Boycott of government-supported organizations
129. Refusal of assistance to enforcement agents
130. Removal of own signs and place marks
131. Refusal to accept appointed officials
132. Refusal to dissolve existing institutions
133. Reluctant and slow compliance
134. Non obedience in absence of direct supervision
135. Popular non obedience
136. Disguised disobedience
137. Refusal of an assemblage or meeting to disperse
138. Sit-down
139. Noncooperation with conscription and deportation
140. Hiding, escape, and false identities
141. Civil disobedience of “illegitimate” laws
142. Selective refusal of assistance by government aides
143. Blocking of lines of command and information
144. Stalling and obstruction
145. General administrative noncooperation
146. Judicial noncooperation
147. Deliberate inefficiency and selective noncooperation by enforcement agents
148. Mutiny
149. Quasi-legal evasions and delays
150. Noncooperation by constituent governmental units
151. Changes in diplomatic and other representations
152. Delay and cancellation of diplomatic events
153. Withholding of diplomatic recognition
154. Severance of diplomatic relations
155. Withdrawal from international organizations
156. Refusal of membership in international bodies
157. Expulsion from international organizations Governments
158. Self-exposure to the elements
159. The fast
 - a) Fast of moral pressure
 - b) Hunger strike
 - c) Satyagrahic fast
160. Reverse trial
161. Nonviolent harassment
162. Sit-in
163. Stand-in
164. Ride-in
165. Wade-in
166. Mill-in
167. Pray-in
168. Nonviolent raids
169. Nonviolent air raids
170. Nonviolent invasion
171. Nonviolent interjection
172. Nonviolent obstruction
173. Nonviolent occupation
174. Establishing new social patterns
175. Overloading of facilities
176. Stall-in
177. Speak-in
178. Guerrilla theatre

179. Alternative social institutions
180. Alternative communication system
181. Reverse strike
182. Stay-in strike
183. Nonviolent land seizure
184. Defiance of blockades
185. Politically motivated counterfeiting
186. Preclusive purchasing
187. Seizure of assets
188. Dumping
189. Selective patronage
190. Alternative markets
191. Alternative transportation systems
192. Alternative economic institutions
193. Overloading of administrative systems
194. Disclosing identities of secret agents
195. Seeking imprisonment
196. Civil disobedience of “neutral” laws
197. Work-on without collaboration
198. Dual sovereignty and parallel government

Appendix 5: Letter from Camp for Climate Action to Residents of
Blackheath 26/12/2009

Dear Resident,

This letter is from the Camp for Climate Action. The camp is setting up on Blackheath from 26 August to 2 September. This letter is just to explain a little about the camp, and to invite you to come along and visit.

The Camp for Climate Action is a diverse bunch of people who want to see more action about climate change.

For the last 3 years we've organised a week long event in the summer to educate each other, demonstrate sustainable living and learn about different ways we can stop and Reverse climate change. 2 years ago you may have heard of us when we were at Heathrow Airport, arguing against the plans for a third runway there. The camps are family friendly and open to all. There's no entrance fee, everyone works on it as volunteers. It's a very do-it-yourself kind of event and we hope we manage to combine things that are too often kept apart: politics and fun, practice and theory, Education and action...Please do come along and see for yourself, you are very welcome.

This year we are camping in London because we want to demonstrate and talk about the links between the crisis happening to our climate and the financial crisis and capitalism. We feel that at the root of both are decisions and practices that are made and enacted in centres like the city of London, and that we cannot divorce the problems of environmental damage from the economics of endless growth that is pushed by the City. That is why we have chosen this location, steeped in a history of protest and overlooking the city, to keep us focused on the source of the problem.

We're only here for a week, then we pack up, and we hope to cause minimal disruption while we are here. We have an excellent record of clearing up after ourselves; in our first year, the wildlife trust who managed the land next door to us was very complimentary about how we left it. We fully value the open spaces of London, as we're sure you do, so we don't want to see any damage to the area, or any mess left behind. We will be talking to the council about all matters to do with health, waste, parking, safety issues, etc.

We would like to hold a public meeting on Sunday 30 August, particularly for you, the local residents, to ask any questions and find out more about the camp. Please ring us on 07529 867185 for more details. All of the camps in previous years have attracted many members of the local community and we hope this year will be no different. You can come at any time, but if you'd like someone to show you around then come on one of our guided tours, every evening at 6pm. We look forward to meeting you.

Best wishes,
The Camp for Climate Action.

