Franks, Aaron (2013) Making relations and performing politics: an ethnographic study of climate justice in Scotland with So We Stand. PhD thesis

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Making Relations and Performing Politics: an ethnographic study of climate justice in Scotland with *So We Stand*

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**Submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the
Degree of PhD**

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Abstract

This ethnographic study, informed by the "cuts" of relational space and performance, chronicles the improvisation by the small UK social movement So We Stand of an expansive yet locally relevant 'climate justice' politics in the Central Belt of Scotland. Having been an embedded participant/observer in So We Stand (SWS) from August 2009 to November 2010, I draw from various materials – academic literature, extensive notes, interviews and the tools of applied theatre as research – to explore the organisational, temporal and spatial contours of the group's activities, identities, ideas and affective encounters. I present this exploration as a set of thematically-linked stories. Extensive reviews of the literatures on relational space, social movements, performance and performativity first establish the theoretical conventions through which SWS' tale is told. As we enter the 'field', we begin to see the processual development of SWS as a performance where affective encounters, in the generative space between declarative identities and lived practice, reshape members' and allies' ideas, feelings and imaginings of climate justice. Climate justice as a mesh of interlocked concerns, stemming from the extraction-exploitation nexus of the carbon economy (past and present), is *spaced* and *placed* through interactive planning and reflection practices, including an applied theatre workshop inspired by the work of social theatre maker Augusto Boal and popular educator Paolo Freire. Throughout this narrative, our attention is drawn to what has been called a "micro-geopolitics", and the constant iterations between "holding on" and "going further" that are essential to both ontological safety and political change.

In the process questions are raised and tackled about how political subjectivities emerge and come together, how ethico-political relations are actively created and sustained, and vitally, the contradiction-laden role of climate change itself, as just one player among many in the emergent performance of climate justice.

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Acknowledgements

I would like to thank the University of Glasgow for its generous scholarship support, without which my degree would have been unthinkable. I'd also like to thank the School of Geographical and Earth Sciences, Research and Enterprise and the Human Geography Research Group for the multiple research, training and funding opportunities. Thanks are also owed to the UK Economic and Social Research Council, which provided funding for part of my fieldwork, the Living for Climate Justice Workshop of July 2010.

Having been generously provided finances, resources and opportunities, I very much needed guidance and support. For this I can't thank my supervisors, Dr. Hayden Lorimer and Professor Andy Cumbers, enough, for both their invaluable intellectual input and their encouragement (especially in the last 'trimester'...). I'd like to particularly thank Hayden for helping me navigate a few tough transitions, Andy for his patience in following the thesis' evolution from start to finish, and both of them for believing in me. I'd also like to thank Dr. Paul Routledge for his close reading and input into the earlier chapters, the many other HGRG staff and postdocs who provided formal and informal feedback at various presentations, and the GES admin staff for being so helpful and accommodating.

Sharing this experience with me were my fantastic fellow postgrads: friends, office mates, sounding boards, shoulders to lean on. To Andrew Wilbur, Orleans Mfune and Flavia Velasquez, untold thanks for enduring my office sprawl – and humble gratitude to Flavia for keeping a roof over my head as I finished the thesis. William Hasty, Isla Forsyth and Cheryl McGeachan – thank you for the laughter, 'crisp walks' and your inspiring work as teachers at Glasgow Geography. I wish *la Roca* perseverance and courage, and to all of my postgrad friends, I wish you well wherever you find yourselves.

I wish I could name you all, but confidentiality won't allow it. So to all of the members of So We Stand, past and present, thank you for letting me share your journey. While this thesis is very much a story gathered around my observations, for which I alone must take responsibility for inaccuracies or faults, it is at root a tale of the commitment, passion and care which you all possess. Special thanks are owing to the people I had the good fortune to interview, and the enthusiastic participants of the Living for Climate Justice Workshop. You have all taught me much, and I am very grateful.

Not everyone I've met in Glasgow had to sign an ethics form; John, Gordie, Julia, Kieran, Leigh, Gesa and the many other friends, workers, activists and students I had the privilege of meeting, slàinte.

These pages also span four years of my life with my remarkable family. To Betty and Lary, we owe you so much. Your generosity and support kept us going in more ways than one, and we can't ever thank you enough. To my parents, Sandra and Doug – you have given me (now us) so many wonderful gifts in life, and no one could ask for more loving and enthusiastic mentors and guides. To my grandmother Jess, thank you for a lifetime of inspiration (and your wonderful transatlantic letters), and to my sister Jennifer and her family, I hope to see more of you post-PhD!

Finally, to my wife Rebecca and our glorious children Gil and Magda (the 'Go Daddys!'), thank you for not only for building a life with me (and bearing with me all this time), but for showing me what love and happiness are. T.à.t.

Abbreviations

Fieldwork abbreviations
DIY: DIY ('Do It Yourself') Education Collective (original name of So We Stand)
EJPP: Environmental Justice Photo Project
GFP: 'Gathering under the Flightpath' event at Linnvale, Clydebank, November 2009
JCJ: 'Journey for Climate Justice' Bus Tour of the Scottish Central Belt, planned for Winter/Spring 2010
LCJ: 'Living for Climate Justice: a day of popular research using social theatre' workshop, Glasgow, July 2010
SCB: Scottish Central Belt
SWS: So We Stand (unless specified, refers to So We Stand operating in Scotland)

General abbreviations
AGC: Autonomous Geographies Collective
ANC: African National Congress
ANT: Actor-Network Theory
BTCV: British Trust for Conservation Volunteers
COP: Conference of the Parties
EDA: Environmental direct action
PGA: People's Global Action Asia
MDGs: UN Millennium Development Goals
MRG: Catalan Movement for Global Resistance
MSP: Member of Scottish Parliament
NRT: Non-representational theory
RoD: Rainbow of Desire
SDCEA: South Durham Community Environmental Alliance
SIB: Durban South Industrial Basin
SOA: School of the Americas
SEPA: Scottish Environmental Protection Agency
SHRC: Scottish Human Rights Commission
SM(s): Social movement(s)
SNP: Scottish National Party
TO: Theatre of the Oppressed
UNFCC: United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change
UNHRC: United Nations Human Rights Commission
WTO: World Trade Organization

1. Introduction

This thesis chronicles the attempts of a small social movement (SM) to create an expansive yet locally relevant 'climate justice' politics in the Central Belt of Scotland. Having been an embedded participant/observer in the movement So We Stand (SWS) from August 2009 to July 2010, I draw from various materials – academic literature, extensive notes, interviews and the tools of applied theatre as research – to explore the organisational, temporal and spatial contours of the group's activities, identities, ideas and affective encounters. I present this exploration as a set of thematically-linked stories. Some stories predate SWS and work to relay the theoretical conventions through which SWS' tale is told. Some stories are tightly 'plotted', telling how a diverse group of activists, community organisers and popular educators came to decide on 'climate justice' as an issue that could draw together diverse social, economic and environmental struggles in the Scottish Central Belt (SCB) under a common (but as we shall see, unwieldy) banner. Others reframe and rescale the ways in which 'climate justice' might be a politically active discourse, moving away from prevailing conceptions of climate justice as a matter of interstate negotiations and sustainable development and mitigation measures for the Global South. Still more stories relate the highly personal responses of SWS members and allies to the threat (and possibilities) of climate change, rendering visible complex subjective acts of making relations through affective encounters with communities and individuals. Together, these stories ultimately narrate SWS' largely improvised performance of climate justice. In the process questions are raised and tackled about how political subjectivities emerge and come together, how ethico-political relations are actively created and sustained, and vitally, the contradiction-laden role of climate change itself, as just one player among many in the emergent performance of climate justice.

In this chapter I will briefly introduce SWS. I then highlight the importance of narrative to both the politics of climate change and the structure of this thesis, and explain my choices for framing this narrative as I do. After outlining each of the remaining seven chapters, I end this Introduction by introducing a motif that will recur throughout the thesis.

1.1. So We Stand: a brief introduction

In its original guise as the DIY Education Collective, SWS emerged in 2008, sparked by the desires of a small number of UK direct action activists to "connect the dots" (Mike, interview, 2010) between various forms of social, economic and environmental injustice, which they located in "frontline communities"[1] marginalised by poverty, racism, and political powerlessness. This initial desire was fuelled in large measure by dissatisfaction with contemporary UK climate change activism such as Plane Stupid and the UK Climate Camp movement (see North, 2011; Saunders and Price, 2009). As SWS member Cassie puts it, SWS wanted to avoid the "predictable demographics, and imagery and ways of working of…climate activisty circles" (interview, 2010; see also Chatterton, 2006). As an alternative, SWS created intensive working relationships with a number of community organisers, popular educators, researchers and artists: the goal was to catalyse local organising efforts (primarily in Scotland at the time) against environmental and social-economic injustices, under the general rubric of 'climate justice'. This embryonic, improvised vision of 'climate justice', as will be shown in Chapter Six, would differ greatly, both in how it is conceived and how it might be realised, from the macro-scalar and interstate vision prevalent among both contemporary state discourses (Miller, 2009; Scottish Human Rights Commission, 2009a, 2009b) and academic analysts alike (Parks and Roberts, 2010; Roberts and Parks, 2007).

It is important to emphasise that SWS is not a 'climate change' movement. Using North's (2011) three classifications of UK-based climate change activisms, it is neither a localist, low-carbon community oriented movement like Transition, a mass action lobbying initiative such as the 'Stop Climate Chaos' coalition or the 'Campaign Against Climate Change', nor a "clandestine and overtly confrontational" (p.1594) cadre such as Plane Stupid or 'Keep it in the Ground'. Rather, SWS is an experiment in *relations-making*, the central activity and motivating drive that underlies the entirety of this thesis. The primary objective of SWS' relations-making in the Scottish Central Belt (SCB) was to share and activate local and subjective knowledges of our shared existence in what I call the extraction-exploitation nexus which characterises our fossil fuel-based economy. For SWS, human-induced climate change is the most recent and most dangerous symptom of this nexus. 'Climate justice' was chosen as the socio-political rallying point around which

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[1] The promotional 'strapline' in SWS' website banner reads "Standing shoulder to shoulder with UK communities on the frontlines of environmental, social and racial injustice."

transformative relations, which keep the ongoing exploitation of both people and the environment visible and central to the struggle, could be made.

1.2. Stories, frames and 'cutting'

This thesis is divided roughly into two sections. The first develops a set of emergent terms and shared attentions which frame and enable a more comprehensive telling of SWS's story in the second. The first section, comprising Chapters Two and Three, establishes that relations-making is a process which is fundamentally spatial and embodied, acting as a framework for understanding the operations of SWS. It examines a wide range of geographical and social science literatures on relational space, the constitution of place, the organisational, communicative and affective implications of how relations get performed by "body-subjects" (Thrift, 1997, p.142) and how these registers impact and are impacted on by political actors, notably SMs. Where Chapter Two holds generalised ideas of 'relational space' up to scrutiny, Chapter Three further emphasises the necessity of actual performances – encounters – in creating relations of importance and effect for social movements (SMs). Having established relational space and the performance of such constitutive relations as the terrain of engagement, the second section, Chapters Five through Seven, charts and explains the largely improvised development of SWS' climate justice platform in the SCB. This development is not strictly linear and evolutionary, a case of SWS getting larger, more experienced and more effective, doing further things which prompted further doings and rethinking There is, however, a strong sense of progression between Chapters Five and Seven in that my understanding of what were a largely recursive series of SWS events (e.g. planning meetings, conversations) deepened and subsequently shifted; an early intention to chart the progress of SWS as a coherent movement pursuing a singular vision of something called 'climate justice' gave way to something else. 'Charting', then, takes the form of an increasingly fine-grained reading of members' and allies' personal motivations for involvement, personal and collective ideational and affective responses to the imperatives of climate change. Finally, though not summatively, close attention is paid to the microgeographies of subjectivity and relations as the meaning and function of climate justice is explored through social theatre as applied research.

The fundamental terrain of relational space and the performance of these relations is of course a constructed one. This is true in many senses of the word 'construction'. In the first instance it is a conceptual framing clearly built by me in response to my extensive

engagement with SWS and my reading of what I selected as relevant literatures with explanatory power. Second, I make no attempt to hide this fact, either under a veil of positivist objectivity or by *overly* embedding SWS, the 'object' of study, within existing analytical contexts within which it risks disappearing, for example SM theory (SMT) (see North, 2011). Karen Barad's approach to the "cuts" we inevitably make to support our constructions informs this approach (2007). For Barad, a trained physicist as well as a critical social theorist, "cuts" are the lines and boundaries erected (in the research process for example) which in effect *create* the very objects of study they are intended to *analyse*: "cuts are part of the phenomena they help produce" (p.145). How and where we "cut" has tremendous ontological, epistemological (particularly 'disciplinary') and ethical consequences. Writing particularly of these disciplinary and ethical consequences, Vikki Bell links the processes of "cutting" to the complex processes by which objects and phenomena attract and maintain our concern:

> Clearly, how we understand what elements and what processes 'demand' to be included – and so how we narrow the focus of any enquiry into the emergence or survival of this or that entity – is going to depend upon our (i.e. human) concerns, as well as our adopted methods and apparatus (including our theoretical apparatus)... Our concerns, our interest, in the subject of our attentions make our disciplines – insofar as they allow this concern to survive – part of [the subject's] ecology. (Bell, 2011, p.114)

The orientation of concern bedevils social and political action to mitigate, adapt to, combat or otherwise 'resist' human-induced climate change. Many commentators of course have made their own productive cuts: North (2011) uses the "theoretical gymnasium" of SM theory to analyse climate change activisms in the UK along typologies of tactics and aims; Wainwright and Mann (2012) interrogate the future of global sovereignty 'under' climate change at a Titan-ic level, invoking the figures of Leviathan, Behemoth, Mao and Marx; Swyngedouw (2007, 2010) "cuts" climate change into the global trend to the "post-political" and "post-democractic"; still others take a more ontologically-inflected bent, and "cut" 'their' climate change much more widely into a vast field of earthly and cosmic energies to be born and negotiated over millennia (Clark, 2010; Yusoff, 2009). By choosing to "cut" SWS climate change activism along the lines of relational space, performance and, in the mindful act of writing, narration, I am orienting my concern not toward 'understanding climate change' in some singularly efficacious way, but toward appreciating how a small group of activists themselves come to grips with the 'bedevilling' complexity of climate change through their enacted understandings of 'climate justice' in a particular regional context (the SCB).

In making the cuts along the lines of relational space and performance as I have, there is a desire to link, conceptually at least, the impact of these cuts with the conscious awareness of the way they shape 'our' (SWS') climate justice. This means taking personal intellectual responsibility for the shape of this thesis' analysis of SWS climate justice, while keeping SWS members' voices and relations alive and well represented in their myriad and ultimately ethical agencies. Climate change as a full-spectrum socio-ecological concern (even presumably for 'sceptics' or 'deniers'), SWS' creative responses and my dual role as researcher and participant are all implicated in the cut and the ethics it generates:

> cuts are agentially enacted not by wilful individuals but by the larger material arrangements of which 'we' are a 'part'. The cuts that we participate in enacting matter. . . . Ethics is not a geometrical calculation; 'others' are never very far from 'us'; 'they' and 'we' are co-constituted and entangled through the very cuts 'we' help to enact. Cuts cut things together and apart. (Barad, 2007, pp.178-9)

Making and sharing narratives about SWS performance of climate justice cuts some things together. In this simple statement

> "realities...are produced, and have a life, in relations" (Law, 2004, p.59)

we see the conjunction of narrativity, performance and the centrality of relations. Massey writes that "relations are necessarily embedded material practices which have to be carried out" (2005, p.9). In following and contributing to SWS' embedded practices, we cut an inevitably 'different' approach to climate change politics and a subsequently different set of methodologies to 'explain' it:

> The paradox is that we shall always look for weak explanations rather than general stronger ones…Every time we deal with a new topic, with a new field, with a new object, the explanation should be wholly different. (Latour, 1988, p.174, in Bingham, 2003, p.159)

Bell, in her reading of Barad, further ties the contingencies of cuts, method and 'object of study' together, highlighting the ethical and political significance of enacting (and presumably acknowledging) the cuts we make to demand attention and invite concern:

> Given the potentially infinite number of relevant elements in an intraacting materially enacted world, the inexhaustible plethora of 'entangled genealogies' (Barad, 2007), the event of a new conception, fact or correlation has to be one

that, by definition, makes a demonstrable difference. The limit is precisely indifference. In other words, the advice to one who wishes to tell an entangled genealogy is not so much to represent accurately as it is to 'cut well', which is to say provocatively or perhaps 'generatively', inviting the concern of others. (2005, p.117)

One of the ways in which SWS sought to 'provoke' and 'invite' is also adopted as a research and writing method here by me. The work of radical educator Paolo Freire and applied theatre innovator Augusto Boal are both highly performance-based practices shared by SWS and I, and are harnessed here (particularly in Chapters Four and Seven) as a way of generating both relations and information. In using social theatre in particular, and a performativity frame more broadly, I hope to provide an empirical and theoretical intervention that allows for the many 'micros' of performance to remain present and active in the 'macro' global challenge presented by climate change. While care is still taken to, in Bell's words, "represent accurately", more care is taken in *presenting actively* – that is bringing the generative powers of the performative to inform both our ability to make effective political formations and to live ethically and equitably in a rapidly changing ecosphere.

In the following section I provide a short summary of each chapter, which individually and in aggregate direct our attention from relational space and performance as general theory to active frames which can inform how SMs make relations (and alter *conditions of relations*), and from climate change as an undifferentiated global phenomenon – the vague and externalized 'enemy' (Swyngedouw, 2007, 2010) – to its ideational, affective and possibly transformative manifestation in activist 'body-subjects' (Thrift, 1997, p.142).

1.3. Structure of the thesis

Chapter Two, "Social Movements and Relational Space", investigates the "relational" view of space, testing certain claims made in the name of the "relational", asking: if space is accepted as "relational", what are the most salient relations for SMs, and under what conditions are these relations most optimally realised?; and, what sort of activities, occurrences and Events iteratively constitute relations which make space relational, relations which Massey states "are necessarily embedded material practices which have to be carried out" (2005, p.9)? The core concepts of *relations-making* and *conditions of relations* are introduced. The chapter moves through a series of steps, first contextualizing the geographical literature on SMs in the wider field of the social sciences, then examining

the concept of *relational space*, then further bringing Massey's "embedded material practices" into view, with particular attention paid to emotional and bodily relationships to (and within) particular places, and to the performative, constant re-articulation of Space/Place. I focus primarily on two spatial typologies which have been central to academic engagements with SMs, the contested lenses of *place* and *networks*. The chapter concludes by highlighting the process of finding a 'place' for SWS' climate justice within a potentially unnavigable terrain of conceptual relationalities, and posits alternative ways of productively conceptualising the spaces of SWS climate justice politics.

The performance of SMs "embedded material practices" becomes the focus of Chapter Three, "Performativity and Politics". Performance and performativity here are simultaneously *processes* through which politics and ethical projects emerge, and *frames* (Soyez, 2000, p.10; Bell, 2007, p.89; Gillan, 2008) or means of *cutting* (Barad, 2007) for understanding how individual actors might collate and produce themselves as SMs performing the "contentious politics" of climate change. In this chapter I broach the lingering question of the "inside" and "outside" of the political subject and how a performance frame that is both intensive and extensive might bridge what is often posed as a binary. I present a short genealogy of performance/performativity frameworks, examine three current theoretical approaches to performativity and performance, and highlight the themes of materiality and embodiment in each approach. I also closely examine two ubiquitous but contested features of work on SM performance and performance/performativity more generally: the role of representation and the distinction between emotion and affect. The second half of the chapter examines how a political performativity is enacted by (and manifested within) SMs, and the additional core concepts of *lived practice* and *declarative identity* are introduced. SM performance is discussed in two distinct sections: the performative constitution of SM and activist subjectivities, and performance itself as a communicative activist practice. However, while the sections are kept heuristically distinct, as shall be seen through the case studies intensive subjectivity-forming activities and extensive communicative public activities are not mutually exclusive.

Chapter Four, "Methodology", bridges the thesis' first (Chapters 2-3) and second sections (Chapters 5-7) by exploring the methodological tools which were used to participate in and examine SWS' creation of a novel climate justice platform. Using both theory and examples from the field, I reflect on the varied dimensions of doing ethnography, researcher positionality and reflexivity, the tensions inherent to 'activist research' and the

novel use of social theatre as research. Additional attention is given to the theory and practice of *image-making* that sits at the heart of these social theatre techniques. In terms of its function in the thesis' narrative, the chapter reinforces the ontological connections between SWS' relational space-making, ideations and feelings about climate change, my presence as both participant and 'narrator', and the possibilities that emerge from using becoming-through-performance to frame both the subject of study (SWS and climate justice) and the methods used. Marking the journey further into the thesis' empirical 'territory', Chapter Four also sees the introduction of 'Boxes': sections of text and visuals that are complementary to, and more deeply illustrative of, the content at hand. While they are not directly referenced in the main body of the text, 'Boxes' are placed in such a way as to enhance the text, or, at times, provoke further questions in a contrapuntal fashion.

Beginning the 'findings' section, Chapter Five ("SWS Foundations") introduces the basic constitutive components of SWS as a small evolving SM, focusing on SWS origins and early development by laying out SWS' basic structure in terms of timelines, biographies and organisational form. I also briefly attend to the process of translating the performance of an organisation and its ethos into this written narrative, and how these reductive technical specifications might act as base from which a story expands. It introduces those members who have been involved since SWS' inception, and includes those who have since left the group after contributing to its formation. Through interviews and close organising work with many of these individuals, a portrait of several activists will be presented, foregrounding their initial interest in SWS and tracking the motivations and practical considerations which led to their involvement. Vignettes of particular SWS organising practices will appear, particularly the Gathering Under the Flightpath (GFP) at Linnvale, Clydebank, November 2009, and the aborted Journey for Climate Justice (JCJ) bus tour across the Scottish Central Belt. These aspects of activity – temporal, biographical and organisational – are presented against the backdrop of SWS's foundational aims of *making relations* and *conditions of relations*.

In Chapter Six, "Climate Justice Performed", I construct a short series of climate justice narratives from SWS improvised performance in the SCB, a qualitatively understood "microgeopolitics" (Pain, 2009; Askins and Pain, 2011) that link "the global and the intimate" (Pratt and Rosner, 2006). These narratives emerge through SWS's *declarative identity* and *lived practices* as they iterate in making relations, both within and without its fluid organisational borders, and are shaped in the space between members' ideas and beliefs, their life experiences, and their hopes and emotions. Where Chapter Five focused

largely on the impetus behind SWS' formation, the primary task here is to interrogate how 'climate justice' is gradually crafted by and informs the conceptual and practical frameworks of SWS activism. Methodologically the chapter draws heavily on interviewees' views of climate justice, a recorded group discussion after the July 22 2010 "Living for Climate Justice: Using Social Theatre for Popular Research" workshop (LCJ) and SWS planning and outreach texts from the Linnvale GFP and the aborted JCJ Bus Tour across the SCB. Climate justice comes into focus as a spatial and temporal imaginary, the expansiveness and fluidity of which, as performed, appearing as both an opportunity and a difficulty for salient relations-making and altering conditions of relations. As climate justice is an elastic and contested concept, some attention is paid to how it has been discursively deployed by government agencies and NGOs, providing a context for SWS evolution of the term.

Chapter Seven ("Active and Ethical Subjects") marks a methodological departure, and draws from the extensive resources of the LCJ applied theatre workshop, where embodied image-making and group "decoding" (Freire, 1996) were used to surface intimate micro-geographies of relations. In turn, these micro-geographies between LCJ participants drew our attention to the connectivities that happen in the intimate space between declarative identity-making and lived practice, and shed light on the transsubjective connections that might ultimately sustain SWS' performance of climate justice. Fully implicating the element of performance in SWS' relational 'bindings' (see Featherstone, Phillips and Waters, 2007) and 'forgings' (see Featherstone, 2010; Routledge, 2009), this chapter explores the decentered activist subject in relation to her/his political ecology of climate justice, and how this decentering affords new opportunities and inevitable risks for climate justice activism. Reflecting on my role as a participant *and* researcher at the LCJ, I posit that one aim of the SWS climate justice platform is to inform new active and ethical subjectivities while shifting the standards and remit of climate change activism. However, LCJ image-making, and our decoding of the same, also revealed the ideational and affective distance from a locally embedded and politically effective 'climate justice' experienced by many.

Because the applied theatre method may be new to many readers, and because, I will argue, the very performativity of the method makes it particularly valuable to socio-material research into a socio-material phenomenon as affectively engaging as climate change, the chapter is the longest empirical chapter. I spend significant time relaying, reflecting on and analysing the LCJ workshop as it unfolded, and I have organised this into

four phases, Preparing, Getting Down, Building Up and Afterword, each with its own summative comments at a "gathering point" marking a phase change. As an experiment in the "aesthetic space" (Boal, 1995, p.20 of a community hall, the LCJ is a micro-geopolitics of situated connections observing both the global and the intimate (Pratt and Rosner, 2006), which while context dependent may serve to speak in other contexts.

The thesis concludes with Chapter Eight, offering summative comments and drawing conclusions (and speculations) from SWS' efforts to link environmental, social and economic justice concerns under the rubric of climate justice in the SCB, predominantly, as I argue, via making relations across difference. These conclusions and speculations are grouped into three sections: implications for SMs in a "post-political" age, including attention to issues of SM form and the relative strength and quality of relations; implications for the framing and tackling of climate change, including attention to the imperatives of timeframes and their implication for climate *justice* in particular; and, in a "Final cut" (Section 8.3) the important implications for qualitative, creative methodologies in approaching climate justice and academic knowledge generally. All three of these sections are contextualised within the rapidly changing socio-ecological – and inevitably climatic – conditions we are facing, a context which over the course of the three and a half years of this project has evolved quite extraordinarily.

As a final preparatory note, I want to draw attention to a motif that appears regularly in the pages that follow, and so transcending the thesis in its entirety. The crux of this work is that SWS' quite specific and strategic decision to organise around 'climate justice' quickly led to a skein of both transformative and frustrating possibilities, relationships and questions, from which we hope to learn some possibly unexpected lessons about political agency and subjectivity, the places and spaces through which we might best approach climate change politics, and the impact of climate change itself on people's abilities to form effective associations (not limited to the form of SWS) to contest social and environmental injustice as they frame these issues in their communities of location, interest and need. The 'climate justice move' by SWS, that initiates all of the above, is an act of both "going further" and "holding on" (Crouch, 2003, 2010a, 2010b). As Crouch explains

> The idea of 'going further and holding on' articulates multiple tensions at work in living. These prompt particular aspects of doing, feeling and thinking through which our worlds are encountered and realised in and across sites, their spaces, practices and times. (2010a, p.63)

These tensions are further expressed through the juxtaposition of the terms "belonging" and "disorientation", with their multiple potential meanings of desire, social membership, physical proximity, sense of (well) being and ontological security:

> Belonging and disorientation work in practices of emotion, becoming and the negotiative tensions of 'holding on' and of 'going further' in relation to particularities of space and its encounter. (p.68)

The sense of "holding on" and "going further" encapsulates SWS' processual formation, drawing members to bring their accumulated skills, experiences and embodied selves while forming a space in which either (or both) "going further" or "holding on" might challenge the same in unexpected ways. It is in this same sense and spirit that I offer my experience with SWS, and critical reflections on our efforts.

2. Social Movements and Relational Space

2.1. Introduction

> There is broad agreement in social-scientific spatial studies that space is a relational category; in other words, space arises from the activity of experiencing objects as relating to one another. (Löw, 2008, p.26)

The agreement alluded to here by Löw is very broad, and in human geography is still the subject of some debate (see Harrison, 2007; MacKinnon, 2011). This literature review will indeed take a broadly "relational" view of space, whilst also gently challenging certain claims made in the name of the "relational" by prompting important questions for a social movement (SM) researcher: how do we as movement actors and movement researchers define the boundaries and enclosures which necessarily both enrich and impede the effects of our actions, of our reflexive understanding of them? If space here is indeed accepted as a "relational category", what are the most salient relations for SMs, and under what conditions are these relations most optimally realized? What sort of activities, occurrences and events iteratively constitute these "relations of the relational", and are SMs in any way privileged or well-resourced constituents here? When might space become a place – and should this process, if it even occurs, actually matter to SMs?

This review of the literature on SMs, space and place will move from the general to the more specific, in recognition that So We Stand (SWS), while concerned during the course of my fieldwork with climate justice, has drawn members from a variety of backgrounds in other UK SMs, and is in many respects improvising a climate justice platform from a variety of existing conceptual and practical tools. It would be too narrow a remit and essentially off-target to review the literatures on civil society organisations' responses to climate change. However even in the most general aspects of the review, particular attention is paid to emotional and bodily relationships to (and within) particular places, and to the performative, constant re-articulation of Space/Place, the conscious and active politicization of which becomes the focus of Chapter Three. There is also a general supposition that there are tensions, some creative, some less so, between the imperatives of localization and those of mobility, "networking" and resource and idea sharing, a tension not unique to but very salient for an organisation working for a truly local *and* global paradigm of climate justice. In this light, I hope to illuminate praxis-oriented conceptual

resources for examining the boundaries and enclosures that impact the work of SMs both materially and discursively including the dissolution or re-working of such boundaries.

This process requires several steps. First, I will contextualize the geographical literature on SMs in the wider field of the social sciences. Second, I will examine the notion of *relational space*, in order to bring forward the analytical insights "spatialized" views of SMs provide in the context of the discipline of human geography as a whole. Then, in the bulk of the chapter, I will review two concepts that have been central to academic engagements with SMs, the contested lenses of *place* and *networks*. I will give the same genealogical treatment to *place* as was given to *space*, albeit more briefly, and in direct relation to space and SMs. Lastly, I will point to the strengths and deficiencies of some of these accepted frameworks as they apply to this project, and very briefly touch some recent literature on "micro-geopolitics" (Pain, 2009) and ecology which, while often not disciplinarily ordered with activist or SM studies, may provide powerful, original new supporting frames through which to see SWS in operation.

2.2. Contextualizing social movements and Geography

What is being said about space, place, and social movements? Geographical review papers by Walter Nicholls (2007) and Leitner, Sheppard, and Sziarto (2008) provide historical and conceptual frameworks for navigating this rapidly growing literature. Both papers start with a strong nod to "social movement studies", as will be discussed below. Nicholls indicates that geographers have been relative latecomers to the specific field of SM research (2007, p.608; see also Featherstone, 2003, p.405). This is not to say that power relations, social injustice, environmental degradation, economic and social inequalities of many kinds and orders, and the resistances and responses to each have not been seriously considered by geographers prior to any specific orientation to SMs. Nicholls contends, however, that such geographical studies ran distantly parallel to theoretical and practical developments in political science, sociology, and organisation theory, for example, remaining for a time within a relatively "unreconstructed" Marxism as exemplified by the work of David Harvey (1978, 1997 [Nicholls, 2007, p.610]). There has since developed a proliferation of approaches that, while still cognizant of marxian political economy in some cases, has embraced a much freer play between notions such as structure and agency, the "local" and the "global" (scale), culture and economy, domination and resistance, and space and place in particular. Conversely, if specific attention to SMs has been late in coming to geography as a discipline, it has also been noted "that among social movement

researchers...the absence of attention to the geographic structuring of collective action remains a significant gap" (Martin and Miller, 2003, in Auyero, 2006, p.568)

In terms of quantity and breadth of analysis, specifically geographical literatures have in crude terms "caught up to" and continue to cross-fertilize with literatures tackling similar interests in the emergence, constitution, effectiveness, and stability of SMs. There remains a sense though, after surveying SMs literature across disciplines, that a focus on SMs *per se* remains a relatively "specialist" domain within the discipline of geography, and that "SM studies" are generally regarded as part of a larger critical and political project within other social sciences. Recent edited collections in SM studies appear in the disciplines of anthropology (Nash J, 2005) and sociology (Smith and Johnston, 2002; della Porta and Tarrow, 2005; Johnston and Noakes, 2005; Frampton, Kinsman, Thompson, Tilleczek, 2006). This differentiation in the positioning of the study of SMs within various social science disciplines may simply be a product of how various disciplines treat, locate, and name emergent trends in their fields. Indeed "SM studies", largely emergent from sociology, political science and various branches of governance studies, has spawned journals devoted to the topic, including the epynomous *Social Movement Studies*, as well as praxis-oriented journals such as *Mobilization: An International Journal* and *Interface*. Book-length, specifically geographical ventures that study SMs have been more limited in number (Routledge, 1993; Pile and Keith, 1997; Miller, 2000; Routledge and Cumbers, 2009); in journal format, *ACME*, *Area* and *Antipode* are devoted to critical geographies that include but are not limited to the study of SMs.

If Nicholls' review article relates the emergence of geography's approach to SMs to earlier and contemporaneous literatures from other disciplines (2007, pp.607-610), it must also be noted that the geographical exploration of SMs bears distinct characteristics. More is going on than geographers building upon a base established by sociologists, political scientists, historians, and anthropologists. I mean this in two respects; first, while it is true that what is literally called "SM studies" has largely been the purview of non-geographer social researchers, human geographers in all of their guises – economic, political, cultural, social, historical, and others – had long been paying attention to SMs, but obliquely rather than directly and explicitly. The rich permutations of inquiry following the dominance of the spatial science paradigm, through the lenses of Marxist, humanist, feminist, postcolonial, postmodernist, poststructruralist, queer and posthumanist epistemologies and approaches (see Philo, 2008, p. *xxiv*), have at times included the how, why, and whither of SMs in their analyses without developing a homogeneous disciplinary voice such as "SM

studies". Second, geography has brought to light and life SMs as spatial, material phenomena in ways that other disciplines have not. In an article "devoted to the thematization of space as one of the 'silences' in contentious politics" (Auyero, 2006, p.568), Sewell writes

> '[M]ost studies bring in spatial considerations only episodically, when they seem important either for adequate description of contentious political events or for explaining why particular events occurred or unfolded as they did. With rare exceptions, the literature has treated space as an assumed and unproblematized background, not as a constituent aspect of contentious politics that must be conceptualized explicitly and probed systematically. (2001, p. 52)

Auyero sums up the problem thus: "space- and place-related dynamics usually are part of the *descriptions* of contentious politics, but 'rarely play significant part in analysts' *explanations* of what is going on' [Tilly 2000, p.5]" (2006, p.568, emphasis added). As highlighted here and throughout this thesis, geographers are playing a central role in ending this analytical "silence".

Cross-fertilizations notwithstanding, the theoretical and practical advances of "SM studies" as a distinct discipline have taken a broadly structuralist approach, focusing on SMs' and individuals' relationships to organizational and institutional structures. Nicholls (2007), borrowing heavily from the conceptual frames of leading SM scholars such as Sydney Tarrow, Doug McAdam, Charles Tilly, and Donnatella della Porta, relates a history of SM studies development through three paradigms: the resource mobilization approach, the political processes approach, and finally "new social movements" studies (pp.608-610). The first two approaches are predicated on the idea that the primary relationship is between SMs and the institutions of the state and other governance institutions (Nicholls, 2007, p.607). The individual in those approaches is very much Mancur Olson's "rational actor", acting out of self-interest and engaging in SM activity (which is reductively framed as contributing one's personal resources to a larger cause) only when risk is perceived as low and the chance for success is high (p.609).[2] Differing somewhat from the zero-sum game envisioned in the rational actor-resource mobilization approach, political process approaches focus not on the protection and use of closely guarded resources, but on "strategic openings in the political system" (ibid), claiming that "when the 'political opportunities' ...facing social movements increase, the prospective risks of participating in the movement decrease" (ibid).

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[2] R. Bin Wong explicitly argues that the particular contexts and terrains that comprise "place" also muddy and trouble the universalist principles behind political rational actor theory (2006)

While acknowledging the importance of such concepts in studying the constitution and activities of SMs, I agree that the cast of the resultant framework tends to be "overly state-centric and interest oriented, and insufficient in acknowledging the differences between social movements" (Leitner *et al*, 2008, p.157), and is epistemologically reflected by the trend in SM studies to refer to "contentious politics" rather than "SMs". And while indebted to both Nicholls and Leitner *et al* for presenting clear histories and typologies of recent spatial work in SM studies, this thesis derives more traction from the latter's examination of the "multiple spatialities" of SMs (2008, p.159), than from structuralist-institutional accounts of SM configurations. However, such structuralist-institutional accounts appear in many forms, and the role of states and institutions of governance is important in a wide range of SM case studies, with future applications for framing and critiquing SWS; it is always a matter of how such conceptual tools are used. Having briefly positioned geographical writing on SMs within a broader social science context, I now want to examine specific empirical and theoretical approaches to space, place, and SMs in the geographical literature, beginning with the foundational concept of relational space – and how it becomes so.

2.3. Relational space

> The burden of my argument here is not that place is not concrete, grounded, real, but rather that space – global space – is so too. (Massey, 2004, p.7)

Whatever ontological status we attach to the nature of the "relational space" we will explore below, relationality is necessarily differential – the various forms of "groundedness", the fields of meaning-making, the impacts of differently accessible mobilities and distinct but overlapping time-spaces are experienced very differently by individuals, communities and societies. In a semantic twist, both space and place (as separated and 'scaled' by Massey above) are considered rather distinctly in this review, but both originate in the broader concept of relational space. For human geographers it has become almost axiomatic that space is "relational"; that is to say, that space *becomes* "as the product of interrelations; as constituted through interactions, from the immensity of the global to the intimately tiny" (Massey, 2005, p.9). Axiomatic perhaps, but not uncontested (Harrison, 2007) and certainly not uniform in where the stresses are placed and prioritized. In fact, in the empirical chapters and conclusion to this thesis, I hope to reveal some of the necessary labour and productive conflict that may be masked by an uncritical and blanketing use of the term relational. Recognising this as a currently core geographical

concept, here I offer a condensed interpretation of the works of four influential theorist/researchers and their approaches to the umbrella term "relational space"– Henri Lefebvre and Ed Soja, Doreen Massey and Sarah Whatmore.

2.3.1. Lefebvre and Soja: from dialectics to 'third space'

While a "relational" sense of space is present in several "minor" schools of Western thought (e.g. the monism and immanence of Alfred North Whitehead; Michel Serres' strain of materialism), for Anglo-sphere human geographers the most commonly accepted contemporary source lies in a spatialized Marxist tradition, in some sense "beginning" with Henri Lefebvre's *The Production of Space* (1974, English trans. 1991) and engagement with Lefebvre's ideas by disciplinary notables such as David Harvey (1973), Ed Soja (1980), and Doreen Massey (1994a). What Lefebvre's work served to do was "stress...the 'decisive' and 'preeminent' role of spatial structural forces in modern capitalist society" (Soja, 1980, p.207). While generally received with great interest, fellow Marxists' (e.g. Harvey's [1973]) also critiqued this turn, for "giving an excessive emphasis" to the spatial, therefore sublimating "the more fundamental roles of production...social relations of production...and industrial (vs. finance) capital" (Soja, 1980, p.207). Soja's solution to this pendular swing from structure to space was to propose a "socio-spatial dialectic" (1980), taken further in subsequent work (1989) that would eventually see a "third space" (1996) emerge within an ontological and epistemological "trialectics" (1996, pp.71-82).

Soja's "trialectics" are a contribution to a much broader critical project concerned with the role of space in social theory, and more specifically the assertion of the "lived" and experiential nature of space. It is the insistence on this second point that pulls threads of critical social theory and geography into a useful working relationship. From this same point one can clearly see the precedent, antecedent, and parallel attempts to "relate" space – construct the spatial story– as being inherently social and material, both conceptual and imbued with presence and effects. To such a degree that one facet of space cannot be disarticulated from the other without the whole relationship slipping from our grasp. Soja's is but one example of theorizing relational space, and his trialectic is built upon Lefebvre's earlier typologies of the *abstract space* of economic and state institutions, hegemonic grids imposed through *spatial practices* of bureaucratization and commodification (Soja, 1996, p.66), and the *concrete space* of the lived, the experienced, the everyday of our activities. For Lefebvre, abstract space is formed and encoded through the *representations of space* (ibid) generated by the practices and discourses of governance

and planning. Further jumbling this typology, Lefebvre also calls such *representations of space* a sort of *conceived* space, and, "invariably ideology, power and knowledge are embedded in this representation" (Merrifield, 2000, p.174). These representations and their physical manifestations that result from planning technologies can potentially be disrupted to transformative political ends through generating *spaces of representation* in the concrete space of the lived and everyday (Soja, 1996, p.67). Soja addresses what he saw as an overemphasis on *spatial practices* and *representations of space*, as he termed them *first-* and *secondspace* respectively, with the concept of *thirdspace* (pp.68, 81); *thirdspace* animates and rehabilitates the political potential of Lefebvre's *spaces of representation* by assigning to it the quality of *perceived space* (pp.74-78, somewhat obliquely). *Perceived space*, as the third moment in the trialectic, bridges the lived and experiential nature of Lefebvre's *concrete space* and the codified and over-determined structural rigidity of his *abstract space*. *Perceived space* is the lever by which *representation* is both cultural and political, and thus potentially subversive and radical, transversing the earlier formulation of *abstract* and *concrete spaces*.

Others, including other 'neo-Marxists' such as Doreen Massey, have taken different approaches to relational space. While both Lefebvre's and Soja's schemata are concerned with inserting the legitimacy and energizing properties of the lived, experienced and embodied into critical social theories of space, the analytical lens in both cases is focused strongly through a structuralist bent. Notwithstanding both theorists' emphasis on cultural acts of transgression and reclamation of space, and Soja's vocal "postmodernity", the emphasis is on reconciling, via Marxist dialectical reasoning, the three bracketed-off domains of: 1) institutions and codes of control, 2) lived experiences (that somehow fly below this radar), and 3) the material, tangible "stuff" of spaces. Space is related, and made relational, through a triangulation of discrete categories, an ordering action that first depends on the creation of distinctions to be overcome. This is not to imply that the spatialisation of (neo) marxist theory has not been remarkably productive, but rather to say that emergence through that particular tradition has maintained the notably modernist and structuralist shape of the analyses. Feminist (including feminist-marxist) and poststructuralist relatings of relational space operate along subtly but critically different registers.

2.3.2. Massey: the labour of relations

Massey has been pivotal in offering theorisations of relational space that seek to shake up lingering dialectical dualisms (intended or not) between something called "space" and something called "the social". Whereas Massey sifts through and synthesizes a century's worth of continental theory and philosophy from Bergson, Foucault, de Certeau, and Deleuze and Guattari (2005, pp.9-30),[3] I wish briefly to alight upon a few of her spatial "propositions" (pp.9-11), by way of explanation:

1) Space is "the product of interrelations...as constituted through interactions, from the immensity of global to the intimately tiny" (ibid). Simple and general enough; though here we see the seed, in the emphasis on space as cutting across scales, in a certain scalar 'flattening' (see Marston, Jones, and Woodward, 2005), of an emphasis on relations as actions, where action and movement equates to multiplicity and change, and multiplicity and change are continuous and both internal/constitutive and external/object-relational (Massey, 2005, p.21).

2) Space is "the sphere of possibility" (p.9), and of "coexisting heterogeneity" (ibid); again, perhaps a disciplinary axiom at this time. Massey makes sure to stress, however, that possibility, heterogeneity, and multiplicity are indeed the actual substance of space. These relations, conjunctions, and resonances *are* space: "[w]ithout space, no multiplicity; without multiplicity, no space" (p.9). This insistence on naming the "material of space" moves us away from dialectically relating registers of the social, spatial, and material, over to implicitly narrating what's already co-constituted – what owes its "becoming" to being relational already. This is a difference along an order of abstraction, but one that has epistemological, ontological, and methodological implications. Lastly, and a consequence of Massey's first two propositions;

3) "space [is] always under construction" (p.9). In explaining this proposition Massey further reveals the internal/constitutive-plus-external/object-relational (see proposition one) nature of space: space is both "a product of relations-between" (p.9) – the "external" or "object-relational" world of relations, and, I add, the intensive relations within objects or phenomena/events themselves. These latter relations are thus within the "relations-

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[3] This approach to "theory-making" has its detractors, as evidenced by Tim Ingold's highly critical (2006) review of Massey's book *For Space* in which he takes great exception to the construction of a textual "Parisian café", which does not admit the life experience of the great majority of people.

between", and intensively coeval[4] to them, and both are "necessarily embedded material practices *which have to be carried out*, it [space] is always in the process of being made" (p.9, italics mine).

With this particular explanation of an otherwise vague proposition, Massey does a couple of things. First she emphasizes the agency that inheres in the spatial, the sense of activity that many social theorists assign instead to the temporal (pp.20-30). Prioritizing the temporal as the plane of socio-political change, over the spatial as the static plane of "mere" *representation*, has meant that it is through space that representations, that are always power-loaded and often hegemonic, are fixed – the agentic flow of time and action is dammed by the grid of spatial practices of control that cannot but fix us, still us, mute us. As Massey writes, "...'time' is equated with movement and progress, 'space/place' is equated with stasis and reaction" in its representation (Massey, 1994b, p.151). Massey doesn't invert this dualism, but rather deflates it by emphasizing that relations, the constituive "quirks and quarks" of space, are material practices, and that it is through and in space that relations are embedded. In keeping with proposition two, without activity, no space; without space no activity. The most vital point of this third spatial proposition is that space is not only "always under construction", but it is "never a closed system" (Massey, 2005, p.11) and might even provide for, perhaps *must* provide for, "the genuine openness of the future" (p.11). Space is extensively and intensively dynamic and not over-determined: "[n]ot only history but space is open" (p.11).

In developing these three propositions, Massey casts a wide net that perhaps brings in a lot of "by-catch" along with the illuminations and insights– things and ideas that one might appreciate but remain unsure how to "use", perhaps too large to wield with much particular purpose. The traction her analysis provides lies in the insoluble links it makes between space as processual, active, and inherently socio-material, and the political potential such an ontology (or worldview) affords. Again drawing on continental philosophy and social theory, Massey proposes and defends a space bearing "characteristics of freedom (Bergson), dislocation (Laclau) and surprise (de Certeau) which are essential to open it up to the political" (p.29).

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[4] To borrow a recurring word of Massey's: "coeval". Not a commonly used term, but more specific than "contemporary" or "coterminous", "coeval" here implies something living, organic, and beginning and ending along with its other or partner – in this case these "partners" are external and internal, and co-constitutive, relations. I say "*intensively* coeval" to emphasize the openness at play within various relations, as well as "outward" along their axes and flows.

2.3.3. Whatmore: subjects behind relations' labours

Since the late 1990s Sarah Whatmore has been part of a movement in geographical theory that has pressed for a focus on both the body as a (re)prioritized site of knowledges and prehensions, captured in terms like *embodiment* and *corporeality*, and the inherent diffuseness of such knowledges and prehensions, often framed as *intersubjectivity* between persons, or *hybridity* amongst humans and non-humans alike. An insistence on a blended interiority-exteriority has emerged, with implications for "relational space" as it is both lived and studied. As Sayer and Storper (1997) point out, much of Whatmore's work is particularly concerned with "the relationship between people and nature...including our internal nature as embodied beings" (p.9), and is framed largely as an ethical project. It is important to note that both of these external and internal aspects of "nature" will prove important to analysing how SWS' climate justice platform is actually performed rather than represented.

Whatmore's arguments are complexly formulated, a pluralist practice of knitting together a wide skein of theories and empirical insights from feminism, environmentalism, history, poststructrualism, and Science and Technology Studies. Three elements from her work are useful for my working concept of the relational spaces and places of SMs and (or in) climate change. Firstly, that materiality is instantiated, expressed, and experienced through our corporeal being, wherein "the body is considered not as the passive container of social being but as a living assemblage of biological materials and processes which both register and orient our senses of the world" (Whatmore, p.43, 1997). The material nature of our being informs both cognition and affect – as thinking and discursive entities, we are not merely a "mind-in-a-vat" (Latour, 1999, p.4). Our embodiment is not an abstraction or ruse, and our mortality is central to our being-in-the-world. Second, that the embodiment of being does not imply singularity and autonomy of self. As Whatmore states, "such a 'thinking through the body' undermines the political myth of self-authorship and the privileged ethical status of humans as uniquely rational subjects, attending instead to the *inter*-corporeality of social conduct" (Whatmore, 2002, p.155, italics in original). Fusing and blending work from Latour and Harraway's hybridity studies, and feminist and environmental ethics, Whatmore (1997) proposes that not only identities are relational, but that "difference" is relational and non-essential as well (p.46). This extends to the multiplicity and compostion of non- human others, and our relations with them. Again, identity and subjectivity have a material and expressly "fleshly" dimension too. No subject (human or otherwise), embodied though socially textured and co-composed, escapes the

materiality latent in its relations with others, its capacities, its mutablility (p.44). The multiple dimensions and implications of the relationship between the corporeal and identity are explored much further in later chapters, framed by the terms "declarative identities" and "lived practice". Third, her work shares a concern (particularly with Massey) with the active reconceptualization of relational space as being an ethico-political project. As Whatmore (1997) explains,

> In an effort to articulate an intersubjective conception of ethical agency and a relational understanding of ethical considerability I have identified corporeality and hybridity as key modalities for reconfiguring the cartographies of ethical community. (p.50)

Ethical relations and actions are inherently spatial, largely because they must be "practically constructed and corporeally embedded" (p.50). As Keller notes, "it is precisely in embodiment that the many are becoming the one and the outer becoming the inner" (in Whatmore, p.50, 1997). Thus the bounds of the atomistic subject are broached, and constitutive intensive relations within the "interior" mix with extensive relations between subjects. Ethical communities are "fragile heterogenous networks" (p.50) of humans and non-humans, and it is imperative that we expand "the implicit spatial coding of ethical consciousness and performance" beyond only "proximate others" (p.50). Opening up ethics, proximity, responsibility and community this way prompts questions of the language we use with regard to attachment and belonging, and of how we practically frame our "socioecological" projects in relation to existing and evolving institutional scales (p.50).

2.3.4. Relational space: summation and applications to social movements

Lefebvre and Soja, Massey, and Whatmore are only particular exemplars of various fields of spatial theorizing – each field has many labourers, faces, and "bench workers". These three approaches are not presented as progressive steps of refinement, wherein, say, Whatmore "trumps" Soja. These approaches to relational space do, however, "do" different things, each of which are important for an analytical review of the literature on space, place, and SMs. In the marxist-inflected variants on relational space, we are reminded that institutional (capitalist) structures of production and governance influence, even orient, all manner of social, economic, and political processes. Urban geographies have often been very insightfully conceptualized in this way (Mitchell, 2003; Beaumont and Nicholls, 2007; Sites, 2007). Even an eco-feminist poststructuralist such as Whatmore

acknowledges Harvey's proposition that issues of "spatial and temporal scale" must always
be defined, at least in part, against "institutionalized scales" (Whatmore, p.50, 1997).
Massey presses for the latent imbrications of the social and spatial, that "lived" and
"abstract" spaces may be more deeply implicated in one another than a dialectically
ordered relationship allows. Where Soja moves from Lefebvre's dialectic to create a third
perceived space that allows for agency between the registers of the concrete and abstract,
Massey then reinforces that all such nominally agentic acts must actually "be carried out"
(2005, p.9). With agency – life – now activated and animated, Whatmore makes the case
for the corporeal and embodied nature of this animation. The subject in both abstract and
concrete space is in fact *inter*subjective, materially, cognitively and experientially,
impressing on us the further, nearly molecular relationship between the abstract schemata
of capital and the necessary requisite performances of living, or as Whatmore might put it,
be-ing (1997, p.41; see also Dewsbury, 2012).