Appendix 6: Indicative Multi-media

The World Development Movement: Justice for the World's Poor (WDMUK)

<http://www.youtube.com/user/wdmuk>

WTO <http://www.youtube.com/user/wdmuk#p/c/AA573A53CA344BCC>

Small Fishers campaigner at WTO protest in Geneva 28 Nov 2009

http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Zz_P3VMFwe4

Social and Climate Justice Caravan at WTO protest in Geneva

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=aUBFdSV1WTg>

South Korean farmer at WTO protest in Geneva, Nov 2009

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PZ27n7oT7iY>

The People's Assembly – Audio

http://radio.indymedia.org/uploads/PEOPLES_ASSEMBLY.mp3

People's Assembly – Horizontal Feedback

http://radio.indymedia.org/uploads/POST_HORIZONTAL_PROCESS_FEEDBACK.mp3

Soundscapes: many of the chants, an interview with a member of Via Campesina after the assembly and the closing talk in Copenhagen city centre after 8 long, cold hours

http://radio.indymedia.org/uploads/other_bits.mp3

Indymedia interview of problems in Bangladesh; Freiburg, December 4 2009 – in German and English <http://linksunten.indymedia.org/de/node/14171>

Indymedia Germany; report on the Caravan's visit to Freiburg

<http://linksunten.indymedia.org/de/node/14151>

Police Violence at Reclaim Power!

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=igRddmE5Y8w&feature=related>

Police Violence at Reclaim Power!

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=tDXzublJgJ8&feature=related>

Police Violence at Reclaim Power! <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-1kPurrcYgs&feature=related>

Reclaim Power! Sky News

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7tKDF63wox8&feature=related>

Under Cover Police at Reclaim Power!

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IwWL32reDsE&feature=related>

Police beat their way into sound truck at Reclaim Power!

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=uJgPrHIm5K0&feature=related>

Appendix 7: Indicative primary and secondary sources

Case study	Material	Sources
CfCA	Minutes of meetings	www.climatecamp.org
	Participant Observation	Field notes/journal
	Publicity – CC primary	Collected in person& online
	Programmes for Scotland/Wales/London	Collected at Camp
	Maps of sites	Field notes/journal
	Photographs – own	Field notes/journal
	Photographs – web	Various online sources
	Media articles – alt and mainstream	Hard copy and online sources
	Press releases from CC (in public domain)	www.climatecamp.org
	Workshops	
T2CC	Participant Observation	Field notes/journal
	Publicity	Reader/flyers/posters
	Press releases and blogs	Caravan website and blog
	Photographs – own	Field notes
	Photographs – other participants	From participants
	Photographs – external	Online sources, submitted by
	Workshops	non-participants
Copenhagen	Participant Observation	Field notes/journal
	Publicity – CC primary	Collected in person& online
	Action guide/programme	Infoshop
	Maps of sites	Hard copy and online sources
	Photographs – own	www.cja.org
	Photographs – web	Various
	Media articles – alt and mainstream	Various
	Press releases from CC	www.climatecamp.org

Appendix 8: Methods of nonviolence (adapted from the Centre for Nonviolent Conflict, 2011)

Non-resistance	Non-resistants reject all physical violence on principle and concentrate on maintaining their own integrity.
Active Reconciliation	A Faith-based rejection of coercion and a belief in active goodwill and reconciliation.
Moral Resistance	Moral resisters actively resist evil with peaceful and moral means such as education and persuasion.
Selective Nonviolence	The refusal to participate in particular wars or kinds of war, e.g. nuclear war.
Passive Resistance	Nonviolent tactics are employed because the means for an effective violent campaign are lacking or are not likely to succeed.
Peaceful Resistance	Peaceful resisters believe that nonviolent methods are more effective; e.g. some of Gandhi's campaigns fall into this category because many of his followers did not fully internalise what he taught.
Nonviolent Direct Action	Practitioners may view nonviolence as a moral principle or practical method. The object is victory rather than conversion.
Satyagraha	Satyagraha aims to attain the truth through love and right action; it demands the elimination of violence from the self and from the social, political and economic environment.
Nonviolent Revolution	for basic individual and social change and regard the major problems of existing society as structural.

Appendix 9: People's Assembly feedback session

Group 1 (missed)

Group 2 – We need to stop consuming and start producing. We need solidarity and unity, to share information and open up all of the commons.

Group 3 - We need to start in our communities, in our streets and our quarters. Education is failing us, we need to rethink the way we educate people about climate change.

Group 4 – The economy and consumption should be needs based, regionalised production that will make the changes at the local level.

Group 5 – There is a need for local democratic systems of production. We need to find ways to share technologies.

Group 6 – Need to educate people that living without oil is a positive thing. We need more international solidarity.

Group 7 – The world needs to slow down. Slow food and finding the means through which we combine science and technologies that will help against climate change.

Group 8 – Build and strengthen solidarity and local sustainability for climate justice. Need to form a global network.

Group 9 – Must expose the media. We will be represented as a rabble. We need to get our message across. Power needs all movements to grow together. Workers and Unions are missing.

Group 10 – Need to mobilise networks, to expose politicians by keep asking questions about 2 degrees target. Don't let them escape answering the questions.

Group 11 – We need more spaces like the assembly. The solution is doing and creating democracy that isn't shown in capitalism.

Group 12 – How to communicate. 1) need to educate people that climate change is not a scientific problem, it is part of capitalism. 2) need more assemblies, public spaces. 3) we are good at protest action but need to be good at local resistance.

Group 13 – Need to shift away from fossil fuels, build community within global systems – system change not climate change – this must be from the bottom up.

Group 14 – Hold People's Assemblies in all of our communities.

Group 15 – We need the birth of a new movement.

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