SMs relate to spaces and places in each of the above, of course, and so fundamentally:

> [s]pace, whether as a terrain to be occupied, an obstacle to be overcome, or as
> an enabler to have in mind, matters in the production of collective action.
> Space is sometimes the site, others times the object, and usually both the site
> and the object of contentious politics. (Auyero, 2006, p.567)

I would add that even when it is not made explicit, space is *always* "both the site and
object of contentious politics" (see Boudreau, 2007), for if we frame space in the ethico-
political and animate manner presented above, contending for a goal upon or within a site
makes that site the object of the contentious activity as well. In the schema of relationality
presented here, any "terrain of resistance" (Routledge, 1992, 1993), be it micro- or macro-,
is both material (or topographical) and socio-discursive in nature. SM pressure applied to
either of those registers will show this to be so in practice as well as theory; SM actors
practically navigate these "terrains of resistance" in various ways: through negotiation with
governance institutions, confrontation, withdrawal, information sharing, ecological
projects, education in a thousand forms, creative expression to name a few. Indeed, SMs
directly participate in the constitution of their own terrains of resistance; as Sewell
highlights, SMs are not only "shaped and constrained by the spatial environments in which
they take place but are significant agents in the production of new spatial structures and
relations" (2001, p.5). Stated more theoretically, and chiming with Massey's postulates in
For Space, "space and place constrain and enable (and are constrained and enabled by)
contentious politics" (Auyero, 2006, p.569). To further stress this vital point, space and

place are ''both context for and constitutive of dynamic processes of contention'' (Martin and Miller, 2003, p.149).

In these hypothetical spaces and places we have *SMs*, which have been defined by Diani as

> a network of informal interactions between a plurality of individuals, groups and/or organisations, engaged in a political or cultural conflict, on the basis of a shared collective identity. (1992, p.13)

and by Leitner *et al* as

> forms of contestation in which individuals and groups organise and ally, with various degrees of formality, to push for social change that challenges hegemonic norms (whether the latter are located in the state, the market or civil society). (2008, pp.157-158)

For Leitner *et al*, "[d]iscussions of the spatiality of [SMs] seek to analyse the ways in which geography matters to the imaginaries, practices and trajectories" of SM actors (p.158). Theirs is both a theoretically informed and pragmatic approach to SM study and spatial theory. They suggest that within the Geographical academy (particularly the Anglo-American tradition), there is a tendency to move abruptly from one "fashionable spatiality to the next", constructing "ontological rationales for the choice of one or the other as the master spatiality" (p.158). This is not how SM actors work however, at least not over obvious and immediate timelines and scales. As Leitner *et al* point out, "[p]articipants in contentious politics [or SMs] are enormously creative in cobbling together different spatial imaginaries and strategies on the fly, without deep reflection on the philosophical implications" (p.158). This is a proposition that needs some qualification, as reflection, over time, does occur, particularly when it comes to practice, and such practical reflections surely iteratively become philosophical ones over time and through practical and discursive spaces – both those of declarative identity and lived practice. Leitner *et al* suggest that as both declared and lived, the "spatialities" of SMs (supposing there could be such a reified thing) are "multivalent and co-implicated" (2008, p.158): "cobbled together", tried out then rejected, engaged with for the short or long term and in different configurations depending on the project, and all mostly unconsciously. They identify five "spatialities" most salient to the contentious politics of SMs: *place, scale, networks, mobility,* and *socio-spatial positionality* (p.158).

There are many other possibilities not mentioned by Leitner *et al*: *site, field, assemblage, institutional space, grid, meshwork, class location, thirdspace, home, landscape, event* among others. Some of these will feature elsewhere in this thesis. It is important to remember that these conceptualizations are limit-acts, orderings that attempt to imperfectly capture what is "concrete and real" (p.158) about SM spatialities. Using the terms *place, scale, networks, mobility,* and *socio-spatial positionality* is effectively a beginning in naming the different modalities of relations that are constitutive of relational space. With similar pragmatism, I will focus on geographical SM literatures which foreground *place* and then *networks*, for the reasons that 1) these terms subsume important facets of the other frames within them, 2) they are the most 'common place' of the terms, amenable to a variety of academic and lay uses and 3) *scale* and *socio-spatial positionalities* will, in their own way, feature implicitly, 'speaking for themselves' in various places throughout the thesis.

2.4. The particularities of place and social movements

There are strong reasons for discursively (if not necessarily, in all instances, ontologically) teasing place out of space. First, as social researchers we must always recognize that those whom we write about use language in ways that are appropriate for their social and discursive environment. People may speak of having shared experiences or shared understandings, but they do not generally refer to themselves as "inter-" or "trans-subjective" (Miller, 2005, p.45). Likewise, people commonly refer to "places" rather than "spaces of coalescence" or "density", or "constructed spaces" or "locale". It is a question for philosophy or linguistics whether or not the terms used truly reflect parameters of understanding; what is important here is not to allow spatial theory to hover above and beyond lay understandings of lived and conceived spaces. Second, notions of place have proved to be powerful conceptual and rhetorical tools for SMs (Leitner *et al*, 2008, p.161). Socially constructed, porous, and mutable they may be, but "places" are powerful loci for the articulation of desires and claims, the gathering of SM resources, and the defence and care of ecological systems. Lastly, even within the relational turn in geographical spatial theory, "place" still holds a strong purchase as a general (though queried) concept, a heuristic device, a proxy shorthand for certain forms of spatial relations – a contested and evolving descriptor for a nominally and contingently "bounded" zone of relations.

Place is not *only* rhetorical, symbolic, or a form of shorthand. The density and coalescence that are characteristics of "place" obviously have very real effects, just as the particularities

of distance, diffusion, and network generate their own. It is difficult at times to disassociate the term "place" from stasis and a nearly inorganic regimentation, even though "place" – as it is now often understood – is an ordering category with its own mobilities, interior movements, and highly improvisatory sustaining systems. It is in light of this complexity and potential contradiction that I will focus on the various ways manner in which people and things relate to place, and how the differential nature of relational space indeed creates "relational places" that embed some actors more firmly than others.

Considering the dual commonplace and theoretically-contested nature of the term place, it is not surprising that place and place-based action has figured prominently in geographical accounts of SM formation and practice. In ethnographic studies conducted in Nepal (1994) and India (1992, 1996a, 1997), Routledge has observed and analysed geographies of civil society action and protest in South Asia. Escobar (2001) too has analysed the "SM of black communities of the Pacific rainforest region of Columbia" (p.139) in terms of "multi-scale, network-oriented subaltern strategies of localization" (p.139). In the Global North, Miller's comparative study of community-placed anti-nuclear activism in the Greater Boston area (2000), Brown's analysis of the difficulties of the ACT UP HIV/AIDS network in embedding themselves in Vancouver (1997), and Featherstone's consideration of site-specific protest in the transnational movement the Inter-Continental Caravan (2003) all feature conceptions of place as variably constitutive of, productive of, or in some cases inhibiting to, SM formation and activity. These are a smattering of examples of research that focus on place as a category, as a named discrete object of study. Many other studies of the spatiality of SMs are also implicitly "about place" even if place is not the nominal conceptual focus. Here, I will organise my consideration of place and SMs as follows: 1) defining place as an analytical resource for SM research, 2) "uses" of place, or place as resource or constraint for SMs, and, most extensively, 3) place and identity.

2.4.1. Defining "place" as a site for analysis

Many theorists and researchers offer typologies of what makes space a place – meaningful, salient, useful, important, worthwhile – for SMs. Many of them cover similar territory, but it is worth noting that the very frequency of the exercise says something about the deeply engrained impulse to wrestle analytical purchase from such a commonplace term. I have condensed three such taxonomies of place in the table below (see Table 2.1):

Javier Auyero: "four main areas [for] working towards geographically contextualized interpretations and explanations of contentious politics." (2006, pp.569-570)			
1) space as a repository of social relations	2) built environment as facilitator and obstacle in contentious politics	3) mutual imbrication between spatially-embedded daily life and protest	4) spaces as meaningful arenas, i.e. space as place
Thomas Gieryn (2000) via Wong (2006, p.536): "a taxonomy of three kinds of place"			
1) a ''geographic location'' ranging in scale from rooms in a building to a planet in the solar system.	2) a ''material'' form, created by people's activities	3) a ''symbolic'' form, given subjective meanings and personal value by people who recognize it as more than just a geographic location or site of activities.	
John Agnew, via Routledge (1994.p.560; 1997a, p.2166): "conceptualization of place as constituting locale, location, and sense of place"			
1) "locale refers to the settings in which everyday social interactions and relations are constituted, whether formal or informal.	2) Location refers to the geographical area encompassing the locale as defined by social, cultural, economic, and political processes operating at a wider scale (nationally, internationally).	3) Sense of place refers to the subjective orientation that can be engendered by living in a place.	

Table 2.1 Three taxonomies of place for the study of social movements

All three in their varying ways frame place as simultaneously a cartographically 'fixable' unit of space, a collection of materials, and a generator and recipient of meanings, subjectifications and social (i.e. human) relations. Emphasizing that, for example, Agnew's "concept of place [is] not…a fixed grid" but rather an "interpretive framework", Routledge posits that such a tri-partite framing can help provide three "crucial insights into social movement experience" (p.560, 1994). First, it informs us as to "why social movements occur where they do". Second, "it informs us of the spatial and cultural specificity of movements", where the particularities and constituent elements of place "inform and affect the character, dynamics, and outcomes of movement agency". Third, research that is sensitive to place "provides the means of understanding the spirit of

movement agency, elucidating…the 'cultural expressions of movement resistance'" (all p.560, 1994).

To these considerations I add that sensitivity to place must necessarily include attention to the relative boundedness, or permeability of place(s), to the stability of its event-hood. Indeed, many usages of the term "place" in geography's encounters with SMs bear qualifications that work to unbind place from stasis and turgidity, or sacralisation as the privileged spatial unit of SM generation and efficacy.

As noted in the above table (2.1), place has symbolic and emotional weight, along with its connotations of physical proximity and co-presence. And while as analysts we must be cautious not to enrol material, symbolic, and affective ties into a static conception of place, SM actors may seek to reinforce, as well as reconfigure or rupture, "placed" relations in ways that emphasize the embodied nature of experience and engage with a "sense of place" as an inter-subjective and shared phenomenon:

> …Arturo Escobar, who [has] cited the phenomenological approach to the meaningfulness of place, writes that 'capital operates at the local level [i.e. it is 'grounded'] but cannot have a *sense of place*– certainly not in the phenomenological sense' (2001, p.165). This is an important point– embodiedness, then, has to be on certain terms to result in meaningfulness…And Arif Dirlik writes of the 'essential placelessness of capitalism' (cited in Gibson-Graham, 2002, p.34) – here, again, 'place' *must be distinguishable from simple locatedness*" (Massey, 2004, p.8, italics mine).

It follows then that what gives a study of nominally place-based SMs an orientation to praxis lies, at least in part, in uncovering what specific material and discursive resources dynamically constituted places might provide or deny SM actors. In the context of SM emergence and performance, place could be most productively considered as an event, a temporal (however long-term) and contingent (however "stratified" it may appear[5]) coalescence in space of particular material and discursive relations (see Harvey, 1996, pp.77-95; Bell, 2006). Put another way, what makes *space* a *place* is contingent upon what happens there, on what types of agency the particular relations and conditions of relations within said space might engender. Massey alludes to this porosity of place and subsequent political potential in her spatial propositions, where "Events" are products of open systems wherein socio-material relations might be actively reconfigured. But a pragmatic causality

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[5] Similarly, Deleuze and Guattari refer to a state of "stratification" as one in which complex social and material systems "settle into such deep 'steady state' basins of attraction that any potential for qualitative change in behaviour is not only hidden from view but also hard to access" (Bonta and Protevi, 2004, p.20).

is key in what might make undifferentiated space a *place* for SM actors, engaging in "necessarily embedded material practices which have to be carried out" (Massey, 2005, p.9). And as Whatmore emphasizes, this agency is corporeally instantiated, or functionalized;[6] it is not as unbounded and playful as some critical theorists imply (Whatmore, 2002, pp.152- 153). Having touched on some of the common parameters in using a place-based frame for analysing SMs, I now turn to review examples of place as a resource.

2.4.2. Place as resource: Lefebvre's "social" or "concrete" spaces

In the case of the Nepali revolution of 1990, Routledge posits that the specific spatialities of cities such as Kathmandu and Patan were highly constitutive of the character of, and the strategies employed by, the Nepali civilian opposition to the monarchy and army (1994, 1997c). This ranged from the micro-geographies of the predominant housing type (1994, p.568) to the spatial concentration of oppressive state apparatuses in these urban areas (p.566). Here, the material and discursive, co-constitutive of cultural practices and beliefs, are entwined in the making and performance of SM resources. For the Newar people of Kathmandu, the construction of their traditional homes shaped their strategies of both communicating with one another and demonstrating resistance to the state. The open porches (*kaisi*) of the upper stories, traditionally used for various rituals and practical tasks like drying clothes, served as places from which to communicate, from rooftop to rooftop, news of the opposition movement's periodic blackouts, as well as dropping water onto the street below to dampen police tear gas (p.568). The specifically urban places of Kathmandu and Patan provided culturally specific material resources as well as proximal contact with state institutions. This was in contrast to the surrounding rural areas where transportation and communications infrastructure made coordinated mass action more difficult, though not impossible (pp.566-577). In making the case for considering "spaces and places as sites and objects of politics", Auyero (2006) provides three similar short case studies:

- The proximity of universities in a single district in Beijing allowed cycling passers-by and otherwise non-politically active students to play the critical role of

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[6] "Function" is a bit of a contemporary social science bogeyman. I have taken tentative steps in exploring Deleuze and Guattari's work as "functionalist", not at all in the sense of the "functionalism" associated with Talcott Parsons and his former dominance in US sociology for example. For Deleuze and Guattari, "function" is used to indicate a sort of operationalized, materially instantiated meaning, where the focus is on what happens rather than symbol: "…what we are interested in is how something works, functions– finding the machine…The only question is how anything works, with its intensities, flows, processes, partial objects – none of which mean anything."(Felix Guattari, in Deleuze, 1995, p. 22)

messenger during the mass student demonstrations in that city in 1989. (pp.565-566)

- The architectural specifics of public buildings in the Argentinean city of Santiago del Estero, and their concentration together, led security forces policing a violent demonstration there to note:

  After a while, demonstrators from different unions started to arrive through various routes. [Most] were concentrated on the main square [in front] of the Government House, and the rest were located at the back of the building. . . .. . . the protesters started to enter the House of Government through different places...The police personnel were overwhelmed and the building is more vulnerable because of the existence of large windows with glass and multiple entrances. (p.566)

- U.S. anti-summit activists have learned how to "read" an urban landscape in order to effectively plan protests and countermeasures against security. Says activist Lisa Fithian "''My eye is trained,'' she said, ''I walk through a city, and I see a parking garage, and I think, That'd be a great place to drop a huge banner, or I see an open restaurant, and I think, That'd be a good place to escape if things get crazy. Sometimes places will tell me what they want.'' (pp.566-577)

"Place" can also function as a resource in more transitory or ad hoc ways as well, within the activist spaces of the "global justice movement" (Monbiot, 2003, p.2), or "global justice networks" (Bosco, 2001; Routledge 2003a; Cumbers, Routledge and Nativel, 2008). In his account of the 1999 Inter-Continental Caravan (ICC), a joint counter-globalization action between European and Asian activists, Featherstone notes the place-specific opportunities afforded to the Caravan whilst in London. Due to London's current function as a node for globally hegemonic institutional headquarters, ICC members were afforded the ability to "drag…relations of power that are not confined within the neat boundaries of nation states into contestation" (Featherstone, 2003, p.407). In this instance, Caravan activists who had been meeting at a central London Quaker hall received news of a pro-GMO (genetically modified organism) report by the Nuffield Council on Bioethics – and were quickly able "to make the short walk to the Nuffield Foundation in Bedford Square" that same day (2003, p.411). The building's location in the dense core of London's Bloomsbury district, so near to the activist site of the Quaker Friends House, grounded the diffusely crossed circuits of biotechnology and neo-liberalism into place, where "[t]he Nuffield Foundation emerged as a site of grievance around which the different political trajectories of the Caravan project could cohere" (p.411).

These are examples of places providing material resources to SMs – opportunities inhering in the local environment's particular *materiality* (mediated through cultural practice as in

the *kaisi*) and by means of proximal contact between actors and institutions. SM resources may also involve "sedimented" [7] (Barnett and Scott, 2007), and thus localised, cultural and political *practices*, which may in turn engage with processes and discourses of a more transnational character. Focusing on the South Industrial Basin (SIB) area of Durban, South Africa, Barnett and Scott (2007) highlight that SMs in neighbouring Durban districts are quite distinct from each other, the result of their differentially "sedimented" relationships to past struggles against apartheid and the current African National Congress (ANC) governance structure (pp.2616-2617). While the whole of the Durban SIB has long been a site of both state-led industrial development and civil society resistance to environmental degradation, the largest alliance of environmentalist community groups (the South Durham Community Environmental Alliance [SDCEA]), is strongly represented in neighbourhoods considered 'Coloured' or 'Asian' under apartheid, but far less so in predominantly 'African' neighbourhoods.

This differentiated "sedimentation" of historically constituted place-based practice has had ironic contemporary political consequences. During apartheid, South Durban's Indian and Coloured neighbourhoods had strong and active resistance networks in place, and post-apartheid, these same networks have served as the organizational base for the SDCEA in its current environmental struggles. However traditionally African neighbourhoods are amongst the strongest supporters of the once oppositional but now governing African National Congress (ANC), which has adopted the managerial policy of formally co-operating with industry for both economic development *and* ameliorating environmental problems (Barnett and Scott, 2007, p. 2614). This policy has brought locally sedimented SM practices into uneasy contact with circulating neo-liberal discourses on appropriately controlled forms of public input and private-public environmental management. In short, "[v]ariations in levels of community mobilisation are shaped by the relationship between sedimented, place-specific capacities for community mobilisation and activist leadership on the one hand (Nelson, 2003), and the development of new frameworks of state-coordinated consultation and participation on the other (Millstein *et al*, 2003)" (Barnett and Scott, 2007, p.2616). The social and organizational remnants of race-fractured anti-apartheid activism appear as a practical and social place-specific "sediment", upon which

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[7] A parallel can be made here between Barnett and Scott's use of "sedimentation" and the Deleuzian term "stratification". In Deleuzoguattarian ontology, which folds multiple "registers" of the geological, organic, and social, "The abstract machine of stratification works…to appropriate matter-energy flows from the earth [to] build a layer that regulates the flow", with "sedimentation" being a formative stage in the process (Bonta and Protevi, 2004, pp. 150-151).

current environmental activism is practiced in the new policy paradigm of ANC collaboration with industry.

Place then, porous, contingent, but sedimented, can be as much of a constraint as a resource for SM actors, and is best understood as having the capacity to be both, often for the same SM(s) in the same time and place. For a SM that values the ongoing rearticulation of identity and strategy, the tension between "resource" and "constraint" can be an opportunity for self-examination and redefinition. Featherstone's (2003) examination of the ICC's presence in London during the European leg of its activities makes this case. While the density of institutional targets for resistance proved to be a fertile on-the-fly resource for the ICC, this same dense proximity of so many varied halls of power also led to great acrimony in the Caravan along national lines, riven between targeting overtly political institutions like the Houses of Parliament, favoured by the Indian farmer participants, or the sites of corporate and financial power in London's 'City' district favoured by UK activists (Featherstone, 2003, p.410). This division proved to be a productive source of debate for the trans-nationally constituted ICC, raising questions as to the Caravan's identity and goals (p.416).

In a different take on the theme of scaled interactions and place-based SMs, Beaumont and Nicholls (2007) examine anti-poverty organisations in Los Angeles and Amsterdam through the lens of national and local political structures, and suggest that formal institutional structures are the dominant factor in the constitution and efficacy of SMs. The crux of their position is that:

> [t]wo coexisiting processes underlie… SMs – (1) extensive geographical networks and (2) intensive territorialisation qualities – and that state transformation and technological changes exert new pressures on these movements and their opportunities for mobilization. (2007, p.2554)

Using both resource mobilization and political processes theory to fill in the practical void they find in the theoretical work of others,[8] they strive to "show that extensive networks and intensive territorialisation are mutually constitutive elements of social relations" (2007, p.2255). A central constitutive structure in this view of territorialisation is the presence and scope of political institutions (2007, p.2571). Intensive relations here are conceptually allied with territory; extensive relations, on the other hand, refer to those social relations outwith "convergence in places (that is, territorialisation)" (2007, p.2259).

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[8] See Routledge, 1993, 1997b, pp.2165-2166, Miller, 2000, and Nicholls, 2007, pp.608-610 for a brief consideration of resource mobilization and political processes theory in the geographies of SMs.

While maintaining a tractable interiority and exteriority regarding territory and the process of territorialisation, Beaumont and Nicholls maintain that "intensive and extensive spatial relations…are not opposed to one another" (2007, p.2259), for

> "[a]lthough territories may give rise to distinctive norms and rules [a "sense of place", in less affective terms], they are not closed systems because they remain necessarily embedded in geographically extensive relations. Territories do not come at the expense of extensive networks and flows but, rather, they are constituted by and contribute to these social networks". (p.2259)

But there are problems with this analysis, as applied to their case studies, which are productive to examine. The first is their near-total framing of institutions as specifically statist and state-oriented. In their laudable attempt to ground spatial theory's relevance to SMs, they seek to push off from a rarefied world of theorization. They do this by making state-constituted political institutions analogous to how *all* SM forms organize, and base this assumption on the increased efficacy of resource mobilization through "a high degree of institutional coordination", wherein "[t]he more institutionalized these interrelations, the more the various power networks converge toward one unitary society" (Mann, 1986, in Beaumont and Nicholls, 2007, p.2559).

But of course, the goal of many SMs might be quite the opposite of creating "one unitary society". And paralleling this formal institutionalism, there is a similarly prescriptive over-reliance on economic "factors of production", derived from "network theories and the sociology of business organizations" (Beaumont and Nicholls, 2007, p.2560). While there may in fact be many productive intersections between these fields and the geographies of SMs, Beaumont and Nicholls see "factors of production" as "*the conceptual equivalent*" of SMs' "mobilization resources" (ibid, italics mine), without regard for the fundamental differences between the two organizational forms. What is glossed is an attention to the "why" of SMs, rather than an institutionally over-determined "how"; it is this attention to the "why" that Nicholls argues has been the "new SM studies" greatest contribution to the understanding of SMs (Nicholls, 2007, pp.609-610). While Beaumont and Nicholls' attention to the state (itself now a deeply contested and rapidly mutating institution, perhaps taken for granted in its solidity and force in their analysis) is warranted, Barnett and Scott's emphasis on processes of historical, political, and material sedimentation also draws formal institutions into view, but in a manner more commensurate with a concept of SM spaces as *relational,* and actively composed across several registers.

2.4.3. Place and identity: constituting both people and places

Thus far I have focused on the construction of place and its effects on SMs in quite material terms, in the most commonplace sense of that word. The iteration between the discursive and material elements of "placeness" has been alluded to but somewhat bracketed off. Likewise the immanent[9] nature of places as fluid and temporary has been subsumed by more "settled" instantiations of place as resource or limit for SMs. Few aspects of the nature of place are as contingent and elusive as *identity* – whether the role of place(s) in the constitution of subject identities (see Escobar, 2001, particularly pp.167-168), or the constitution of the identities of places themselves (see Massey, 2004, pp.12-15, on London's constructed identity as a "global city"). The distinction is important. Relational and performative mixings of discursive and material contingencies in "place" (in Laclau's terms, "the historical moment of enunciation" [Keith and Pile, 1993a, p.28]) contribute to persons' and places' identities in related but different ways; the identity of a place, as well described in Massey's depiction of London, is never simply an aggregate identity of its inhabitants and travellers. Similarly, subject identities are constituted at least in part by the same "moments of enunciation" as places are, but a subject's identity is never a simple *imprint* of these enunciative moments, enmeshed in place and actualized for a time[10]. The identities of subjects and the identities of places are too implicated in one another for one to ever be the pencil, the other the paper. In building a framework of "radical contextualization", it follows that "identities and their conditions of existence are inseparable. There is no identity outside of its context" (Keith and Pile, 1993a, p.28); furthermore "[i]dentity depends on conditions of existence which are *contingent*, its relationship with them is absolutely necessary" (italics mine). In keeping with the sense that such conditions are real but the product of embodied labour, of "making", I make a conceptual shift and use the more active term "conditions of *relations*" throughout the thesis.

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[9] In the work of Deleuze and Guattari, "immanence" refers to "the act of being within a conceptual space" (Bonta and Protevi, 2004, p.98). Bonta and Protevi note that this is "philosophical terminology" (ibid); a less ethereal reading, in keeping with Deleuze and Guattari's radically materialist "*geo*philosophy," is that to be "immanent" is to be in process, as yet actualized, and, most relevantly to the language already brought to bear in this section on place (see Beaumont and Nicholls, 2007), in the process of de- and re-territorialization.

[10] The "actual", or "actualization", is another Deleuzoguattarian term, which they juxtapose with the "virtual". A helpful summation of these terms, in reference to SM studies, is found in Chesters and Welsh (2005). Referring to SM composition and re/de-composition over time, Chesters and Welsh write of "the virtual (as the quality of potential immanent to the event) and the actual (as the degree to which that potential was realized)" (p.191).

Conditions of relations are discursive and cultural as well as practical and material, and in this representations of space are critical in a number of ways.[11] For SMs concerned with defending or otherwise securing a place, "[r]epresentations of place are an important discursive element in the construction of these frameworks because they tend to serve as a common reference point for unifying groups against 'outside' forces" (Nicholls, 2007, p.616). In *The Power of Identity* (1997), Manuel Castells describes such defensively articulated SM identities as "resistance identities":

> generated by those actors that are in positions/conditions devalued and/or stigmatized by the logic of domination, thus building trenches of resistance and survival on the basis of principals different from, or opposed to, those permeating the institutions of society.... (p.8)

The emphasis by Nicholls on place-based groups rallying together against "outsiders" is but *one* element in constituting a particular "sense of place". I would also argue that the discursive construction of place and identity is equally important for engendering *connections between* topographically dispersed place-based groups (thinking of Agnew's use of "location" in his tri-partite definition of "place") seeking to "defend place" to spatially broader ends such as *la Via Campesina* in global agriculture (Desmarais, 2007), or the *Movimento Sem Terra* of the landless in the vast territory of Brazil (Baletti, Johnson, Wolford, 2008). In this instance, we might conceive of a move from "resistance identities" to "project identities", wherein

> social actors, on the basis of whichever cultural materials are available to them, build a new identity that redefines their position in society and, by so doing, seek the transformation of overall social structure. (Castells, 1997, p.8)

"Cultural materials" must be understood as constituted by practical, substantive materials as well as symbolic and discursive practice, and these resources will be geographically differentiated. Representations of place then by social actors are often deeply entwined with the material and practical resources available to them, but employed to exceed topography and other materially delimiting factors associated with particular places.

"Sense of place", while not strictly analogous to an *identity* of place and certainly not to people's identities in places, is a constituent element of both. Both are products of strategies of representation, implicit and explicit, knowingly tactical or perhaps "unconscious" (or both), for as Keith and Pile note "[t]he way we talk in everyday

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[11] In "representations of space" I mean representation as commonly understood, rather than in Lefebvre's specialised ordering terminology.

language is routinely spatially marked" (1993b, p.16; see also Smith and Katz, 1993) – we often spatially order things without being reflexive about it. It is then perhaps a particular quality of SMs, those groups who self-identify as such and seek to influence other actors to advance their cause, that they *do* articulate identities and seek to strategically define spatialities, consciously and reflexively. This space between conscious articulations of identity and place, and the embodied identities and places actually performed and created by SMs, is fertile ground for investigation. In Chapter Three I designate these two dimensions "declarative identity" and "lived practice".

Researchers have approached this ground in different ways, recognizing that place, identity and the space between them cut along many lines, to both the enhancement and detriment of SMs. For Escobar (2001), phenomenological approaches provide a rich analytical resource (p.150). His study of Afro-Columbian communities' strategic employment of identity, territory, and culture in defence of the ecological sustainability of their region (p.159) sits within wide-ranging debates about the power of place in a world-space of unchecked capital flows (as processes of globalization have been contentiously characterized by scholars like Manuel Castells [Nicholls, 2007, p.617]). For Escobar, academic and "lay" framings of a free-flowing, autonomous and "up and out there" capital has resulted in "the erasure of place", which

> is a reflection of the asymmetry that exist [sic] between the global and the local
> in much contemporary literature on globalization, in which the global is
> associated with space, capital, history and agency, while the local, conversely,
> is linked to place, labour and tradition – as well as with women, minorities, the
> poor and, one might add, local cultures. (pp.155-156)

To this, Marston, Jones, and Woodward add "the current intellectual preoccupation with globalization blinds us – researchers, policy makers, and lay people – to the ways 'global discourses' produce identities that disempower us as agents" (2005, p.427). Escobar's re-inscription of place back into the geographical analysis of SMs hinges on imbricating culture and knowledge with place, suggesting that knowledge/consciousness is "place-*specific* (even if not place-*bound* or place-*determined*)" (Escobar, 2001, p.153, italics mine). Escobar pursues a

> "further differentiat[ion] between place and 'the local'. The local and global
> are scales, processes, or even levels of analysis, but certainly not places or
> locations as discussed here [i.e., phenomenologically]" (p.152).

This distinction between "place" and "the local" allows for place to be discussed as a resource for meaning-making and transformation while avoiding "the stigmata of parochialism" associated with localist "[d]iscourses...conventionally assumed to be narrow-minded, bounded" (Keith and Pile, 1993b, p.16). Escobar's "sense of place" is that of an active site or event, rather than a diminished, unagentic position on a scale. Either way, place-attachment as a political act is only the beginning of the equation, for

> [i]ndeed, the interesting question is *how people mobilize politically* notions of attachment and belonging for the construction of individual and collective identities…(Escobar, p.149, italics mine)

Let us set Escobar and Massey's politics of place in dialogue. Strategies of localization, through representation of space, are also used in neo-liberal governance and finance as well. Massey cautions us about the emergent identity of the city of London, where "The City" district of London has been established as a meta- or Ur-Identity for London Whole (2004). Whereas Afro-Columbians forged a self-conscious, iterative place-identity within an ecological framework in order to enhance their autonomy, different levels of government in the United Kingdom have succeeded in " branding" London as a dominant place in the networks and flows of global capital and finance. Massey's work in this instance, while sympathetic to Escobar's emphasis on experiential and phenomenological experience in constructions of identities and /in places (2004, p.7), is critical of perspectives that privilege place as "being so much more meaningful than space" (p.7). She asks:

> A first and obvious question concerns the universalizing discourse in which so many of these claims are lodged. Place is *always* meaningful? For everyone everywhere? It is *always* a prime source for the production of personal cultural identity? (p.7)

Escobar's emphasis on phenomenological approaches, particularly the culture/knowledge-as-practice stance of Ingold (Escobar, 2001, p.152; see also Ingold, 1992, 2000), sees identities as constituted by a whole range of discursive and sensorial phenomena, wherein place (as site or event) transgresses scales of the local and global. But Massey's critique asks two important questions of attempts to "place" SM activities and identities. First, what are the particular boundaries that effectively "emplace" a place? How porous and mobile are these boundaries – is there a point at which they cease *to be* boundaries? Escobar addresses this question when discussing the association of space with capital and agency, and place with tradition and the poor, etc. He cites the work of feminist geographers who intimate that this asymmetry might be corrected "by arguing that place

can also lead to articulations across space…", but for Escobar "this leaves unresolved, however, the relation between place and location, as well as the question of boundaries" (Escobar, 2001, p.156). There seems to be a striving for articulatory processes, modes of dissemination, media of production and *co-production* of social action, which snags itself on self-erected obstacles. Why do "place" and "location" necessarily require resolution in all instances? Not all emplaced SMs are constituted in terms of defence of place as an *a priori* location.

Second, while a defence of place may in fact be the primary project of a SM, as per the Afro-Columbian peoples of the Pacific rainforest, this defence always involves a *strategic construction* of that place:

> Theoretically, it is important to learn to see place-based cultural, ecological, and economic practices as important sources of alternative visions and strategies for reconstructing local and regional worlds, no matter how produced by "the global" they might also be. Socially, it is necessary to think about the conditions that might make the defence of place – or, more precisely, of *particular constructions of place* and the *reorganization of place* this might entail – a realizable project. (Escobar, 2001, pp.165-166)

In her examination of London's city identity as a dominant competitive hub for global commerce and finance, Massey stresses that London's place-based identity too is a strategic construction (2004). Where Escobar speaks of "activating local places, cultures, natures, and knowledge against the imperializing tendencies of space, capitalism and modernity", Massey sees a strategic activation of "those places – such as the City of London – in which capitalism has accumulated the resources essential to the mobilization of its power" (2004, p.14), a perfect instance of a "particular construction" or "reorganization" of place in what has been a highly realized project. And like Escobar, Massey also sees "the erasure of place which is politically disabling" (2004, p.14). However in her analysis, this is a product of the "persistent *exoneration of the local*" (ibid, italics in original), wherein globalization is understood "as always produced *somewhere else*" (ibid, italics mine). In the case of London this carefully constructed sense of local identity has created what Massey regards as an essentially indefensible place (2004, p.17). Both of these strategic constructions, in resistance to and in support of capital respectively, are predicated to a large degree on the constitution and articulation of *specifically place-based* identities (Escobar, 2001, p.163; Massey, 2004, p.15).

2.4.3.1. Identity and place: back to relational space

While on one level place emerges as a particular intensity of relational space, it also remains relational in and of itself: "becoming place" in no way suspends relations and relations-making as the central constitutive element of place. If places are always socially constructed materialized instances, space-time Events, activist movements can work to create such Events in overt ways; as oft-stated activism does not only happen in places, it iteratively contributes to making them. In this sense activism is in some respects a conscious acknowledgement and intensification of what already constitutes such Event/Places:

> [A]ll spatialities are political because they are the (covert) medium and (disguised) expression of asymmetrical relations of power. (Keith and Pile, 1993c, p.220)

Activist processes can be productively framed as making the medium of space overt (in this case *place*, as an instantiation of particular conditions of existence and relations), and asymmetrical power relations visible, revealing possible relations and recognizing material conditions that as yet remain virtual, unactualized. And subject identities as constitutive conditions, however contingent such identities may be, are deeply implicated in these processes. Identities constructed by emplaced SM actors may be unwieldy and multi-directional. In constructing "resistance identities" (Castells, 1997, p.8; Routledge, 2001a) they might potentially produce exclusions; or, as Massey claims, subjects so identified might risk seeing the apparent concreteness of their locally identified selves as outside of another, abstract world of spaces. For reflexive SMs the contingencies of identity, the opportunistic space between articulations of desired identity and the identity we're performing, can be powerful creative fulcrum points, enrolling aspects of identity that are outside or in "excess" of nominally political or resistance work, in functionally and normatively positive ways (Chatterton, 2006; Featherstone, 2003; Routledge, 2003a, pp.345-347). Identities may also be strategically essentialised for political purposes;[12] feminist theorists in particular have found the strategic essentialisation of identity both pragmatically appealing and problematic.[13] Arguably, much of the traction achieved in Escobar's analysis of the Afro-Columbian Pacific coast SM can be found in the movement's essentialising linkages between identity, territory, biodiversity and culture. It

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[12] See Routledge, 1996a, pp. 518 and 520, and 2001, for examples from Baliapal and the Narmada River Valley, India.
[13] See Bondi, 1993, for a discussion of "essences", identities, and place; see Vandana Shiva generally on women's identities and socio-ecological stewardship; see Nightingale, 2006, for a brief critique of Shiva in this regard.

is perhaps not coincidental that many SMs in the Global South have made use of such "essentialising" strategies, notably in the defence of indigenous rights and economic, redistributive justice. Conversely, movements in the Global North, notwithstanding the highly material and economic facets of some of their collective goals, have been (analytically at least) associated with the "new" or supposedly "post material" SMs (Nicholls, 2007, pp.609-610) seeking to radically reconstitute or dissolve identity positions, borders, and territories rather than defend them.

I do not wish to imply that subject identities in the Global South are somehow latently more "fixed" or essential than those in the Global North. Rather it is a question of agency and affordance, mediated by access to resources and prerogatives such as maintaining the integrity of environments and territories for livelihood reasons. There are direct ontological implications in this, as Escobar highlights in this passage:

> Perhaps the most well established notion today is that many local models do not rely on a naturesociety dichotomy. In addition, and unlike modern constructions with their strict separation between biophysical, human and supernatural worlds, it is commonly appreciated that local models in non-Western contexts are seen as often predicated on links of continuity between the three spheres. This continuity might nevertheless be experienced as problematic and uncertain; it is culturally established through symbols, rituals and practices and is embedded in particular social relations which also differ from the modern, capitalist type. In this way, living, non-living, and often times supernatural beings are not seen as constituting distinct and separate domains– certainly not two opposed spheres of nature and culture– and social relations are seen as encompassing more than humans. (2001, p.151)

Chatterton (2006) highlights the ontological importance of activist identities in the Minority World as well. Through his case study of a road-block at a refinery in Nottingham, he questions tightly bounded oppositional stances that, through their presumptions and tactical use of places, create locked-in battlefields rather than zones of political transformation for both activists and their "Others" alike (p.268). For Chatterton, "the uncommon ground" of contested sites for activism should ideally lead to "a blurring of ontologies such as activist-public" (p.269). In this process the centrality of emotions and the complexity of activist-public exchanges must be recognised:

> [E]ncounters between SM activists and the public entail emotional and moral negotiations between strangers leading to a complex set of responses. Kemper (2001:76) is right in suggesting that "SMs can alienate bystanders through instigating fear, anger, disgust, or distrust". Encouraging commonality would require different emotional responses. But what kind? These may have less to do with mobilizing people by promoting a sense of outrage, than looking for

emotional connections. We are already connected emotionally to those we think we oppose or are different from. (p.269)

Reflecting on the hybridity and contingency in *all* identities and social relations, and recognizing that we all have multiple identities that are enacted spatially (p.269), Chatterton states "The activist identity is one of the ontological essentialisms which obscures common agendas and negates a more hybrid sense of self" (p.270). In this account essentialised activist identities – which are necessarily strongly performed *in a place*, and then often masked or shed as the spatial and material context changes – can be counter-productive to SMs seeking to persuade others and build membership.

On the surface essentialising identity to bind it to place in a nominally defensive posture (e.g., Castell's "resistance identities" instantiated in Columbia), and rupturing or deconstructing identities in order to make one vulnerable to Others in the promotion of a political ideal seem anathema to one another. However, if SMs are always seeking to reconstitute place and space as their ultimate end, then these ontologies of activist identity either in Columbia or Nottingham have equal purchase in both the Global South and North and are joined as trans-subjective activities along the same spectrum. Before venturing into the ontological ramifications of *space* for SMs, I would like to reflect on this particular thread of *place* and SMs thus far.

2.4.3.2. The 'stickiness' of place and the Event

In general I have conceptualized place as a sort of intensity, a coalescence where "activities of experiencing" are seemingly concentrated enough to merit a momentary category change from space to place. While I have to yet to formally flag this literature, it is a dimension of the received, foundational literatures on space, place and SMs that I have emphasised. It is a way of necessarily circumscribing the field of experience, of *relationality,* to gain "praxical" leverage within the topic. Things on the ground are perhaps messier – or stickier – than a single given framework can usefully contain. Thrift proposes a simple definition of place, perhaps more of a principle than definition, along such lines:

> In geography, place is a beginning and an end. It is one of those words – rather like ''political'' – that sets off a flurry of expectations, most of which are never fully satisfied....Roughly speaking, however, we can argue that geographers usually mean place to signify spaces that are loaded with an extra significance, that are ''sticky'' in some way. (2006, p.552)

If "mess" now has some purchase in the social sciences generally (see Law, 2004); "stickiness" may be a quirky way of acknowledging "mess" while further nodding to a certain kind of status we assign to things within this mess – that which won't go away, which seems strangely present no matter how we explain it out of the frame. Places and SMs will appear either as ordered or as 'sticky' as our analytical lens allows. While examining the importance of social actors very similar to those discussed by Beaumont and Nicholls (e.g. trades unions), Sites (2007) found that the "politically decentralized institutional patterns characteristic of US urban governance" (p.2632), which Beaumont and Nicholls felt contributed strongly to the efficacy of broad based anti-poverty mobilisations in Los Angeles, meant that "these mobilizations take shape within urban political arenas that...are notoriously divisive and 'sticky'" (p.2632). With regard to place and SMs, accepting mess means getting 'sticky'. Constructions of place should be as contingent, as expansive, and as fluid (but viscous) as the meniscus of praxis will allow; this also means being attentive to concentrations and densities (not just expansions and effusions) which may at times take the form of strategic essences, of defended boundaries, or resilient identities. So place is important, but remains *a kind of space* – that which makes place emerges from intensive and extensive relations in space, and coalesces in ways that we can grip for a lingering moment, to contingently make said places. In effect, we might refer to this as sedimentation.

Thus far I have discussed place as a generator of both resources and obstacles for SMs, two categories that might be considered extremes among base level "conditions of existence" (Keith and Pile, 1993a), but central constituents of SM relations making, and conditions of relations. These resources and obstacles may be material, social, discursive, or symbolic. I have also discussed identity and place with particular regard for SM identities. While there is no discrete recognised category of "climate change SMs" SMs, those groups with a critique or broad relationship to climate change contestation invariably operate in or otherwise relate to multiple places – both multiple locations and multiple meanings or "senses of place". Nicholls (2008) suggests that in Massey's analytic framing (2004) space may in fact be "all place", but he adds that space also has qualities that make it more than an aggregate of places. To breach or expand the Event of place, to leave the density of "conditions of existence" which mark or constitute a particular place – perhaps to get 'unstuck'? – is to undergo a process that has its own effects. As Massey herself writes in "Politics and space/time", "there are indeed spatial systems, in the sense of sets of social phenomena in which *spatial arrangement* (that is, *mutual relative* positioning rather than 'absolute' location) *itself* is part of the constitution of the system" (1994, p.265, italics

mine). If place is emblematic of "relations within", it is to a consideration of SMs spatial and "relations without" that I now turn (Massey, 2005, p.9).

2.5. Social movements and the negotiation of trans-local space

Massey has argued that "space – global space", is as "concrete, grounded, [and] real" as place is (Massey, 2004, p.7). Perhaps; but whatever sticks as "concrete" and "real" is emergent from the particular qualities of such spaces, particularly what types of agency their constitutive relations afford and the conditions of relations which may be imminent there. This latter point is vital to SM constitution and efficacy in reordering spaces that are always/already both sites and objects of politics. Having already parsed the limits and practical uses of Leitner *et al*'s "spatiality list" (*place, scale, networks, mobility, and socio-spatial positionality*) (2007, p.158), I want to focus now on *networks* for the same reasons I focused on *place*.[14] Network-oriented studies of SMs can further illuminate the manifold nature of how SMs' actively constitute space, if networks are examined for their malleability, tensions and absences in the same manner place has been approached as porous, mutable, and socially constructed.

2.5.1. Network approaches to SMs: connections, emotions and affects

For Nicholls (2007), being "networked" is *the* key factor that differentiates SMs from other socio-political actors such as political parties and special interest groups (p.607), while with respect to geographical research on such movements Bosco (2001) states that "attention to social networks is critical to understanding the development of SMs" (p.307). Routledge *et al* (2007) frame alter-globalization movements as "a series of overlapping, interacting, and differentially placed and resourced networks", creating "extensive coalitions of interest" or "global justice networks" (p.2575). Networks then are a key conceptual frame in both SM practices and studies.

Featherstone *et al* (2007) define networks as "the overlapping and contested material, cultural, and political flows and circuits that bind different places together through differentiated relations of power" (p.386). This definition prompts two responses. First, while applauding the inclusion here of multiple social and material registers, certain

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[14] 1) These terms subsume important facets of the other frames within them, 2) they are the most 'common place' of the terms, amenable to a variety of academic and lay uses and 3) *scale* and *socio-spatial positionality* will, in their own way, feature quite implicitly 'speaking for themselves' in various places throughout the thesis.

aspects of these flows have held a somewhat privileged position in network approaches as practiced. There is a productive tension between emphases on networks as primarily routes of *exchange of information* involving heterogeneous and allied SM groups (Routledge, 2003a, p.335; Leitner *et al*, 2008, p.162), and other approaches that operate through a more fundamental sense of hybrid and multivalent materiality, such as Actor-Network Theory (Braun and Disch, 2002; Rocheleau and Roth, 2007), Whatmore's approach to 'relational space' as discussed in this chapter (and *Hybrid Geographies* [2002]), and political and cultural ecology (see Head 2007, 2010; Heynen, McCarthy, Prudham and Robbins, 2007; Peet, Robbins and Watts, 2011) to name but three.

Second, the very notion of "binding" in Featherstone *et al*'s formulation is itself a central subject of analysis here. What is at stake in my ethnography of SWS is, in part, how such binding happened, and if the relationships enabled and sustained could be described as binding at all. Is a binding between places a necessary prerequisite for climate justice? Indeed many relationships, between SWS members, between SWS and allies, and between all manner of community actors were not sustained for long, and those that were enabled, sustained or otherwise influenced by SWS in often oblique and fine-grained ways. In so far as binding occurred it was tenuous and fragile. Expressions of solidarity (networked and otherwise) in terms of binding and forging (Featherstone, 2010, p.88) need to be framed carefully, as does any formulation of the "shared collective identity" from Diani's definition of SMs (1992, p.13). What can work positively as a strategic essentialisation of a relationship can also mask the labour and loss that went into its realisation. These cautions – indeed points of inquiry themselves for SWS – are useful for examining

> [t]he process of aggregating activist places into a social movement space [which] introduces a new set of relational dynamics that are very different from those found in the individual places constituting it. (Nicholls, 2009, p.83)

"Engaged ethnography" (Juris, 2004, 2007, in Routledge, 2008, p.207) has generated accounts of the myriad registers through which networks are threaded and come to bring actors into contact. Routledge's focus on the embodied nature of the fieldwork experience with the Bangladesh Krishok Federation (BKF) in Bangladesh highlights the importance of embodied and embedded personal, emotional, and visceral exchanges between movement members, described as "the fashioning, or translation [explicitly ANT's use of the term here], of solidarities between activists in culturally different, and geographically distant, social movements" (2008, p.205). Central to this is the agency of the physical territory the

activists and researcher move through, the river, monsoon and shifting delta islands (*chars*) occupied by the landless peasants (ibid). Affects and emotions, constituted trans-subjectively (Castells, 1997, p.10; Dewsbury *et al*, 2001, p.439) and through perceptions and experiences of the material environment, weave through networks just as information and resources do. A small but growing body of work has similarly foregrounded the emotionality of connections and networked engagements, highlighting that emotion and affect are not merely the preserve of bounded places of co-presence, and, emotional ties (or conflicts) are as vital to SM constitution and efficacy as more quantifiable relational "resources" and materials are; especially given the "contested, volatile, processual character of transnational geographies" (Featherstone *et al*, 2007, p.386). In their introduction to a collection of work on such transnational geographies, Featherstone *et al* expose the manifold registers through which transnational, networked connections – "necessarily embedded material practices which have to be carried out" (Massey, 2005, p.9) – might indeed "work", including those of emotion and affect (Featherstone *et al*, 2007, p.388). Through their research on the NGO Women Working Worldwide (WWW),[15] Hale and Wills (2007) highlight the important role transnational networks play in raising "the consciousness and confidence of workers to demand their rights" (p.458), particularly workers embedded in territorially and politically constraining (for workers, not capital) export processing zones (EPZs, e.g., *maquilladoras*). Such work leads Featherstone *et al* (2007) to speculate that transnational networks may not always be dependent on material constitution alone, but also reliant on "imaginative geographies of connection, composed of empathies and affinities" (p. 388). Such a network of labour movements and their allies might be considered an example of Harvey's (and Williams') "militant particularism" (1996, pp.19-45), wherein the common cause of fighting for workers' rights and their better material circumstances takes on a universalist character that manages to transcend contingencies of location, culture, and ethnicity (sometimes contentiously dubbed "insignificant" differences").

Bosco's extensive work on the *Madres de Plaza de Mayo* of Argentina (2002, 2004, 2006, 2007) also stresses the importance of symbolic and emotional processes, in his account of that movement's ability to "build and sustain network connections among different groups" (2001, p.307). Here he asserts the importance of different organisational and structural forms within the same network, and suggests that the movement's core

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[15] Though WWW is an NGO and not strictly speaking a self-organized and civil society SM, it played a key role in the establishment of civil society SMs such as the Clean Clothes Campaign, Labour behind the Label, and the Ethical Trading Initiative (Hale and Wills, 2007, p. 453).

membership consists of two groups, a group of mothers of those disappeared during Argentina's "dirty war", and a group of women "whose interpersonal bonds are built and sustained around the idea of 'socialized motherhood'" (p.311).

> At the same time, members of both groups of Madres have links to other human rights groups and to other social movements because of strategic interests– and only on rare occasions as a result of emotional bonds or a shared group identity. (p.311)

In this case, emotional resonances are evoked and maintained across spaces and locations through the use of ritual and symbol, relying on the reproduction of the collective emotive events associated with the "original" *Plaza de Mayo* in Buenos Aires across the large territory of Argentina, and on occasion abroad (e.g. Cuba) (Bosco, 2001, p.316). In so doing, "[n]ot only have the Madres constructed their own lasting 'sense of place' [and distributed it throughout a network]…they have also recreated geographic proximity in a symbolic manner". The international peasants' network the *Via Campesina* has performed much the same networked re-inscription of an emotively charged place-based event by declaring April 17 an annual and global "Day of Peasants' Struggle", after the suicide of Korean farmer Lee Kyung Hae at the barricades of the Fifth Ministerial Conference of the World Trade Organization (WTO) at Cancun, Mexico, in 2003 (Desmarais, 2007; Leitner *et al*, 2008). Lee's dramatic and public suicide – "an event that so vividly reflects the violence inflicted by the WTO on the world's farmers" (Desmarais, 2007, p.192) – has been strategically positioned by the *Via Campesina* network as an emotional lens refracting the struggles and sacrifices of peasants and small farmers the world over. This active and strategic harnessing of emotion for activist ends is not unproblematic, as Sparke (2008) cautions us against the "regulatory pull" of a romanticized ideal of resistance that serves to insulate movement actors from critique (p.423).

2.5.2. Network approaches to social movements: movements of resources and power

Emotions, whether they are responses to the intimate embodied meetings of network actors in "fleshly" proximity, or invoked by symbolic and ritualistic reproduction of events, are one complex register through which networks operate. While resource mobilization has already been examined with regard to place and place-based SMs, material, discursive and affective resources clearly also circulate through networks. While some researchers fear that there is a general lack of analytical attention to the importance of such resources to

dispersed and networked movements (see Miller, 2001; Beaumont and Nicholls, 2007), there is an emergent body of work that examines the ways in which transnational and horizontally "shaped" networks generate, circulate, and employ resources. SM networks may indeed be relatively open systems in that they are "constantly emerging, fusing together, and hiving off" (Juris, 2005a, p.199) through cross-cuttings in membership, interests, solidarities, and proximities. But they are also marked by inevitable yet contingent differentiations in power and resources. Many SM studies have employed Actor-Network Theory (ANT) for conceptual leverage in teasing out the threads of networked relations. However, an unproblematic use of ANT runs the risk of negating the particularities of place, power, and the other critically differentiated ways different actors have of "acting in the network", of re/presenting a "smear of equivalence" (Lorimer, 2005, p.88). Drawing on Katz' work on "a topography of feminist political engagement" (2001) and Kirsch and Mitchell's marxist perspective on the "social directedness of things" they see lacking in ANT (2004), Routledge (2008) writes:

> How processes of relationality, connectivity, and commonality are enacted alerts us to the politics of extension and translation of place-based interests and experiences...However, ANT has failed to fully consider...the processes through which such associations are made. In so doing, *the distribution of power within an actor network has been considered only as a relational effect*; the causes of, and accountability for, differential power relations has been precluded, as have the productive dimensions of that power... (p.214, italics mine)

Power in networks must then be examined not only for its causal force, but also for its origins ("causes of") and for who or what might then be held accountable for the differential, exclusionary, or even oppressive social relations it might engender among nominally transformative SMs and networks. While critical of a view of power only as a "relational effect", Routledge writes that "[a]gency *is a relational effect* generated by interaction and connectivity within the network" (p.212, italics mine). Perhaps the distinction here is that while agency itself may be a "relational effect", the power that actualises from variously relating agencies takes on specific and unequal shapes within SM networks such as the BKF and People's Global Action (PGA) Asia:

> *Productive power becomes the ability to enrol others on terms that allow key actors to 'represent' the others*. Hence, some actors have far more capacity to direct the course of relations than others, which partly stems from their ability to collect 'power' and condense it within networks (Castree, 2002). Owing to differential access to (financial, temporal) resources and network flows,

differential material and discursive power relations exist within PGA Asia…(Routledge, 2008, p.212, italics mine)

Western academics have greater time to attend network events, and to shape and distribute materials that can link geographically dispersed actors to wider networks of the media, sympathetic institutions, and other SM members, using "numerous immutable mobiles [emails, mobile phones, airplanes, etc.]" along the way (pp.204, 215). The space-time of any given network actor is mediated in part by this structuration of the time available to them (p.206) – the peasant farmers occupying the *chars* of the delta, key actors in the BKF network, presumably spend most of their time farming and performing the labours of building and maintaining their homes and communities (pp.199). Actors such as the largely European "free radicals" within PGA Asia emerge as "imagineers" of the network (Routledge *et al*, 2006, p.849; Routledge *et al*, 2007, p.2578). Possessing unevenly distributed skills and resources such as formal education, financial and social capital, access to and proficiency with technology, "imagineers" wield an enormous and disproportionate amount of power in what aspire to be horizontally organized, non-hierarchical[16] SMs (Routledge, 2003a, p.346; Routledge, 2008, p.213). This then is the "ability to enrol others on terms that allow key actors to 'represent' the others". Language also plays a key factor not only in representations of the group to others (and perhaps ultimately to itself), but in the basic matter of communication between member groups at network events and indeed via electronic means (assuming such means are available locally). At a PGA conference in Dhaka, Bangladesh, the exclusive use of English and Bengali as the *lingua franca* resulted in uneven delegate participation and the creation of "translation ghettos" where "folks barely communicate outside of their language group" (Routledge *et al*, 2007, p.2583), and "translators themselves accrue power and influence by virtue of their language skills" (p.2583).

Organisational forms themselves enact their own differential power logics, which are at the same time both inhibitive and constructive. Juris' (2005a) ethnographic work with the anti-corporate globalization network the Catalan Movement for Global Resistance (MRG) highlights the precariousness of networks that connect the "horizontal networking praxis" (p.198) of autonomous movements like the MRG together with more traditional and vertically-organized groups such as political parties and labour unions. Two contrasting models of organization and participation came to loggerheads in the attempt to mobilize a

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[16] While PGA Asia "is a grassroots-based decentralised network", several of its member organizations are organized at least in part along vertical models such as elected officials and secretariats (Routledge *et al*, 2007, p. 2579).

Barcelona-based network opposed to the World Bank, wherein "leftist parties and larger NGOs" wanted to figure prominently and maintain structures of representational voting, while the MRG sought to "create open, assembly-based structures where everyone would have an equal say through consensus decision making" (ibid). While this second model prevailed, conflict remained, and collective decisions were restricted to "technical coordination". Diverse actors were left free to organize in their own ways within a "common platform" (ibid), enabling coordinated action, but while tacitly re-inscribing the same hierarchical structures that the MRG sought to dissolve as a central concern of its "network hallmarks" (p.197). This uncomfortable but functional "hybrid" way of organising would also be typified by SWS, as later chapters explain. Organizational forms are differentiated by cultural norms as well as along traditional/vertical and emergent/horizontal axes, resulting in exclusions and uneven access to fora and decision-making mechanisms. What one group perceives as normatively and universally "best practice" may in fact be a particular and local practice imposed upon others in the network. At a 2001 People's Global Action conference in Cochabamba, Bolivia, indigenous Quechua activists felt silenced and controlled by the "European perspective" of autonomist direct-action activists in the network, who were "obsessed with particular forms of 'process' and 'consensus' (Routledge, 2003a, p.344).

Sundberg (2007) also problematizes certain network relations along Global North/South axes of ethnicity and culture. In examining solidarity-building networks between SOA[17] Watch and groups of Latin Americans living in Canada, she identifies Latin Americans' role as that of providing testimony "about the terrible and embodied consequences of state-directed terror in Latin America" (p.159) to a largely white, middle class "United Statesian" (p.144) group of activists. For Sundberg, this role is problematic in two ways. Firstly, Latin Americans, in the whole of their embodiment as subjects, are positioned as – reduced to – evidence, a role which in its ritualised repetition of testifying (for two or three minutes) at annual SOA Watch vigils threatens to forever maintain their status as victims (p. 159). Secondly, this reduction of the Latin American subject to an embodiment of suffering and victimhood, in the service of the activist network, also "risks obscuring the ways in which United Statesians are shaped by "'empire as a way of life', wherein state funding, popular culture and subject identities are harnessed to support militarization *at home* and abroad" (p.160, italics mine). Sundberg suggests that the reification of Latin

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[17] School of the Americas – an instrument of the US military for training co-operating Latin American militaries in torture and repressive "counterinsurgency", now renamed the Western Hemisphere Institute for Security Cooperation (WHISC).

American suffering in the US/Latin American network undermines the transformative potential of the network for "United Statesians" as well as Latin Americans. As she states, "The geometries of power and geopolitical identities stemming from conventional models of solidarity naturalize divisions between North and South and ultimately work to sustain empire as a way of life" (p.161). Miller's examination of global garment sweatshop activism, and the narrowed identities of campus activist (comfortably virtuous), consumer (bad, needing to be informed), and sweatshop labourer (oppressed and "over there") reaches similar conclusions (Miller, 2004). And, as the example of autonomist consensus models imposed upon Quechua actors in transnational networks implies, *unconventional* models of solidarity may also serve to reinscribe colonial power relations if they are treated uncritically as practically and normatively universal. After further development in the proceeding review of literature on performance and politics, these dimensions of embodiment, subjectification, identity and potential "Othering" will play central roles in outlining the contours and efficacy of SWS' emergent climate justice platform in Chapters Five, Six and Seven.

2.5.3. "Retro-fitting" network approaches to social movements

It is instructive to revisit once more Routledge's "engaged ethnography" with the BKF (2008), where we see a multiplicity of material resources mobilized in the deltas, villages, and urban meeting rooms of Bangladesh, from small boats, "brooms and chilli powder" (p.209), and stands of bamboo for shelter, to the jet planes, laptops, and internet connections of those movement actors who have privileged access to such technology and capital. These resources are all enrolled in the particular network that is the BKF, which is in turn a member of a networked coalition of eight SMs (the *Aaht Sangathan* [p.200]), *as well as* being a member of the PGA Asia network. While heedful of the power differentials described above, networks and their available field of resources are not isostatic or closed systems – and neither are they temporally closed. One troublesome aspect of network-oriented approaches to SMs (in fact, to most anything with which the word 'network' has been attached) is the frequent association of networks and networked forms of relations with: the modern generally, the contemporary especially, and apparently novel forms of technology and practice in particular. A pervasive orientation to the nominally novel and contemporary carries with it two risks.

First, it subordinates experiential, corporeal (mortal) time beneath time as a metric, specifically, beneath what is represented as time through the technical instruments

dominant in a given historical juncture. Castells' influential (and contested – see Nicholls, 2007, pp.617-618) analysis of capital's space-times reflects this tension, insisting that time itself has qualitatively changed, with "social forms of time and space" broaching the limits of our "perceptions to date, based [as they were] upon *socio-technical structures superseded by current historical experience*" (Castells, 2000, p.407, italics mine). Time as the dimension of mortal experience, of the becoming and ending of the organic which is the central fact of, for example, Whatmore's ethical relational space, seems unrecoverable from time as a perceptual artefact based upon historically-located technologies and social structures. For political theorist William Connolly, the play of this double sense of time is generative and necessary for the possibility of movement:

> We participate in at least two registers of temporal experience, action-oriented perception and the slower experience of the past folding into the present and both flowing toward the future. The first is necessary to life; the second is indispensible to its richness. It is the possible interactions between the two modes that need to be underlined. (2011, pp.4-5)

The multiplicity of time will also play an unexpected role in SWS performance of climate justice, as SWS members' multiple experiences of time are challenged and enrolled in the range of emerging space-times of climate change, from the excited "Now!" to the epochal.

Second, in simpler terms pervasive orientation to the nominally novel and contemporary diminishes the agency and sophistication of past labours. Featherstone's work on SM identities and practices "from the past" is a corrective to a Castell-ian view that insists that all has speeded up and enmeshed to the point where we can no longer perceive "the socio-technical structures" which have been "superseded by current historical experience". His work on the London and Newcastle dockers' strikes in particular (Featherstone 2004, 2005) surfaces the high degree to which "militant particularisms [are] mobile …the product of interrelations and …actively negotiat[ed] spatial relations rather than…fixed, bounded origins of political struggles" (2005, p.250), even in the 18th century. At the same time, SM discourses, and at times persons, were transversing the Atlantic via Europe, Africa, and the Americas, in the cause of abolition and "the Rights of Man" more generally (Featherstone, 2007). Here, Featherstone argues that while today "democratic politics flows, below, through and above the level of the state" (Connolly, 1995, p.160, in Featherstone, 2007, p.432), this is not in fact "an 'entirely' new development" (p.433); rather, an "ontological disjuncture" has occurred in much contemporary analyses, which

might be redressed by theorizing past forms of politics in terms of "networks and flows" as well (p.433).

In concluding this particular section on space and SM literatures, it is necessary to re-engage with a disciplinary limit to the way these literatures have emerged. I have written of how geographical approaches and geographers in particular have animated and materialised approaches to SMs, which have tended to be broadly sociological and structural in character. However, approaches to the constitution of space by, and the functions of space for, SMs have been by and large confined within particular cosmological, ontological and epistemological frames that, while contesting and stretching their own limits, largely operate on the basis that:

- In spite of a growing number of theoretical qualifications and caveats, in SM literatures agency is a human quality;
- Strong bonds are always preferable, politically and analytically, to which I would add that we subsequently narrate our politics to maximalise these bonds.
- Emergent concerns with environmental and ecological issues have in many respects been treated as an empirically and theoretically distinct terrain within SM literatures.

Given this state, it is also necessary to discuss some of the spatial-ontological concepts and literatures pertinent to the emergence of SWS as a novel climate justice platform that fall outside the purview of "SM literatures". These frames of reference add to prevailing constructs of relational space, and, hopefully, will further inform geography's approach to SMs oriented in whole or in part to climate change, including my exploration of SWS here.

2.6. Other cuts, other spaces

While the body of research and thought on social responses to and responsibilities for climate change is rapidly growing, specifically spatial understandings of activist movements contesting climate change are isolated and scattered. Such understandings are as yet unordered and disciplined, but are also frequently quite specifically "cut" in terms of what they leave out and include (see Barad, 2007, pp. 178-179), providing both an academic challenge and a political opportunity that has inflected my review of space and SMs with a readiness to pounce on the gaps by looking at the nature of the relations and

the labour of relations-making behind normative notions of, for example, the binding (Featherstone *et al*, 2007, p.386) and forging (Featherstone, 2010, p.88) of SMs.

I began this chapter with a question: *How do we as movement actors and movement researchers define the boundaries and enclosures which necessarily both enrich and impede the effects of our actions, of our reflexive understanding of them?* In that, I included the possibility of dissolving or re-working these "boundaries and enclosures". Casting back on this question after the intense period of fieldwork and continuing activist commitments, "dissolution" is too heroic. A humbler, more practical project might be to identify and mark the experience of the boundaries and enclosures, confronting quite frankly the limits of our activism and theorising in order to prioritize the tasks at hand. In this diagnostic fashion, perhaps what appear to be enclosures reveal themselves to be opportunities, with "enclosures" dissolving quite naturally as "boundaries" are accepted as real and thus navigable. For radical educator Paolo Freire, whose ideas will feature prominently in Chapter Seven, these enclosures are a kind of "limit-situation", which we approach, critique, act on and transform through "limit-acts" which then inevitably, productively give rise to further limit situations (Freire, 1996, pp.80 to 83). For climate change-oriented activism in particular, the creative potential of restrictions and limits may help us further ground somewhat a-material orderings of activist space as "convergence space" (Routledge, 2003a; Cumbers *et al*, 2008) or "third space" (Routledge, 1996b). Convergence space is the spatial imaginary for the "heterogenous affinity – 'a world made of many worlds' (Marcos 2001, 10) – between various social formations, such as SMs" (Routledge, 2003a, p.345). An approach to SM – and climate change – spatialities as narrated through *intensities, coalescences, sites* or *events* may make our affinities more deeply heterogenous, and make our world of a variety of worlds that include but are not limited to social formations.

Rather than focus on the (often "intra-geographical") scale-site debate of the past decade (see Marston *et al*, 2005; Collinge, 2006; Leitner and Miller, 2007; MacKinnon, 2011), I want to briefly highlight two literatures that, in their own way, approach a space-place spectrum in terms of what *can* happen there, in a locale/location/field of experience, and therefore something more useful in terms of representing how place might function with regard to climate justice activism. These are "micro-geopolitics" (Pain, 2009) and performative ecological approaches.

2.6.1. Micro-geopolitics and emotional geopolitics

This body of literature is primarily concerned with "recutting" (Barad, 2007) the field of what is admissible and important in critical, emancipatory social sciences. A series of (notably) women authors, such as Katz (2001, 2004), Nagar (2002) Pain (2009, with Askins, 2011), and Pratt (2008a, 2008b, with Rosner, 2006) use in varying combinations, postcolonialism, feminist standpoint theory and praxis, political economies, and embodied and participatory methodologies to maintain the ontological and social dignity and integrity of "the subject" in their work. This necessarily includes subjects' environments, dwellings, "scapes" of all kinds. This kind of positioning does not preclude engagement with what might be termed abstract, sophisticated orderings of spatialities and space-times (see Gibson-Graham, 2006; commentary by Pratt, 2008a) of the sort critiqued by Leitner *et al* (2008). But it is critical of any moves to order and articulate consequential events and relations away from those subjects who bear the consequences, and who indeed already act in their co-production. In the excerpt below on the geopolitics of fear (2009), Pain gives a straightforward example of the "project" behind this broad literature

> I make three suggestions in calling for an emotional geopolitics of fear. The first is that we rework our understanding of geopolitics to take greater account of emotions, and that we should seek to understand and incorporate emotions in nuanced and grounded ways (Crawford, 2000). The geopolitics of fear are embedded in cultural, economic, social and spatial micro-geopolitics, as evidenced by other studies of wider exclusion...Second, a more emotional geopolitics means taking up epistemological challenges that feminist researchers have laid down for decades. Third is the refocusing of attention on resistance, agency and action...[T]his [is a] conceptual, empirical and political agenda. (pp.474-475)

Contemporary theoretical and empirical work on affect, emotion and embodiment will feature prominently in Chapter Three, but it is worth noting that Pain's call can be read as a specifically feminist and political furthering of the experiential, materialised nature of the relationality schematic I interpreted in the works of Massey and Whatmore. Spatialities of actors and agents, though generally unmarked in this work as "social movements" or "activist", should be considered *both* grounded and unbound: "Although local lives and topographies are the main focus, feminist work in particular 'jumps scales' (see Cahill, 2004; 2006), binding everyday experiences to wider networks of power and privilege (Pain, 2009, p.475). As befits a broad body of work, views on power, agency, scale and emotion are not homogenous. Pratt and Rosner (2006) comment on the danger of re-

inscribing scales and distances even when we consciously work our framings to contest them:

> The feminist call to "think globally, act locally" can reinforce this false dichotomy by associating the global with theory, objectivity, and causation, while depicting the local as embodied, unthinking, and determined by outside forces. When Lorraine Code writes, for example, "Even the most minute and detailed concentration on the local risks losing sight of how its oppressive effects are often, in fact, global in the derivation of their power to exploit" (2000,74), she underscores the idea that when feminists shift their focus to the local they set aside analysis for action, reason for emotion. (unpaginated webtext)

However there is a general consensus as to the importance of the grounded, and experiential, however schematised. Pain, among others, draws attention to the "microscalar", citing a

> rich example [in] Katz's (2004) 'countertopography' of US and Sudanese childhoods in the context of global restructuring, in which she draws out the ways that processes affecting what appear to be very different places are intertwined. Her argument is that places and scales speak to and affect each other in both directions. (Pain, 2009, p.477)

Similar to Escobar's manoeuvre to separate the richness of 'place' from the stagnancy of the 'local' in section 2.4.3 of this Chapter, the micro- and emotional geopolitics advocated here can be activated by similarly swapping a scalar 'local' for a lived 'intimacy':

> In exchanging the local for the intimate, we hope to avoid what we see as a false opposition by employing terms that are not defined against one another but rather draw their meaning from domains that appear to be wholly independent of each other. (Pratt and Rosner, 2006, unpaginated webtext)

In a manner I take up further in subsequent chapters, Pratt and Rosner go on to position this manoeuvre as embodied, sensual and perhaps trans-subjective:

> The local is situated on the same map that the global observes from on high. But to speak of the intimate takes us onto a different map or perhaps entirely beyond the visual register of map reading. If the god's eye view of the global is visual because it is based on principles of distancing, the intimate comes in close and supplements the visual with a host of other sense experiences: sound, smell, taste; the ways bodies and objects meet and touch; zones of contact and the formations they generate. (2006, unpaginated webtext)

Collectively, these literatures ask that we safeguard the ontological security of the people and places we bring into view in our research and by extension our exercise of relative

privilege and power. This is not a parallel process to making theory or conducting fieldwork; the stance is inseparable from those activities. Through this emphasis the terrain remains by and large humanist and social; the following short highlight of some current ecological thought takes in the other-, or more-than-human too.

2.6.2. Ecology: radical contingency and "a-human" time

Ecology as a field of study is enormous; frames and analytical lenses that have incorporated an "ecological" approach are widespread and growing. In the social sciences, political ecology is well established,[18] and has further spawned an urban political ecology (see *Antipode*'s 2003 special issue; Heynen, Kaika, and Swyngedouw, 2006) and the related field of cultural ecology (see Head, 2007, 2010). What is brought to our attention here is a small rather recent subset of the "ecological" that engages with performance, space and (trans)subjectivity, in the same spirit of further grounding approaches to space and place as relational fields of activity as I called for in section 2.5.1 on "network" approaches. An *ontological* relationality, the de-centring of the human, performativity and time (in many guises) mark this work, which, with its genealogy in various strains of philosophy, the arts and humanities (performance in particular), might seem unrecognisable as 'lay' or textbook ecology as such: the ecological sprawls across mind (Bateson, 2000), practice (Stengers, 2010), theatre (Kershaw, 2007), and thought (Morton, 2010) as well as schoolbook water cycles and food chains.

Performative ecological perspectives have been employed to engage with a variety of themes with direct implications for SMs: scale and justice in urban settings (Bottoms, 2012; Nicholson, 2012); the inseparability of materiality and culture (Bell, 2012; Pearson, 2006), and human/other-than-human relations in terms of learning, transformation and change (Dewsbury, 2012; Franks, 2012; Heim, 2012; Nicholson, 2012). The specifics of each are too large to encapsulate in the spotlight on ecological perspectives related here. To better direct attentions, I draw on cultural theorist Vikki Bell (and her engagement with philosopher of science Isabelle Stengers) to pinpoint how an ecological perspective might alter the way we frame geographical notions of space and place, particularly in relation to SWS and other actors contesting innately socio-ecological conditions like climate change.

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[18] See any number of the works of Piers Blaikie, David Demeritt, Paul Robbins and Michael Watts for representative examples.

For Bell (2102), the "ecological" doesn't replace existing disciplinary frames, becoming the new Ur-ontology or frame, but rather:

> ...emerges as an important and generative *additional* term, implying an elaboration and shift in our attentions, not least to considerations of the specific concerns and the specific requirements and constraints involved in the emergence of different entities...(p.110, emphasis added)

Further, "[t]o use the term ecology, then, is an attempt to name this creative movement of concerns between elements in relation with one another" (p.112). Drawing on Stengers, Bell then outlines three normative and political implications for what might have another disciplinary ordering for its own sake, "how the 'ecological perspective' implies certain warnings for thought and for politics...."

> First, the ecological perspective reminds us that any entity exists multiply in ways that may not be initially apparent, for entities' entangled and dependent existences mean that none is fully defined by its entanglement in any one particular assemblage. *Ecology has to be open to the multiplicity and disparate causalities, even if...one must limit the parameters of one's investigation of an entity or phenomenon.*

This has clear implications for where an ambitious movement like SWS makes its "cuts" (Barad, 2007) in making relations and spacing and placing climate justice, and for how a researcher like myself "cuts" the narration of this process.

> Secondly, ecology as it has emerged as a shared concern in the contemporary world has made us aware *that consequences of the 'facts' we create are not knowable in advance* and have to be understood as potentially subject to unintended and possibly disastrous consequences.

This "warning" has implications for the effects and outcomes of acts of SMs relations-making, and for making conditions of relations across space-times which are unknowable in advance – more concretely, the rapidly changing socio-ecological conditions in which climate change is caught.

> Thirdly, Stengers argues that the 'ecological perspective' invites us 'not to mistake a consensus situation, where the population of our practices finds itself subjected to criteria that transcend their diversity in the name of a shared intent, a superior good, for an ideal peace. Ecology doesn't provide any examples of such submission' [Stengers 2010: 35]. (all Bell, 2012, p.113, all emphases added)

A complex idea with a complex genealogy, for many scholars currently engaging with the ecological the overarching framework of ecological interdependencies has moved away from a rather teleological functionalism based on adaptations into niche-spaces in an ecosystem to something much more contingent on rather random expressions of energy that sustain and decay in ways impossible to anticipate. As Timothy Morton (2010) puts it:

> Living beings are not adapted to their environments, if by "adapted" we mean something like the idea of a round peg fitting a round hole...a vulture's head, "beautifully adapted" (as described on television) for poking into piles of filth, was probably not bald for that reason. (p.66)

I will expand on this third "warning for thought and politics" at slightly more length. It has discomforting but notable implications for SM studies in two broad dimensions, the first of which might be called spatial. For example Zhao (1998) uses an ecological perspective to frame his analysis of the 1989 student protests in Beijing (see also Auyero [2006]); he describes a proximal "ecology" of university campuses as a place-based resource for the movement, similar to urban movements in Nepal and London discussed earlier in this chapter. Applying Morton's perspective, we can agree that while the universities were clearly not placed together for this purpose, students made use of the affordance their proximity provided to their advantage. But "ecologically speaking", this could have worked the other way as well. The ecological perspective I read across Bell, Stengers and Morton's work says that, given even minor changes in other constitutional conditions, Beijing security forces could have used this proximity and density to their advantage, enclosing students and waiting them out, or maybe "kettling" them, or even perpetrating the sort of mass violence that occurred in Tiananmen Square. As a sort of political metaphysics, there is a discordant harmony evoked that sets the refrain of our agency and intentions against a base note of merely being along for the ride.

This troubling tune has a temporal as well as spatial dimension. While seemingly antithetical to a radical political geography, geographers such as Clark (2003, 2006, 2010) and Yusoff (2009, 2010) ask us to consider the extremely long, even "a-human" bio- and geomorphic timelines – and possibly catastrophic consequences – of climate change, and these notions of alarm, urgency and time will be discussed further in Chapter 6. In a more recognisable formulation of justice as a cause, the temporal ecologies of climate change may demand generational justice past and future (see Parks and Roberts, 2010). But an ecological perspective requires us to look starkly at what the terrain and terms of such a long-term climate justice might be. The extraction-exploitation nexus which SWS

understands as the root cause of climate justice has already impacted this landscape socially, ecologically and irrevocably, as in the case of the "blae bings" in Lothian, Scotland, undulating mounds of pitted, burnt shale, a remnant of the large-scale shale oil industry of the 19th and early 20th centuries (Bayly, 2012). From the ash and flames of these scarred landscapes, and the concurrent trauma of de-industrialisation,[19] Bayly also sees "a rare example of primary succession, the furnishing of fresh substrate that occurs with phenomena such as new volcanic islands or retreating glaciers" (2012, p.8). The bings, the product of past labour scarcely a century old, are also part of a production chain which produces what Morton calls "hyperobjects": materials, most commonly petroleum-based plastics and the products of nuclear industry, which will remain more or less intact for between hundreds to tens of thousands of years (2010, pp.130-132). For Morton (2010), we "have manufactured materials that are already beyond the normal scope of our comprehension" (p.131) – "hyperobjects don't just burn a hole in the world, they burn a hole in your mind" (p.130). Adopting Morton's own esoteric tone for a moment, what can the *climate justice* movement SWS *say* to a "frontline community" descended from miners and paraffin workers, that is built between blaes, drives 30 miles each day to work in urban service centres, discards thousands of plastic bags a year that will swirl in the Atlantic for centuries, and as of this writing in 2012, might expect more and more of its vital energy to come from "clean coal" dug at Douglas (open cast mines for decades, slag heaps for centuries) and nuclear produced at Hunterston in the near future (spent fuel for millennia)?

2.7 Conclusion

In this chapter I began by situating geography's spatial approach to SMs within the broader SM literature, identifying 'relational space' as a widely accepted and foundational perspective. I then explored in *what ways* space is relational, and through the broad frames of 'place' and 'networks', how the labours of relations-making are performed by and through SMs. Lastly, I posited that further attention to micro-geopolitics and ecological perspectives can ground SM relational 'bindings', 'forgings' and 'convergence spaces' in ways that are salient to understanding climate change and climate justice, recalling warnings within geography to not subsume earthly matters of immediate consequence to people to circulating spatial theory (Fitzsimmons, 1989; Nagar, 2002; Pratt and Rosner, 2006).

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[19] For a discussion of performances of post-industrial working class identity and trauma from analogous sites of the carbon extraction-exploitation nexus, see Dicks, 2008 and Walkerdine, 2010)

Throughout this literature review I have drawn how we theorise SM practices of relation-making and altering conditions of relations closer to their embodied instances "which have to be carried out" (Massey, 2005, p.9). As both an imaginary and a set of circumstances and effects, space is as concrete as the material relations which constitute it allow. The 'space' of climate change may first appear impossible to concretise, but there is no inherent reason why this should be so. 'Relational space' proved to be composed of immensely different types and strengths of relations for SMs and the spaces they contest, and place registered largely as a set of affective, ideational and material affordances for SM actors (see Table 2.1). If place is a density of events and conditions of existence or relations (helpful or otherwise) that manifests a qualitative change from the space it is emergent from, then climate change effects and contestation occur in 'real' places that we are only beginning to identify and conceptualise. I argue that currently we have conceptualised and placed sites of climate change effects and contestation quite far from one another, both in terms of location (following Agnew's tripartite breakdown of the aspects of place) and in other senses of function and meaning. There are of course many zones and points of overlap, literally and conceptually; for example sites symbolic of climate change effects such as polar bear habitats (Slocum, 2004; O'Neill and Hulme, 2009; Yusoff, 2010) are often 'brought to' and enrolled in places of climate change contestation.[20]

But this is a rather crude mechanical way of conceiving site and distance. There is a cosmological resonance operating as well, which underlies the narration of SWS' climate justice platform. It is a cosmology based on a processual ontology of social-material signs triggering both social and material processes, after Deleuze (Bonta and Protevi, 2004, pp.4, 141). Places of climate change effects and climate change action are co-implicated and co-constitutive in both the material (ecological and human) and discursive registers. I argue that the very materiality of the global heating crises may knit sites of climate change activism and sites of climate change effects together in very real and palpable ways. This material dimension might encompass the symbolic and rhetorical within it, providing a medium for both acting and understanding, moving and meaning-making. This broad

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[20] In 2009, UK anti-airport expansion campaigners Plane Stupid launched a controversial cinema advertisement featuring life-like CGI polar bears falling from the sky and smashing bloodily onto the buildings and pavements of a contemporary urban business district. In this instance a place of climate change effects – the Arctic – was "brought" to the site of climate change causes – the concentration of corporate offices in a major urban centre. See the following for the video and comment: http://www.guardian.co.uk/environment/blog/2009/nov/20/polar-bears-plane-stupid; http://adsoftheworld.com/media/tv/plane_stupid_polar_bear; http://valuesandframes.org/plane-stupids-polar-bear-ad/ (all accessed 02/06/12)

observation gains some traction when we realise that the fundamental differentiators for SM actors are practical and material more than discursive. This is reflected in, among other works, Barnett and Scott's (2007) attention to "sedimentation" of practice, culture, and political opportunity with the highly embodied and embedded parameters of race, neighbourhood location, and pollution, for example. It appears in Routledge's and Featherstone's various analyses on power and position differentials in transnational SMs, and Escobar's (2001) foregrounding of direct environmental experience and the politicized socio-natures of the Afro-Columbian region of the Pacific Coast. An emergent attention to ecology, feminist praxis and micro-geopolitics further inform SM research in finding a 'place' for SWS' climate justice within a potentially unnavigable terrain of conceptual relationalities. Part of what my empirical work seeks to do is discover if these powerful axes of difference in bodies, materials and environments also operate in a polar way as powerful underwriters of commonality. This precept underlies much of the proceeding review of the literatures on performativity and politics.

Chapter 3. Performativity and Politics

Meanwhile – and political resistance often begins in a meanwhile…

- Berger, J., Ten Dispatches About Place: Dispatch Six (2007)

3.1. Introduction

This chapter investigates the co-performances of *declarative identities*, *lived practice*, salient relational space and place-effects that cohere in the body-subject of SM actors. The primary focus is the politically active and activated subject, and the aspects of this subjectivity that emerge in their iterative reconstitution through a wide range of performances. The conceptions of performance and performativity I work with here frame such actors as being constituted trans-subjectively. Selfhood is not atomistic but is shared and thus political, whether one is an intentional or coincidental performance participant (Schlosser, 2002, p.87), and is emergent from the equally intensive and extensive socio-material relations discussed in Chapter Two. Performance and performativity are simultaneously *processes* through which politics and ethical projects emerge, and *frames* (Soyez, 2000, p.10; Bell, 2007, p.89; Gillan, 2008) – or means of *cutting* (Barad, 2007) – for understanding how individual actors might collate and produce themselves as SMs performing, for example, the "contentious politics" of climate change.

The chapter unfolds as follows. First, I will briefly introduce the question of the "inside" and "outside" of the political subject and how a performance frame can bridge what is often posed as a binary. Then I will discuss some of the disciplinary genealogy of performance/performativity frameworks, and posit three diverse theoretical approaches, each with purchase in current human geography, to performativity and performance as politically "operable" for a diverse array of SM analyses. However, while striving to be diversely applicable, this section will highlight the themes of materiality and embodiment in each approach, as it is in the linking of the body-subject, the material and the discursive that the performance frame is particularly salient for working with SWS and its ethical and practical responses to climate change. As with the parallel section of Chapter Two, this early section will inform not only my reading of the case studies used here, but will provide a broad conceptual base for a performance approach to political organising forms and political subject formation more widely. Emerging from this section, I more closely examine, via critical readings of the appropriate literature, two ubiquitous but contested

features of work on SM performance and performance/performativity more generally: the role of representation and the distinction between emotion and affect.

The second half of the chapter examines how a political performativity is enacted by (and manifested within) SMs in two somewhat heuristically separated sections: the performative constitution of SM and activist subjectivities, and performance itself as an activist practice. The first section foregrounds the interplay between *lived practice* and *declarative identity*, including "pronouncements" of subjectivity such as comportment, attitudes, and speech. Following this I examine the extensive dimension of SM public performances as communicative practices for engaging with publics and organisations, including forms of performance such as carnival, street theatre, marches and demonstrations. As shall be seen through these case studies, such intensive subjectivity-forming activities and extensive communicative public activities are not mutually exclusive. A further dimension of the performative will also be examined in Chapters Four (Methodology) and Seven (Active and Ethical Subjects), where research methods based on performance (Boalian theatre) and performative pedagogical practice (Paolo Freire's approach) are used to explore SWS members and allies' ideas and affective relationship to the question of climate justice.

In using a performance/performativity frame as both theoretical underpinning and research method, I draw attention to the disabling division between concerns with "external" factors, privileged by deeply embedded SM studies approaches such as political opportunity structure and resource mobilization (Pulido, 2003, Nicholls, 2007), and what Pulido has termed "the inner life of politics". A performativity approach can speak to the differences between these realms while recognizing that they are intertwined; as Pulido says:

> In fact, it could be argued that ethics are perhaps best understood as existing at the nexus of the interior and exterior, as our moral maps are developed in conjunction with the social, the physical, and for some, the supernatural. (2003, p.48)

However, as emerges through my reading of the recent literature, I would further argue that the question of what constitutes ethical behaviours, so central to SM efficacy, cohesion, and representation, is not a dimension of our lives positioned outwith our social and physical selves, and develops "in conjunction" with them. Rather the "moral map" is a text, the more ordered representation of our messy behaviours (our performed ethics), which are only the necessary outcome of us being and constantly becoming social and

physical creatures. My reading of the texts and case studies in this chapter affirms that "emotions…psycholog[y]…and passions" do not sit outside of "our minds" (i.e. rationality), but are co-implicated and constructed in their embodied performance, that what Pulido calls ethics are generated and enacted in materialised, context-specific performance. These performances are the mechanics of politics, and the subject of this chapter.

3.2. Bringing diverse dimensions of performativity and performance into operation

In spite of deep ambiguities between research paradigms, it might seem that all things are now considered "performed", so prevalent are "performance" and "performativity" in current social science research. Housing markets (Smith, Munro, and Christie, 2006), nature and ideas about it (Castree, 2004), United States security (Bialasiewicz, Campbell, Elden, Graham, Jeffrey, and Williams, 2007), race (Saldanha, 2007), diverse economies (Gibson-Graham, 2008), gender (Butler, 1990), agricultural tourism (Spurlock, 2009) all have been framed as performative. This section on how the performative has entered geography emphasises performances of SM composition and activist subjectivities as practical, embodied, and intertwined with the sediments of spaces and places. However, in examining aspects of being in public life (including forms of protest) such as the socio-expressive palette of dress, ethnicity, speech, and sexual preferences (Calzadilla, 2002; Pearson, 2006, p.145; Brown-Saracino and Ghaziani, 2009), one could also "cut" – in Barad's sense (2007) – a more sociological ordering of these performances, emphasising the self-consciousness of negotiating social and symbolic identities. It is important to not overdraw these intradisciplinary divisions, pre-empting productive links between differing frames of subjectivity which may have long social science lineages that reveal more similarities existing between them than their supposed novelty now assumes. For example, canonical sociologist Erving Goffman would not be associated with posthumanism or poststructuralism in most circumstances[21], but, in the tradition of liberal American sociology his work on self-presentation, roleplaying, and the "front" and "backstages" of social interaction represented a major and novel application of metaphors of drama and performance to the study of social life (Lemert and Branaman, 1997). His work has been

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[21] Vikki Bell (2007, p.89) employs Goffman's sociological construct of "framing" in her work on performativity, particularly the idea of externalities or excesses that fall outside of how we frame interactions and relations. For Goffman these were interpersonal social relations; there are of course many others. Frames in any case provide a meniscus of tension when discussing performances of all types - a borderland of intentionality versus escaping excesses (be they materials, identities, emotions, or discourses).

critically employed by geographers (see Davidson, 2003; Laurier and Philo, 2006) and has been expanded upon generally: "Goffman's...analogy between theatre and everyday life becomes elided through the idea of performance so that life and art all become types of performance" (Seymour, 2009, p.30).

Dictionary entries by Geraldine Pratt and Nigel Thrift (2000) provide a capsule account of how the concepts of "performativity" and "performance" have been utilized by human geographers in recent years. Pratt lists three ways that the term "performativity" has been used: to "refer to practices such as music and dance" (2000, p.578, italics in original), in reference to "scripted performances" in social and work life (p.578), and finally and most expansively, geographers have worked with Judith Butler's particular (and highly influential) notion of performativity – "a model for thinking about not only language but social processes more generally" (p.578). Most associated with gender and sexuality, these are "performances without ontological status (gender is not what is, but what one does)", and performativity here is primarily a "theory of subject formation" (p.578). Butler's performative approach emphasizes that we are what we are because of what we do, stressing that our performances occur not only on the body's surface, but are mediated by the unconscious (p.578). These constitutive performances of subjectivity are also "not freely chosen", are "historically embedded", and "are instantiated through repetitions of an ideal"; for Butler, these repetitions are vital for agency, "[s]ince [as] we never quite inhabit the ideal, there is room for disidentification and agency" (p.578).

While highly influential in geography and beyond, Butler's work has been criticised as a-material and a-spatial in its accounting of the subject. Thrift and Dewsbury (2000) point out several such difficulties in her approach, which in their view greatly emphasizes the symbolic and discursive registers to the exclusion of others (p.414). They provide a three-fold critique, useful as a departure point in a study of SM and activist performance. First, Butler's performative account of agency is primarily a "negative" one, pitting the "psyche" against the social in an act of "resignification" "which forecloses analysis of the variable nature of social action and change" (McNay, 1999, p.187, in Thrift *et al*, 2000, p.414). Second, her account of "resignification" glosses over the interactive push and pull of the "reaction of others", leaving the individuated, atomistic subject intact; the intersubjective nature of social and practical processes is left out (Thrift *et al*, 2000, p.414). Third, is the problematic omission of both practice and space:

> Butler makes very little room for space, period....It lies offshore from the
> subject. Yet the make-up of space is crucial to who attends and what is. Then,
> finally, Butler's work has very little sense of the positive push – excitability
> even – of practices, rather than just discourse...So a good part of the world of
> practices passes her by. (p.414)

A Butlerian stance on performativity, without strong attention to the spatiality and
materiality of subjectivity, practice, and social interaction, risks re-inscribing the
interior/exterior dualism, albeit this time privileging an interior untouched by the push and
pull of others and their material practices, over Pulido's "external forces" (2003).

Enlisting other theoretical frames with long-standing relationships to human geography can
help obviate such concerns, recasting performance for the analysis of SMs – and perhaps
climate change itself – as a hybrid of narration and being, inclusive of a broad range of
human-environment interaction.[22] These frames include: the ontological re-orderings of
Deleuze and Guattari (see Bonta and Protevi, 2004, and Doel, 1999; 2000, for
interpretations of this work in geography); actor-network theory approaches (ANT) that
emphasize the generation of subjects and "quasi-objects" (or indeed, "quasi-subjects;
Latour, 1993, pp.51-55) as an achievement (hence the quality of performance), and,
particularly in human geography, "nonrepresentational theory [NRT] or the theory of
practices" (Thrift, 1996; 1997; 1999, in Nash, 2000, p.655). All three are linked as tools or
expressions of material semiotics (see Law, 2007), and as such all three iteratively inform
performativity and performance. These streams of thought have also achieved some
purchase in SM studies, though perhaps not the sub-discipline of "SM studies" *per se*,
derived as it is in large part from "rational choice theories and political exchange models"
(Chesters and Welsh, 2005). Chesters and Welsh (2005) "draw upon a neo-
materialist/complexity reading of Deleuze and Guattari" (p.187) to examine the alter-
globalisation movement (AGM) as an emergent plateau(x) of more-or-less intensive and
extensive relationships, that acts as an "anti-capitalist attractor within global civil society"
(p.188). Again through a deleuzoguattarian lens, Nigel Clark (2006) interrogates the
"mobility paradigm" by querying what it means to mobilise and be mobile – cannot staying
in place, relatively speaking, in territory that is altering (deterritorialising) be considered to
be dynamic and transformative mobilisation? Works on SM networks by Routledge
(2008) and Routledge, Cumbers and Nativel (2007) employ actor-network approaches
while also challenging ANT's inattention to directive social relations.

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[22] See Bottoms, Franks and Kramer, 2012; Castree and Braun, 2001; Clark, 2003; Clark, 2010; Crouch,
2010a; Hawthorne, 2002; Hulme, 2008; Latour, 1993; Peet, Robbins and Watts, 2011; Swyngedouw, 2010;
Szerszynski, Heim, and Watterton, 2003; Whatmore, 2002; Yusoff, 2010.

In what ways do these three branches of material semiotics make a performativity approach more operative for a study of SMs, and how do they complement one another? It may help to position them as follows, roughly following a trail of philosophy/cosmology, to theory, and then to practice.

Deleuzian poststructuralist geography

As a world view, such theorising promises cosmological "reconciliation" between the discursive and material registers and a rejection of space as abstract, unaffecting, and without meaning, expressed normatively and politically here:

> Lived space belongs to the flesh, to spatial practices, bodily gestures, and sensuous activity…Abstract space is the enemy of the fully sensuous organic body. Its objectivation and decorporealization work to dequalify social space, shifting it from an analogical to a metaphorical register (Gregory, 1994a, 1997; cf. Sennett, 1994). The space that was once isomorphic with the comportment and habits of bodies has given way to a space composed according to the disembodied logic and cold calculation of signs and symbols. (Doel, 1999, p.14)

The fundamental principle is the orienting of ourselves away from the discursive/textual register of "the metaphorical" toward something much more (literally) energised, where the metaphorical has ontological status as a trigger-sign that impact events and processes, and "the 'meaning' of a sign is a measure of the probability of triggering a particular material process" (Bonta and Protevi, 2006, p.4). Nigel Clark interprets this thus:

> Deleuze and Guattari give examples of the sort of meetings of apparently unconnected classes of objects that happen constantly in the real world: 'a semiotic fragment rubs shoulders with a chemical interaction, and electron crashes into a language, a black hole captures a genetic message (1987/1980, p.69). And they are quite explicit: this is the play of the world, *not* the play of metaphor: 'we are not saying "like an electron, "like an interaction"' (1987/1980, p.6) (Clark, 2003, p.31)

A bridging similar to that between space and body also occurs between the social and material within the body, "the body-subject, not the body, engaged in joint body-*practices* of becoming" (Thrift, 1997, p.142, italics in original). In this cosmology the relationship between the now-blurred registers of the symbolic/discursive and material/embodied works both ways; while we generate and "operationalize" the communicative mode of the symbolic through our actions and "being", assuming these meanings through our embodied

yet intersubjective selves, "[t]he symbolic [also] has being; better, the symbolic produces being" (Ferrell, 1996, p.83, in Doel, 1999, p.5).

Non-Representational Theory (NRT) has specifically foregrounded the bodily aspects of performance, "the day-to-day improvisations which are the means by which the now is produced" (Thrift, 2000, p.577, italics in original); indeed Thrift calls performance "the art of producing the now" (ibid). More formally, the body is also "the practical means by which these improvisatory skills are brought out and used to construct performances of various kinds [i.e., the performing arts]" (ibid). It is above all concerned with practice, "practices through which we become 'subjects' decentred, affective, but embodied, relational, expressive, and involved with others and objects in a world continually in process" (Nash, 2000, p.655). In terms of the activist subjectivities and practice that concern my work, NRT engages with both the "micro-geographies of bodily practice" as well as "staged theatrical activities" (p.660). Thrift alludes to this latter point when he states that performance "provides a political instrument…[and] has become a mainstream of much political protest, both in its ability to stage events and its corresponding ability to involve the media for progressive ends" (2000, p.577). In my own fieldwork practice, social theatre as a method sits somewhere between a "micro-geography of bodily practice" and the "staged"[23].

NRT is alive to the particularly human aspects of creativity, even as it troubles humanistic logocentricism. Thrift outlines a contrapuntal NRT "take" on creativity in his questioning of the flattened ANT approach to agency:

> [A]ctor-network theory has tended to neglect specifically human capacities of expression, powers of invention, of fabulation, which cannot be simply gainsaid…But human expressive powers seem especially important in understanding what is possible to associate, in particular the power of imagination, 'the capacity to posit that which is not, to see in something that which is not there' (Castoriadis, 1997, p.151), which is the fount of so many non-preexistant relations. (Thrift, 2008, p.111)

Such powers of the imagination are central to the enterprise of any SM, sustaining the impulse for social change both on the left (see Debord, "no date, no copyright"...; Vaneigem, 2006; Duncombe 2007) and the right (Klein, 2007). Conceptually, in its

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[23] "[P]erformance is an inclusive term. Theatre is only one node on a continuum that reaches from the ritualism of animals (including humans) though [sic] performances in everyday life– greetings, display of emotion, family scenes, professional roles, and so on – through to play, sports, theatre, dance, ceremonies, rites, and performances of great magnitude" (Schechner, 1988, p.xii, in Thrift, 2008, p.133).

emphasis on "active contrivance" (Thrift, 2008, p.112), NRT also makes room for "the flash of the unexpected and the unrequited" (p.110) and "the fleeting contexts and predicaments which produce potential" (p.111), making room in the frame for sudden and unanticipated political shifts.

An NRT approach allows for radical contingency and play, both in the human-social sense of the ludic and the action of play as in a swinging hinge or joint. However I share Nash's (2000) concern that NRT has staked its ground on the renewed binary of the body as eros, impulse, and authentic, versus rationality as all-mind, mediated, and constrained. As Nash (2000) states:

> Exploring practices, performance, texts, object and images together rather than abandoning the knowable for the unknowable may be less theoretically ambitious than 'nonrepresentational theory' but it is also more politically effective in unravelling…certainties [of SM ethics and tactics]. (p.661)

Along with Nash, Tolia-Kelly draws our attention to the overwhelmingly text-driven quality of the NRT corpus: "This restriction to the textual…is in itself problematic, and is contrary to the imperatives of a theoretical politics that is concerned with the registers of emotion and embodied practice" (2006, p.214). In their empirical focus on particular kinetic skills such as dance and therapeutic movement (Thrift, 1997; McCormack, 2003, 2005), NRT proponents' calls for vigourous attentiveness to the ethico-political via affective and affecting bodies is politically limited by their inattention to non-specialist (i.e., trained, often professional) body-subjects (Nash, 2000) within specific historical, cultural, and material contexts (Tolia-Kelly, 2006, p.216). To conclude, when enrolling NRT-based approaches to performance and the performative, both the discursive "habit" that threatens disembodiment and the figure of an implicitly universalized and un-situated body-subject must be accounted for and managed.

Actor-Network Theory (ANT)

John Law (2007) insists that while it is possible to describe actor-network "theory" *as* a theory, it is in fact a set of approaches:

> the actor-network approach is not a theory. Theories usually try to explain why something happens, but actor-network theory is descriptive rather than foundational in explanatory terms, which means that it is a disappointment for those seeking strong accounts. Instead it tells stories about 'how' relations assemble or don't. (p.1)

Approaching something closer to a definition, Law further states that these stories

> describe...the enactment of materially and discursively heterogeneous relations that produce and reshuffle all kinds of actors including objects, subjects, human beings, machines, animals, 'nature', ideas, organisations, inequalities, scale and sizes, and geographical arrangements. (p.1)

As with geophilosophy and NRT, there is no pure through-line extending from these approaches directly to a tidy version of performance, or a universal Social Movement. If geophilosophy hints at a potential materialising of our cosmology, and NRT legitimates our creative, active bodies in that space, ANT heeds us to honour and at times obey the "parliament of things" (Latour, 1993, pp.142-45) also present. The full remit of ANT is beyond the scope of this thesis, but it is yet another useful analytic for framing relations that at some point cohere as events that might exceed more instrumental framings. Using economics as an example, Bell (2007) makes the point that one value of the actor-network approach, particularly Michel Callon's work, has been to trace the relations of what falls outside of frames imposed by economists on socio-material networks and systems. Indeed, certain implications of ANT can direct our attention to SM performances in ways that consider (if not ever fully account for) what exceeds, for example, the frame of "SM studies" *per se*. The first centres on the always contingent and partial structure of narratives. Law's description of ANT as descriptive rather than explanatory (a possible disappointment for some) can be extended:

> The paradox is that we shall always look for weak explanations rather than general stronger ones…Every time we deal with a new topic, with a new field, with a new object, the explanation should be wholly different. (Latour, 1988, p.174, in Bingham, 2003, p.159)

Fundamentally, while ANT is very concerned with space, experience and bodies in co-performance, it is *most* concerned with the performance of narratives, of inclusions and exclusions and the composition of description. Even as my findings chapters narrate SWS' performance of climate justice, it must be remembered that the story also performs its own fidelities.

The second implication is temporal. In a passage tellingly headed "The improbable locus of face-to-face interaction", Latour writes of what appear to be immediate, proximal interactions as "achievements" or assemblages" made of far-reaching components; temporally, they are not *isotopic* – the actants enrolled in the performance come from

many places over many distances (2005, p.200), and they are not *synchronic* – "time is always folded…the idea of any synchronic interaction where all the ingredients will have the same age and same pace is meaningless" (p.201). This has direct implications for SWS climate justice-in-becoming. SWS members expressed to me the varied personal consequences of the multiple temporalities of climate change (see Chapter 6) and more generally, more than any other issue of our time climate change is an expression of millions of years of geomorphic activity and centuries of human socio-economic impacts.

I have outlined a potential relationship between three theoretical bases through which a performativity approach can move from a heavily discursive/textual frame to one more inclusive of the situated body and the spatial dimensions of lived practice. The remainder of the chapter uses existing theoretically informed empirical work to read across SMs as 'performances', including the emergence and assemblage of individual activist subjectivities in that performance. The following sub-sections highlight two central questions from the literature that may problematise such framings: the role of representations, and the role of feelings.

3.2.1. Speaking performance theory to SM practice: re/presenting

The vein of performance and performativity studies in the social sciences stutters, stops, and changes directions; for human geographers the impulse is to harness the material and spatial facets of such a concept. I see this as an accretive process. In order to get to grips with the breadth of work on performativity and its relevance to studying SMs, perhaps (for example) Goffman, Butler, and NRTs proponents should be seen within the context of their times and particular preoccupations – the proliferation of roles and role-playing in an increasingly impersonal and mediatised American public life, the cusp of a feminist Third Wave and post-modernist "queer(y)ing" of the subject, and the current presumed pre-eminence of Foucauldian "biopower" and a resultant biopolitics (see Thrift, 2008, p.226) respectively. Acknowledging these disciplinary genealogies, as a current arm of geographies of performance, it is unclear what a non-representational approach says about the declarative and overtly "representational" aspects of activist identities and subjectivity.

Much work on activist demonstrations, marches, and other actions (Calzadilla, 2002; Bosco, 2004; Uitermark, 2004; Routledge, 2005a; Juris 2005b, 2008a, 2008b; Brown-Saracino and Ghaziani, 2009) pays particular attention to this highly representational dimension of activist performance – costumes, banners, slogan-bearing t-shirts, hairstyles,

etc., are intentional markers of solidarity (sometimes exclusivity, see Brown-Saracino *et al*), and accessories in expressive rituals that generate energising emotions and media attention during direct actions (see Juris) and marches (see Brown-Saracino *et al*). The emphasis here, in contrast to NRT, is on the consciously and strategically gestural and expressive, and on a sense of declared identity that binds, however temporarily or contingently, individuals into (or at least to) groups for the purposes of practicing contentious politics (Leitner *et al*, 2008).

In her critique of NRT, Nash's call (2000) to attend to *both* what escapes discourse and signification, as well as discursive and embodied practices that bear imprints of signification and meaning, is taken up effectively in Crouch's integrated approach to the practices of caravanning and allotment gardening (2001, 2003). For Crouch, the most fertile area of investigation is in the relationship between people's ideational, discursive frameworks, and their spatially and materially enacted performances. This relationship enables "becoming" through the embodied iteration of thoughts, principles and sensations. This generative capacity is captured in his commentary on one research informant, an allotment gardener with strong and well-articulated feelings about the political value of her gardening. I quote the gardener here at length to provide a sense of both the descriptive and explanatory richness of such an approach, of how much may be gleaned through a performative framework that wilfully attends more to the *relationship between* ideas, feelings, and embodied practice than to whether or not such things are representations, or prior to, or outside of, representation:

> In Carol's case, however pertinent her ideology may be, what she is doing is not adequately understood as ideational. She thinks about it as she is doing [gardening], and through performance she gets by and discovers. For her, what she is doing is more than enactment of ideas and values which are prefigured. The character of her ideas is changed; her values elaborated but also grasped afresh, opened through what she does and the feeling of doing, of which she is aware, as she makes her own spacing of things in relation to her own life. In spacing she is also open to the alternative possibilities of her life and the spaces she encounters. Furthermore, each time she does this it reasserts her beliefs and enlivens them, moves her on beyond merely thinking and being– to becoming. Her ideas become qualitatively different. Sometimes when she gardens she sees or talks with others and that is part of the power this doing holds for her, other-awareness, intersubjectively. She is able to connect values and feeling of doing, and this persistently enlivens and takes further her commitment to what she is doing. Her ideas are opened up in the process, their significance enlarged. Thus her performance may be said constantly to constitute and refigure meaning. (Crouch, 2003, pp.1954-1955)

In this passage *spacing* also emerges as a key descriptor for the processual recognition and navigation of one's world, "representationally" and "non-representationally" alike, a partial ordering that is both ontologically secure and subject to change; what Crouch has described as "holding on" and "going further" (2003; 2010a; 2010b). In the same vein as Crouch's tension identified between ideation and doing, I approach the performative nature of SMs and activist subjectivities along the touching planes of *lived practice*, and *declarative identity*. I associate *declarative identity* with SMs' discursive expressions such as slogans, texts and costumes, and *lived practice* with material and embodied relations, the micro-manipulations of the sensuous and perhaps unspoken. The terms "practice" and "identity" are porous catchments – they flow one into the other, and are co-implicated, one in the other materially, temporally and symbolically. I posit that together, this is where SM actor subjectivities are generated – in the *confluence* of malleable but at times idealised or valourised identities, and actual(ised) practices. There are things stated or represented by SM actors, and things that are actually "done"; they act together with varying degrees of intent, and/or result in the unintended, in their performances.[24] And, as Crouch states "it is unrealistic to counterpose nonrepresentational interpretations of space, to representational claims – as the individual operates in relation to, if not controlled by, those contexts" (2003, p.1946).

3.2.2. Speaking performance theory to SM practice: feeling

At the risk of generalising, much recent work in geography on the embodied performative and performance has been highly theoretical, with empirical work limited to rather rarefied "field conditions". In parallel, work on SMs, while departing by degrees from a political science-based SM studies model, is still indebted to a blend of structuralist framings and embedded ethnographic observation.[25] This can make a productive liaison difficult; intermediate steps and reframings, new "cuts" and new stitching, such as that offered above to make the space between representation and non-representation recognised and real, are often needed.

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[24] Following Footnote 5, page 19 in Chapter Two, this is an attempt to unlink "meaning" and its association with language, symbol, and culture, from Guattari's precept of "function", where *that what happens*, across, for my purposes here, the social and material registers of climate change, is radically decontextualized out of stable readings of cultural appropriateness or political efficacy, at least those efficacies as understood by SM research operating within the bounds of political opportunities and resource mobilization paradigms (e.g., Miller, 2000; Beaumont and Nicholls, 2007; Nicholls, 2007).

[25] For an exception see Chesters and Welsh, 2005 though this remains largely a theoretical commentary rather than fieldwork-based .

There is another important distinction between much theoretical literature on embodied performance and fieldwork on SMs, that between "affect", the conceptual category prevalent in much current work on embodied performativity, and "emotions", which often looms large in research on SMs (see Goodwin, Jasper, and Polletta, 2001; Pulido, 2003; Juris, 2005b, 2008a, 2008b; Bosco, 2007; Henderson, 2008). To be sure, "affect" is not absent from SM literatures; "militant ethnographer" Jeffrey Juris goes so far as to say

> As performative rituals, mass mobilisations, and actions in particular, largely operate through affect, amplifying an initial emotion, such as a sense of injustice, and transforming it into collective solidarity (Collins, 2001, p.29). (Juris, 2008b, p.126)

Here we see affect, and it has a direction, an operator that moves atomistic individual emotions into "collective solidarity". However, in the same text Juris also seems to collapse "emotion" and "affect" together, substituting his phrase "affective solidarity" for Randall Collins' term "emotional energy" (ibid)[26]. The extensive emerging literature on affect and emotion in geography problematizes this elision, not least for those human geographers who have been resistant to the perceived totalizing (Tolia-Kelly, 2006) and posthumanist (Thien, 2005) bent of "affect" as articulated by non-representational theory (McCormack, 2003; Anderson, 2006, 2008; Thrift 2008).

The relationship between affect and emotion in current human geography is complex, usually characterized as a (sometimes acrimonious) debate, and I deal with these particularities as they appear in their application in the work on SM spaces and subjectivities. However, some preparatory attention must be paid to their often polarising use in the literature for three reasons. First and foremost, roughly speaking work on SMs, when it considers such matters at all, tends to deal in *emotions* rather than affect, while work on performativity and embodied performances often employs *affect* as a primary modality in and through the register of "feeling". Work that employs a theoretically informed embodied performativity approach to SM subjects and actions must find some basic ways to accommodate the two within a praxis-oriented conceptual framework. There is much to be gained in appreciating the role *both* emotion and affect play in SMs spatial constitution, and the intensive and extensive dimensions of their emergence in performance. Even while strong disciplinary arguments are made for maintaining a

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[26] Juris justifies this substitution as a way of "demystifying" the role of emotion in activist practice. I am not convinced that substituting "affective solidarity" for "emotional energy" accomplishes this. While it is true that "solidarity" specifies a particular type of relational bond more so than the word "energy" does, "affect" is widely recognized as conceptually very distinct from "emotion".

conceptual distinction between emotion and affect, both concepts have been employed productively in analysing how SMs *move* in the world, and the spatial restrictions and potential opportunities of such movement, both in field-based work in an emotion frame (Bosco, 2007), and abstracted work examining the spatialised political dimensions of the affective mode (see Thrift, 2008, pp.220-254).

 Second, reflecting on the emotion/affect "debate" can shed light on the relationship between representations – discourses, rhetoric, symbolic meanings – and practices. Some of this is explicit in the framing tendency to link *emotion* with modes of expression and voice (Henderson, 2008) while linking *affect* with the "vagueness" (MacCormack, 2003, p.499) of bodily practices and movement that engender affects and effects outside of voiced speech or other expressive modes that rely on a system of signification, and then implicit in how such frames are then widely associated with, in the first instance, persons' identities, and in the second instance, poststructuralist assemblages and (body)subjects.

Briefly, a final point related to the first: it is very important that in the effort to deepen our understanding of how politics is performed within SMs focused on climate change, we do not allow the necessary use of specialist, abstract language to efface "lay" understandings of such processes. In this thesis, which brings to bear several theoretically informed frames of analysis onto the experiences of SM actors encountered in my participatory fieldwork, the situatedness of the analysis frames must be recognised. We must also be aware of how researchers are socially and institutionally situated *vis-a-vis* the politics they are studying or advocating; in terms of a relational ethics performed through engagement and practice (Whatmore, 1997, 2002), researcher positionality has obvious ethical and spatial dimensions. Our institutional embeddedness and geographical "emplacement" (our location, locale, sense of place) cannot help but contribute to our worldview and frames of reference, including how we *feel* about the role (or not) of emotion and affect in politics.

3.2.2.1. Positioning "hope": a miniature case study

Henderson (2008) underlines this emphatically in her critique of the politics of hope, and I approach this critique as a further entry into the relationship between affect and emotion in recent literature and its salience to SM studies. Her critique is triple-fold but singular in its force. First, a hyper-theorized focus on affect, and generalized notions of affective political engineering (Henderson, 2008, pp.29, 34-35,), can blind us to the specific intensities and political efficacies of emotion (pp.34-35). Second, once called upon,

emotions are largely undifferentiated from one another and little attention is paid to the historical, cultural and political frames through which expressions of emotion are regulated (p.35; see also Pain, 2009). Finally, bringing these points together, there is something deeply suspect about "the relative surfeit of hope and paucity of anger" in contemporary academic social science research (pp.30 and 32):

> Anger is *out there*. But is it in us? If anger is what excites spaces of hope, then it seems to me that progressive scholars have duty to defend it. It is not enough, I argue, to live anger by proxy. Moreover, it seems morally wrong. Why should we feel hopeful about a politics kept alive by the anger of another? (Henderson, 2008, p.35)

This argument bears further examination, as it speaks to both our position as researchers, and to the complex roles of emotion and affect in understanding the politics-in-performance of SMs and climate justice. Henderson posits that affect theory and an affective politics have been used to unpack emotions in a selective manner, with depoliticizing effects on the field of social or cultural geography. Hope, suggests Henderson, is fine enough, perhaps a necessary prerequisite for people to feel that the possibility of change exists. Indeed for Anderson (2006) – one of Henderson's "targets" – "hope anticipates that something indeterminate has *not-yet-become*" (p.733, italics in original), and "there is...an intuitive understanding that hope matters because it discloses the creation of potentiality or possibility" (ibid). However, moving from a steady-state anticipation of "becoming" and the succour of potential towards taking active risks requires an instantiation of the affect in a body-subject, and this is where, according to the critique, this framing of affect fails or even undermines its assumption of a progressive politics. In short, even where such an approach does not consign "feeling" to "the simple romanticism of maximising individual emotions" (Thrift, 2004, p.68, in Henderson, 2008, p.29) and takes on the task of examining the salience of emotions, the choice of emotion is a passive one: hope. Hope that is perhaps preconditionally necessary, but still only a highly generalized background disposition, indeed "a *postulate* that reality overflows all possible reckonings" (Marcel, 1965, p.86, in Anderson, 2006, p.734, italics mine). The criticism, which on its own might seem selective and ungenerous, is bolstered by Anderson's proceeding claim that this view of hope, as the as yet unactivated state of potential-in-waiting, is "*exemplary* for a theory of affect" (Anderson, 2006, p.735). In the vocabulary of affect and how it is theorised in human geography, this view of hope might attune a body-subject to be responsive in certain ways, but says little about the direction and force of such possible, unrealized responses. For pragmatic SM research, it is a space

that Juris and others in their SM ethnographies cannot account for. And more generally, this account of hope as both exemplary and ephemeral is indicative of the distance between privileged academics and many publics:

> ...as geographers, we must examine how topographies of emotion unfold and take stock of the role we play in that process. Calls to celebrate the romantic wanderlust of a politics of hope must always be measured against accounts of situated, actually existing sites of anger: In Argentina (Bosco, 2006), in Bosnia (Ó Tuathail, 1996), in South Africa (Kobayashi, 2005), and in the Global South more generally (Sundberg, 2007). (Henderson, 2008, p.29)

Further, "[h]ope may nourish contemporary academic theory, but...people in the throws [sic] of precarity are, practically speaking, hungry and *angry*" (Henderson, 2008, p.29, italics in original).

I have lingered over Henderson's critique because it reflects many of the gambits required to harness theoretical insights into feelings and performances while respecting the *individual* dynamics of, and for many people in many circumstances, high *personal* stakes of, deeply-felt and highly performative events. Henderson, for one, is frank about her own anger towards an affect agenda in geography that may be serving to anaesthetize the importance of individual experiences and understandings of emotion/affect. Critically, there is doubt as to the genuine "openness" of such an agenda, and a sense that what is gained is being quite actively outstripped by what is presumably lost. But also like Henderson, I sense that the emotion-versus-affect debate has gone "off-track" (2008, p.29). My own response is to track both feminist-inspired geographies of emotion (e.g., Whatmore, 1997; Anderson and Smith, 2001; Pain, 2009) and non- or "more-than-representational" (Lorimer, 2005) geographies that focus on affect and affective relationships in a way that allows both to speak in the work, without committing to usages and standards which are not themselves subject to frequent cross-referencing against empirical work, both my own and that which appears in these literature reviews. Here, frames of emotion and affect have a direct impact on how we might increasingly realise, enact and materialise salient SM relations in 'relational space'. I am thinking here of Whatmore's (1997) engagement with Gilligan's "feminist care ethic", an understanding of responsibility to others emergent from our innately vulnerable, dependent and interdependent existences, and Grosz' "corporeal feminism", which grapples with the notion that "to separate the feminine from female morphology is misguided theoretically and politically even in strategic contexts" (Grosz, 1986, p.136, in Whatmore, 1997, p.43).

I assume the same importance of bodily form and composition in making subjectivities for other actors, such as activists, in other contexts, such as climate change, albeit along a different plane of inquiry, asking how does our embodiment in an environment, an eventful place impacted by and causing climate change, impinge on our bodily care ethic for 'others', also making and suffering from climate change?

Both emotional and affective geographies can be used productively to examine SM subjectivities, SM performances, performative methodologies, and more elastic, less bounded, social-material performances such as climate change itself. This requires a research frame that enfolds emotions and affective states, discursive and bodily modes of transference between people, and crucially the constitutive internal-relations between discourses and bodies (see Crouch 2001, 2003), rather than overplaying the conceptual differences. One dimension of that frame (see Fig. 3.1) is my working distinction between *declarative identity* and *embodied practice*, a move in alignment with the proposition that emotions are socially, culturally, and historically mediated expressions of bodily states, the texture and sensation of which are generally ascribed to affect (McCormack, 2003, pp.494-496; Anderson, pp.735-737, 2006; Henderson, p.29, 2008).
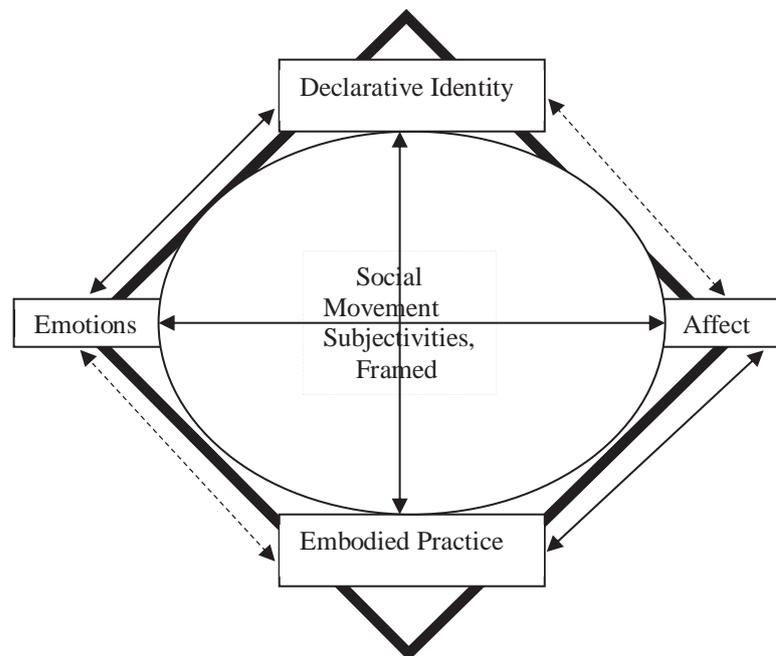
Figure. 3.1 Schematic of a performative framework for SM subjectivities

This proposition requires some 're'-packing. Henderson states that most often descriptions of emotions/affects are rendered with either a "cognitive" or "biological" bias, the cognitive being associated with emotions, while the biological is associated with affects (2008, p.29). Affect and emotion are distinguished and made more or less prominent

through differences in orientation, "biases" in the sense of a direction, angle, or line, or in fact a "cut". But while Henderson's critique emphasises the political antagonism emergent from this cut, Lorimer refers us to Pile's "helpful shorthand" for describing affect: "the social relations of emotion" (2007, p.90). Once re-cut this way, understanding emotion as a certain manifestation of affect need not force the two too widely apart, if we understand the "social" in social relations to be both material and discursive, subjective and trans-subjective. Emotion need not be delimited as either mere talk unable to escape the significations of language or culture (McCormack, 2003, p.495), or as the embodiment of atomistic "variations on the theme of desire" (Thrift, 2008, p.177). To say that affect is the "social relations of emotion" actually inverts the equation that is often presented (affect=body/emotion=discourse) and highlights the embodied, material relations that must comprise sociality. The affect/emotion equation is then an oscillation back and forth rather than unidirectional, mediated in body-subjects that are composed of, and sit in, an equally material and discursive field.

In reviewing a cross-section of literature that has made highly specific applications of performance and performativity to politics and SMs – whether the authors themselves use such terminology or not – I group this work into two sections: the performative constitution of SM and activist subjectivities, and performance itself as an activist practice. The boundary between the external and internal, or public and personal, dimensions of SM performances is not a firm one. However, in his description of "counter-summit protests", Juris makes a useful distinction along these lines, describing such protests as

> complex ritual performances that generate a dual effect. *Externally*, they are powerful 'image events' (DeLuca, 1999), where diverse activist networks communicate their messages to an audience by 'hijacking' the global media space afforded by multilateral summits (see Peterson, 2001). *Internally*, they provide terrains where identities are expressed through distinct bodily techniques and emotions are generated through ritual conflict and the lived experience of prefigured utopias. (Juris, 2008a, p.62, italics mine)

In this section on SM identities and practices that are performatively realized as (inter)subjectivities, I concentrate on what Juris here allocates to the "internal" (see Pulido, 2003, with similar qualifications)[27] and what I extend from Massey as "the intensive relations within objects or phenomena/Events themselves" (Chapter Two here) – the

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[27] See Henderson, 2008, p.30, for a brief discussion of how the outwardly-directed force of an emotion such as anger scrambles any firm division between an "internal" and "external" life of politics.

terrains of identity and subjectivity, emotion and affect, embodied experience, and practice.

3.3. Embodied social movement subjectivities in performance

Juris's empirical work on alter-globalization actions illustrates the relationship between external object-relations and intensive object (or subject)-making relations repeatedly, iterating activist performances with their built environments. In a first-hand account of protests against the 2000 International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank meetings in Prague, he writes:

> As we marched, powerful emotions, including a potent mix of excitement, anger, and fear, welled up inside, preparing our bodies for action and enhancing our sense of collective solidarity...Competing SM networks were embodied through diverse protest performances, inscribing distinct political messages on the urban and mass media landscapes. Meanwhile, diverse *bodily movements* and *protest styles* generated alternative identities and emotional tones, ranging from militant rage to carnivalesque exuberance. (2008a, p.62, italics mine)

This description contains several elements that link the nominally emotional and affective, blurring together in practice conceptually separable. First, "excitement", in its most general sense, can be read as an affective bodily resonance that is expressed as the emotions anger and fear. Excitement "wells up inside" a body, but transmits outward (as per Pile's "social expression of emotion"), across and through subjects, shared as a variety of possible emotions. Juris, as both witness and participant of this event, perceives (and is literally struck by) this excitement as the specific emotions of fear and anger, his perception and sensation mediated through the symbols and expectations of the "ritual performance of protest" which is itself a culturally specific form (Routledge and Cumbers, 2009, pp.134-135). Indeed this mediation occurs in part through culturally specific guidelines to emotion and the interpretation of the "emotional behaviours" of oneself and others, a kind of:

> *emotionology*, which, distinct from the experience of the emotion itself, describes ''what people think they should be experiencing'' based on the institutionalization of conventions and standards by which emotion is evaluated (Stearns and Stearns, 1986: 14); and *emotional habitus*, which incorporates the ''characteristic ways of relating emotions to each other, and of relating emotions to cognition and perception'' (Calhoun, 2001: 53). (Henderson, 2008, p.31)

Second, Juris' *bodily movements* and *protest styles* can be framed as lived practice and declarative identity respectively, with their iterative associations with affect and emotion (see Fig. 3.1). Describing the Prague demonstrations, Juris (2008a) highlights the management of various largely unpredictable *embodied actions* with codes of conduct, or *protest styles*. These styles were literally colour-coded that, on the one hand served as a practical shorthand to physically direct a large group of people, while also arguably culturally laden with symbolic meaning. Juris describes several concurrent marches, each assigned a colour: Blue for "high risk", Yellow for the "lowest risk" actions, and Pink as an intermediate zone. In practice, the Blue March became a Black Bloc "battlefield", with black garb signalling bodies ready to do and absorb violence in a march coded as "Blue", with its contemporary Western associations with work and masculinity; the energetic symbolism of Yellow was a banner for action, but of a "spectacular symbolic" nature. The Pink March, with its associations with the playful, decorative and feminine, "provided a space for creative non-violent blockades" (Juris, 2008a, p.62). Thus, "[i]mage is linked to emotion through embodied performance" (p.65). Declarations of identity – here declared through "styles of protest" – provided cover and inspiration for unruly bodily action with its "elements of danger, uncertainty, and play" (p.66), mediating embodied practice that might otherwise remain uncoordinated and diffuse. A collectively declared identity, momentary and strategic for the purposes of the day's planned events, helped enlist disparate activist bodies in what "Routledge (1997[a]) calls 'imagineered resistance': struggles that both are mediated and embodied" (Juris, 2008a, pp.62-63).

Events that demand both declarative identities and lived practice create "liminal" spaces, generating both "heterogeneous affinities" that ally disparate subjects (p.80; see also Routledge and Simons, 1995), and "a reservoir of emotional resources which activists can draw on" (Juris, 2008a, p.80). Criticisms of Butler's under-materialised approach notwithstanding, one can see the salience of her negatively framed constitution of subjectivities, as activists' declarative identities inevitably but generatively "fail" and alter in the face of their lived practice. I add that such emotional resources take a variety of forms (including possible complications and fracture points), and emerge through a process of bodily sensorial engagement and self- and group- management, a sort of trans-subjective mediation involving transmissions of affect, sculpted and voiced in enculturated ways, that manifest as emotion. Group rules, symbols and codings such as the colour marches might then be understood as the harnessing of transmittable affects into socially and politically admissible emotions. Performatively constituted activist subjectivities also inhabit a

tension between the benefits and pleasures of affective solidarity (Juris, 2008a, 2008b), and the potential disjunctures and foreclosures that SM performances also entail. Sporadic protest events engendering "'emotional achievement', or 'the attainment of self-validating emotional experiences and expressions'" (Yang, 2000, p.596, in Juris, 2008, p.66) are difficult to sustain and reproduce, leading to potential disappointment "when protests fail to generate anticipated levels of emotional intensity" (Juris, 2008a, p.66). Conversely, more routinised and scripted SM performances that rely on an emotional thematic base may essentialise particular emotions within historically class-based, ethnicised and gendered body-subjects. The following section explores several such accounts from disparate empirical locations: Venezuela, Argentina, Japan and Chicago, USA.

Calzadilla's account of the *encapuchado* ("hooded one") protestors in Venezuela highlights the complex relationship between the protestors' embodied practice, their identity declared through dress and use of symbols, and the particularities of socio-material context, in this case Venezuela's historically gendered political imaginary (2002). Since the late 1960's young men (exclusively) have masked their faces in t-shirts removed and worn like scarves while enacting violent theatrical protests against police: theatrical in that they are scheduled, repeated, made very publically visible, designed to limit injuries and with few stated aims other than the exercise of violence itself (pp.113-114). Once removed the t-shirt, the "signature piece of clothing of the poor in tropical third world countries" (p.110), becomes a mask, evoking the media-imported outlaw heroes Zoro and the Lone Ranger, while also revealing the torso, evoking former Argentinian president Juan Peron's *descamisados* (ones without shirts), "a visible statement of poverty and rebellion, a demonstration of vulnerability and defiance, martyrdom and warfare" (p.110).

These symbolic reconfigurations and adornments of the body are central to Calzadilla's analysis, which frames these protests as a ritual fight against the "father figure" of the rule of law in defence of the feminised *patria* or nation/woman, expressed in the matrilineal nature of Venzuelan households and civil society generally: a collective re-enactment of the national myth of Simon Bolivar's warrior-martyrdom (pp.118-120). Shirtless violence here is an embodied semiotic, as "[t]he wound is a sign of prestige in a society that values action over rhetoric, directness over sophistry. The body *displays* its own subjectivity, its own ideal memory, the 'original' that Venezuelans are compelled to *perform*" (p.118, emphasis mine). For Calzadilla's, the *encapuchados* employ a language of violence in a failed political performance, which, played out on the streets in front of students and passers-by, daily and widely reported and televised, has not only not brought change to

Venezuelan society over thirty years of practice, but has "foster[ed] intolerance, dissociation, and nonmilitancy" (p.121). However rather than dismissing the *encapuchados*, Calzadilla asks instead that we use this "failed performance" of a gendered national political imaginary as a lens for examining how the underlying legal and social structures of law and governance in the Venezeulan state might be changed to better reflect the realities of Venezuelan family and community life (p.121).

Cultural memory and parameters of embodied performance also figure in Bosco's extensive work on the *Madres de Plaza de Mayo* of Argentina. Focusing on "the intricate ways in which representations of the past, and the everyday, performative politics of SMs intersect" (Rupp and Taylor 2003; Taylor and Whittier 1995, in Bosco, 2004, p.382), Bosco illustrates how the symbolic figure of the pregnant *Madres*, used to dramatic effect in and well beyond the original SM site in Buenos Aires (Bosco, 2006, 2007), is also the very corporeal, embodied site of intra-SM conflict (Bosco, 2004, p.394). *Madres'* essentialised maternity is symbolic but also very much within and constitutive of the individual body-subject as political actor. Additionally, the very bodies of the estimated 30,000 "disappeared" in Argentina's 1970s Dirty War are also a corporeal site of *Madres'* struggle over appropriate modes of memorialising victims while continuing human rights activism in their name (Bosco, 2004, p.384).

The relationship between these two activities, memorialisation and activism, led to radically opposing views on how *Madres'* "children", both real (their own) and symbolic (the disappeared *en masse*), should be placed or represented in the contemporary urban landscapes of contemporary Argentina: placed in that there are actual human remains in once secret graves which may be disinterred, and represented through plaques, memorials, and the renaming of city streets (pp.390-391). This fostered a schism between different organizations of *Madres de Plaza de Mayo* (p.388), a contested politics of representation and embodiment played out within the very bodies of the activists, declared first and foremost as mothers. For the members of the *Asociacion Madres de Plaza de Mayo*, their subjectivity as mother-activists has shifted from that of an individual who lost a child to state violence, to a "socialised motherhood" (p.391) wherein activists refer to themselves as "mothers of *all* the disappeared" (ibid, italics in original). The *madres* of the *Asociacion* never refer to their children as dead, only as "disappeared", the interregnum of their disappearance performed as a gap or wound in an ongoing project of revolutionary social justice (p.390). This trans-subjective motherhood is both universalised ("socialised") and profoundly bodily and intimate:

> This is done through a particular imagining of the *Madres'* bodies. Specifically, the women of the *Asociacion* maintain that the disappearances have made them perpetually pregnant. The *Madres* claim that their revolutionary sons and daughters are not dead, but rather, that they still live inside their bodies, their wombs, and that from that location, the *Madres* themselves receive the energy needed to keep their activism alive. These *Madres* see themselves as embodying the activism that their "revolutionary" sons and daughters had started. (pp.392-393)

The forever-pregnant *Madre* embodies, to herself and for the public, a trans-generational subjectivity both corporeal and symbolic, coded by cultural notions of fertility and motherhood that are bodily inhabited and reflected outward in murals and paintings depicting *Madres* as "a woman who is getting old, has large and thick legs, is perpetually pregnant, and has a lot of strength and energy because she carries a revolutionary son inside" (p.393). Conversely, those Madres' who accepted government reparation payments for their dead children have been branded prostitutes by *Madres* of the *Asociacion*, an attack that simultaneously challenges these women's motherhood and their presence in public spaces as "legitimate" *Madre* activists (p.394).

In both Calzadilla and Bosco's work, the embodied semiotic of violence and motherhood operate in emotional/affective registers, where the appeal to others is conveyed through sensations and images exchanged among body-subjects (with greatly varying degrees of success). Both macho, "Oedipal" violence (Calzadilla, 2002, p.120) and the palimpsest of maternity are performed for selves and publics alike, and are further enrolled in broader political performances against the state. Reaching outside of the Anglophone world again, Marotti (2009) examines formations of Japanese political subjectivities in the context of the historical "global moment" (p.97) of 1968, during the tumultuous period of protest challenging Japan's relations with the United States, US aggression in Vietnam, and the stationing or transit of US nuclear armaments through Japanese installations and bases. Marotti argues that the use of violence by both activist groups and state security forces functioned not only as a means of tactical jousting between opposed ideological forces, but resulted in an "unsettling of the political", which is "the sign and essence of politics" (p.99). In responding to both actual violent episodes and, critically, their media representation, those many persons considered *nonpori* ("non-political"), such as the "ordinary student" (*ippangakusei*) or "average citizen" (*ippanshimin*, with its associations with postwar bourgeois suburbanism), emerged as unstable political subjects in a society where politics was highly professionalised activity bracketed off from the experience of the majority population (footnote 7, p.99). Marotti attributes the shift in subjectivity in the

nonpori to their (temporary) participation in the liminal fringes of performances of activist demonstrations, resultant state violence, and protestor counter-violence: occupying

> "a kind of 'not-yet' position that was of great concern to both committed activists and the state...the possibility of political engagement by the *nonpori* reflected an expansion of the field of the political itself as it came to encompass a much wider range of potential issues, actors, and possibilities". (p.98)

Various axes link the constitution and situatedness of active political subjects in each case: violence as practiced with and represented on bodies; the temporal ebb and flow of an SM subjectivity – over generations (symbolically and literally) for the *Madres*, months for the *nonpori*, or stagnation in the case of the *encapuchados*. Masked and bare bodies, pregnant or prostituted bodies, bloodied and tear-gassed bodies, all may generate both affective bonds and evoke abjection or revulsion. In each case the en-*gender*ing of subjectivity is also apparent; Marotti pays some attention to gender in Japanese militant activism, with women performing the roles of nurses to the men directly involved in violent conflict (2009, p.121). Whilst performances of gender in the aforementioned examples tend to reinscribe traditional roles along heteronormative lines, performances of gender and orientation in queer politics seek to disrupt heterosexual and traditional gender norms. However, such performances may also recreate fault lines of inclusion and exclusion, spatially, symbolically and organizationally, within and between SM subjects.

Writing about the Chicago Dyke March, Saponica-Brown and Ghaziani (2009) "demonstrate how the contradictions of movement culture complicate alliance-building (Lichterman, 1995), task strategizing and execution" (p.52). Through the lens of culture, within which they distinguish SM ideology and identity,[28] Saponica-Brown *et al* document how 2003 Chicago Dyke March organisers failed to reconcile two competing group goals: "their public ideological commitment to inclusion and their personal interest in celebrating a narrower dyke identity" (p.60). Specifically, the performance of a subjectivity embodied by key organisers as a militant "butchness" (p.65) and symbolically expressed in the group's chosen logo of a black bootprint (p.65) was at odds with the imperative of including other "women-loving women" (pp.58, 65).

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[28] In my use of declarative identity, I see the symbolic-discursive deployments of identity as a declaration of what could be loosely called the ideological. For Saponica-Brown *et al*, the productive cut is between identity and ideology; for me, it is between identity as declared and desired and practice as lived and improvised.

While Japonica-Brown *et al* frame "dykeness" in largely cultural, discursive-symbolic terms, I view the group's practice through the frame of situated bodies in performance. This framing centres the fact that organiser body-subjects were not only "dyke", "butch" or "tough", they were also largely young, white, educated, middle-class bodies from the same Chicago neighbourhoods (p.66). A celebration of "dykeness", framed in terms of heightened public visibility (p.59), necessarily meant presenting other dimensions of their subjectivity (class, ethnicity, age, etc.) because what is presented cannot be prised from the subject embodying it and presented in isolation from the body-subject (see Keane, 2005). Aspects of subjectivity such as whiteness, youth, income (with all it allows), and geographical proximity are not incidental add-ons to the organizers' particular form of "dykeness", but are as constitutive of it as sexual orientation and "butchness" are. Ideologically, the group declares itself to be politically progressive and inclusive. However, in embodied practice, a particular dyke identity necessarily performed in bodies left the group unable to open its performance to accommodate women of other class, race, education and geographical backgrounds. In visibly declaring the group's dykeness, wherein they "at once celebrate, reflect, and instantiate themselves" (p.66), the necessarily embodied practice of dykeness badly hampered the group's self-declared goal of inclusion. The tension between "declaration" and "life" appears in the organisers' strategy for inclusion, which they "publically defined...as the representation of those *unlike* them, i.e. those they imagined to be most socially distinct from themselves" (p.67). Organizers "viewed outreach as a key strategy for creating an inclusive event", their "primary outreach strategy" being "to attend lesbian bars in parts of the region they do not typically visit" (p.63). However

> some were uncomfortable or unenthusiastic about spending evenings at suburban [older, more socially conservative lesbians] or South Side [non-white, lower income] bars where they were unlikely to encounter others who shared a similar dyke identity. Given organizers' differentiation between 'urban dykes' and 'suburban lesbians', many outreach endeavours required socializing with those they regarded as dissimilar. The perceived differences between organizers and their 'others' may have discouraged an acknowledgement of commonalities required for coalition building. (ibid)

The spacing and placing of SM performance is key to the "acceptance" of, or "aversion" to, specific performances. The Dyke March organisers chose to hold their meetings in the middle-class "lesbian-friendly" neighbourhood of Andersonville (where the March itself was eventually held) or at their private university (p.63), spatially withdrawing themselves from those they in theory wished to include. This choice was based, in Juris' terms, on an

"affective solidarity" (2008b, p.126) predicated as much on a discomfort with (perhaps too close?) "Others" as on a desire to "celebrate our community" (Japonica-Brown *et al*, 2009, p.64). The *Madres* of the *Asociacion* have performed their perpetually maternalised bodies in highly public places, casting themselves in roles of an acceptably politicized womanhood. They distinguish themselves from other *Madres* who have instead "prostituted" themselves by accepting reparations, thus forsaking their legitimate and their place in the *Plaza(s) de Mayo* both real and symbolic, *Plaza(s)* that are maternally sanctified for the revolution (Bosco, 2004). The Japanese *nonpori*, having initially accepted to some degree state violence against student demonstrators, became averse to such violence when state forces intruded on the sanctuary of the public hospital in which injured students sought shelter and treatment (Marotti, 2009, pp.121-122) – violence performed in one place changes in its effects when performed in another. Similarly, the use of university campuses by Venezuelan *encapuchados* engendered aversion rather than popular support, as the use of violence there was out of context, an inappropriate performance by a group whose aims and means were incompatible with the campus tradition of autonomy from state influence (Calzadilla, 2002; see also Auyero, 2006; Zhao, 1998 on ecologies and spatialities of campuses for protest). When framed in terms of performance and the performative, SM subjectivities show themselves to be born of constitutive relations that are always simultaneously "opening" and "closing". Such subjects operate in a contradictory terrain where consciously attempted or declared openings to difference and various "others" might result in unintended closures in group efforts in political transformation, due to embodied or bodily practices which have effects that undermine a SM's declared intent. In the *Madres'* case, an embodied practice might itself be the declaration, where bodies are positioned not as open to other bodies in acts of solidarity, but as fleshly islands of opposition.

In this section I have focused on the performativity of SM actors' subjectivities. The performance of SM subjecthood in the polity demands that that performance is experienced by and connected with others whom SMs seek to sway, educate, or confront. My focus will now shift to this extensive dimension of SM performativities, looking more closely at the tactics and effects of performances themselves. The distinction between the performativities of subjectivity and the public performances of SMs is not that of a clear "inside" and "outside", but rather one of tilting the existing constitutive frame from foregrounding intensive effects to foregrounding extensive ones. (see Grosz, 2001, p.66; Franks, 2012)

3.4. The extensive performative practices of social movements: theatricality and the 'event'

> Theatre, of course, is rubbish...It typically involves people dressing up and pretending to be other people, putting on accents and shouting too much. Since visual art practice has so decisively repudiated, problematised, complicated the whole business of pretending, it's hardly surprising that the theatre, still apparently a way of representing away in complete naïvety, should be given a wide berth... (Nicholas Ridout on Art & Theatre)

> "Art degenerates as it approaches the condition of theatre" Michael Fried, *Art and Objecthood* [29]

> …all protest constitutes a type of performance, whether or not participants recognize it as such. (Schlosser, 2002, p.87)

As Duncombe (2007, p.11) states, theatricality is presented as antithetical to the serious business of politics. And in the statements above, it is given as untrustworthy generally. It is suspect because it supposedly deals in representations – "pretending"– and the assumption is that its representations fail to be properly representative. SM performances, of course, are rarely best categorized as theatre *per se*, and Ridout, a respected theatre and performance studies scholar, is himself playing a bit of a 'role' when he brands theatre as pretence and naïve representation. And art, including theatre, often employs techniques of making representations. But this is not the same as being representative, Shakespeare's mirror held up to nature.

I repeat Ridout and Fried's comments here as both reflective of the commonly held "problem" of theatre, and a particular extension of that problem. The problem is the assumed illusory, artificiality of theatre, and the extension is that this artifice is to be actively distrusted and not merely ignored as inconsequential. What does one *do* with or through a "performative dimension", in the context of seeking to improve or contest well-disciplined and policed political structures? Are the choices limited to either making satire of the status quo or dreaming prefiguratively of change? Can performances engender change itself? Can change itself be regarded as actively performed/performative? Or perhaps performance is in fact a destructive addiction (Kershaw, 2007)? Dismissal of theatre as an artifice of failed representations and the

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[29] These quotes from Ridout and Fried are from the introductory notes to "Stage Fright", "an exhibition exploring the nature of theatricality", in collaboration between the Glasgow Centre for Contemporary Art (CCA) and the experimental theatre group Suspect Culture. It was held at the CCA 4 April – May 23, 2009. The URL is http://www.cca-glasgow.com/index.cfm?page=236B7D10-868E-4F86-A306909B378E5655&eventid=1420351A-BD12-A488-B44F6C8B3676AA6E; last accessed 28/06/12

tarring of various performances as 'theatrical' is itself a form of prescriptive policing. It is rooted in a strong antitheatrical prejudice running through Anglo-American cultures (Reinelt, 2002, p.206). However, this dismissal has also contributed to a reactive pushing off and emergence of a rich and varied field of performance studies. While performance studies may be only tangentially interested in SM performances *per se*, performance studies scholar Reinelt (2002) provides refined distinctions between the terms *performance*, *performative* and *performativity* that are useful for cracking open geographical (and other social science) literatures that examine public SM performances, particularly empirical SM studies often conducted through ethnography.

Reinelt defines the *performative* as "giving equal status [as conventional theatre] to rituals, sports, dance, political events, and certain performative aspects of everyday life" (Reinelt, 2002, p.202). Reinelt's discussion of *performativity* relates closely to how the term was described earlier in this chapter, including theorising the move away from a purely discursive performativity toward a materialised, embodied consideration. This aspect of embodiment, and the subsequent question of how bodies mould and are moulded by environments both social and "natural" (Nightingale, 2006), informs the evolving notion of *performance* itself. In performance studies, "performance" has come to "differentiate certain processes of performing from the products of theatrical performance" (Reinelt, 2002, p.201). It has become identified with "performance art", which in her words "stages the subject in process...especially the body, and the exploration of the limits of representation-ability" (p.201). The destination of this exploration might be "representation without reproduction", emphasizing "the singularity of live performance, its immediacy and non-repeatability" (p.201). In now discussing the extensive, or primarily communicative and public dimension of activist performance, I am perhaps privileging product over process, the processes of activist subjectivities in the making (and in the making of performances) dealt with in the previous segment. What is pertinent is how embodied activist performances may 'represent' quite baldly, but in fact do not rely primarily on representations for their efficacy in communicating ideas, transmitting affects, and engendering emotions.

A prime instance of activist public performance that clearly employs representation is the ubiquitous oversized mask/heads of world leaders that are a staple of anti-summit demonstrations – Juris' 2008 book *Networking Futures*, a sweeping study of

the anti-corporate alter-globalisation movement, features a cover photo of masked activists representing all eight G8 "heads" of state dancing in a high kick line (2008b). The faces of the leaders are caricatures, playing on media circulations of physical attributes and mannerisms – Bush's small squinting eyes, Putin's stony and "inscrutable" visage, Blair's broad grin. The faces are ramped-up representations, but the heads themselves are grotesques, enormous relative to the size of the activist-performers' bodies. Pragmatically, this is for visibility in a crowd of demonstrators and police. But there are other effects generated by the head-size itself that are only obliquely directly representational. The leaders' have become all brain, and no soul or heart. The exaggerated movements required to wear such a head, to see out of it and communicate with it, make the figures puppet-like, human but not operating by their own agency. The "Head of State" is as much a product of the micro-geography of the embodied performance and the material context of that performance as it is an effect of the exaggerated accuracy of (in years gone by) Thatcher's hair or Mulroney's jaw. And as audience, already ideologically engaged (Schlosser, 2002, p.89) we cannot help but sense a reflection of our own positionality and condition in the performance of the Heads; perhaps empowered in their presence as we intuit that we *are* embodied and multi-dimensional (unlike the Heads), or distressing, as we recognise in ourselves and the milieus we live in the same pulling of the puppet's strings. While performances may be mechanically repeated many times, as lived, contextualised events they are never functionally replicable. It is this aspect of immediacy and non-repeatability in SM performances, employing but not relying on representations, that I want to draw out of the literature on the extensive, outwardly-directed dimension of protests and other public displays.

3.4.1. What constitutes a social movement performance event?

Such displays have been considered "the main repertoire of action – or even, the modus operandi – of social movements" (della Porta, 2008, p.28).[30] Della Porta (2008) writes of SM 'repertoire' events within a historicist frame that emphasizes temporality as linear, though not necessarily accretive. Regarding temporality as

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[30] It is important to note that della Porta, and any other scholars associated with subdiscipline "SM studies", refers here to "modern" and largely urban European-American repertoires of SMs. For rural and indigenous peoples', resistance may take less visible forms that manifest in daily practice (Scott, 1985); other forms of resistance may entail seeking cover in, or manipulating, specific cultural and religious rituals (Hegland, 2004). Activists involved with People's Global Action (PGA) Asia indicated that for the Iban people of Malaysia, "demonstrations…are artificial forms of resistance, inappropriate to their culture and their communities' local realities" (Routledge and Cumbers, 2009, p.135).

something more complex than "from 'less to more' (urbanisation, industrialisation, etc.)" (p.29), della Porta instead emphasizes an "*eventful temporality* [that] recognizes the power of events in history" (Sewell, 1996, p.262, in della Porta, 2008, p.29, italics in original). This view of socio-political struggle begins to share an analytical space with theories of performativity, emphasizing the radical contingency of events as complex performances across social and material registers that have uncertain and perhaps unknowable effects across times and spaces. Breaking the remaining sense of linearity, Latour (2005) writes of such performances as "achievements" or "assemblages"; temporally, they are not *isotopic* – the actants enrolled in the performance come from many places over many distances (p.200), and they are not *synchronic* – "time is always folded…the idea of any synchronic interaction where all the ingredients will have the same age and same pace is meaningless" (p.201). Davies (2009) frames the geographically dispersed but tightly networked Tibet Support Group demonstrations during the prelude to the 2008 Beijing Olympics in just this way.

Detailed attention to the time-spaces and materiality of SM performances might expand the working definition of "event" beyond "a relatively *rare* subclass of happenings that *significantly* transform structure" (Sewell, 1996, p.262, in della Porta, 2008, p.29, italic mine). When seeking to understand how contemporary SM performances work extensively on publics, institutions, and other engaged SM members, the sheer volume and variety of such performances is in itself a variable worthy of consideration. In their analysis of environmental direct action protest events in the UK, Doherty *et al* (2007) count 1471 such events between the years 1992 and 2001, with a peak of 297 separate protest events occurring in 1999 alone (pp.809-810). Their definition of protest event encompasses a range of tactics, including occupations, rallies, tree house building, leafleting and banner making, disrupting meetings with custard pie attacks (p.819), and participating, with other anti-capitalist activists, in the "Carnival Against Capitalism" in London, June of 1999 (p.810). In this light, Sewell's definition of "transformative events" (della Porta, 2008, p.30) gravely limits SM's and researchers' abilities to apprehend the scope, range and variety of means through which events might transform structures, checked by the view that event-full SM mobilisations are necessarily infrequent, large scale and directed at convincing or persuading authorities of the merits of their cause (Doherty *et al*, 2007, p.820). Doherty *et al* found that for direct action practitioners in the UK environmental movement, appeals to government authorities' better judgement played a negligible role in their activities:

> …it was political and business institutions that needed to be *challenged and exposed* rather than individuals or other political organisations that needed to be persuaded. For most EDA [environmental direct action] protestors that we interviewed, this set of targets was reflective of a politics of resistance in which the main appeal was to a potentially mobilisable public rather than to decision-makers. (2007, p.820, italics mine)

The extensive, communicative dimensions of EDA performances were directed not at policy makers, but at the entire "ecologically unsustainable and socially unjust global capitalist system" (ibid); in other words, the polis as a whole, or the entirety of the political culture, which for radical green movements is above all else a material culture of practice. In discussing the relationship between protestors and their audiences during protest events, Schlosser (2002) writes that "onlookers and authorities also perform *ideological* positions" (p.89, emphasis mine). The act of witnessing, reacting to and engaging with SM performance events – quite arguably being in their presence at all – is inherently ideological rather than being a cognitive process of engaging in debate, a relational mechanism for linking movement actors, or an emotional mechanism for generating fellow-feeling and solidarity (della Porta, 2008, p.32). All in the polis are performing their (ideological) positions, "whether or not participants recognize it as such" (Schlosser, 2002, p.87), and as Chatterton (2006) recognises, the positions from which activist/non-activist performance events emerge and take place move ideological questions to ontological ones.

Scholarship on SM performances has focused on specific forms of performance in the repertoire. Some are plainly theatrical *performances* in their design and execution (see Schlosser, 2002, for an extensive review of US activist theatre and performance), while other forms such as marches and demonstrations emerge as *performative* under the expanded remit of performance fostered by cultural studies and cultural anthropology (Reinelt, 2002). Theatre and performance researcher/practitioners seem to be highly cognisant of the role of theatre and theatre-derived performances in SM practice, both currently and historically.[31] Geographical and other social science scholarship on SM *performances per se* has been less forthcoming, with much work focused empirically on protest events and other actions that may clearly exhibit "signs" of performance, but are nonetheless not

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[31] See Leslie Hill, 2000, "Suffragettes Invented Performance Art", and Bruner, 2005, for a review of the political dimensions of carnival over centuries of European history.

framed as such by researchers.[32] A very partial list of research on SM performance events would include work on marches (Gorringe *et al*, 2006; Brown-Saracino *et al*, 2009), various forms of demonstrations (Koopman, 2008; Davies, 2009), anti- or counter-summit and anti-capitalist actions (Routledge, 2003a; Uitermark, 2004; Juris, 2005b, 2008a, 2008b), and direct action or occupations (Chatterton, 2006; Doherty *et al*, 2007; della Porta, 2008). Other work has explicitly foregrounded SM performances as "performances", but, while recognising the political salience of activist performances, does not leverage theories of performativity and performance as such: e.g., Marotti's historical work on the Japanese anti-militarisation movement *circa* 1968 (2009), O'Reilly and Crutcher's comparative study of two different parading groups in New Orleans (2006), and Blumen and Halevi's study of women's peace demonstrations in Haifa (2009).

Navigating this schism in the literature between performance theory and empirically based studies of SM performances requires some speculation and 'minor theorizing' (see Katz, 1996). Earlier I laid out the raw materials for such a minor theory from various strands of material semiotics, a briefer version of how I approached strands of relational space in Chapter Two. To further deepen an empirical base for such a project, there are two specific instances of SM performances' extensive outward effects that I wish to highlight. Both result in a co-performance with institutions of governmentality: the police and state-security forces, and the media.

3.4.2. Intensely extensive co-performances: security and the media

Both Calzadilla (2002) and Marotti (2009) provided extensive examples of the role of activist interactions with police and security forces in shaping SM subjectivities, and the role of those generative conflicts in moulding public attitudes to both state and SM actors alike. Juris (2005b, 2008a, 2008b), Routledge (2005a), and Uitermark (2004) consider (to greater and lesser degrees) the interactive performances between demonstrators and police as part of their broader examinations of anti-capitalist, alter-globalisation events that incorporate a variety of tools from the repertoire– marches, sit-ins, street theatre and anti-property and anti-police violence. Attention is most frequently paid to the SM partner within these iterative demonstrator/police performances, particularly the energising emotions generated within individuals, and

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[32] See Routledge, 2002, for an ethnographic account of the researcher in the field as performer.

the galvanising sense of solidarity in the face of state opposition that such conflicts can generate for SMs more collectively.

Juris writes that "counter-summit protests generate powerful feelings, including terror, fear, panic, solidarity, and joy" (2008a, p.64). I would argue that "solidarity" perhaps belongs to a different category than the others – the experience of solidarity might require mediating elements other than a visceral affective charge to "become" solidarity as such. Juris writes as much when describing the "performative 'assertion of agency'" (2008a, p.71) that took place during a particular conflict with police at the anti-World bank/IMF summit in Prague, 2000

> The mass of assembled bodies continued to push against the police barricades for several hours...creating an emotionally and visually compelling conflict. At the same time, the shared focus of attention and bodily co-presence *transformed feelings of anger and rage* into a powerful expression of affective solidarity. (p.72, italics mine)

SM performances that engage with police and security authorities clearly generate powerful feelings and affects. Referring back to the emotion-affect "debate", it may be possible to discern between individually manifested emotions such as joy and anger, and trans-subjective affective states, such as the generalized, positive affirmation of fellow-feeling and solidarity.

What is central to either individual emotion or trans-subjective affects is, in their extensive direction, the reliance on the confrontation itself for sustenance. In Juris' ethnographic study of anti-EU actions in Barcelona, he tracks how the "normalisation of the new grammar" of direct confrontation (2008a, p.83) resulted in ever-lowering levels of emotional satisfaction for individual SM members. As a consequence of the routinisation of the repertoire, which included a certain normalisation of relations with police, "despite occasional moments of communitas, there were relatively few liminoid outbursts of freedom, excitement, and uncertainty" (p.83). As the performance of such mass actions, at one time so novel and laden with anarchic possibility, becomes more managed by the state through an evolution in policing methods, particularly the subtler, more nuanced role police assume in the performance, mass actions lose their "addictive quality" for core activists (p.84). For a group such as So We Stand, trying to integrate different traditions of action and protest, this in itself may not be a negative.

SM researchers have recognised the increasingly partnered dance between demonstrators and police at such events, and sought to bring as much attention to the performances of police and state security actors as to the SMs themselves (Epstein and Iveson, 2009; Gorringe and Rosie, 2006, 2008; Zajko and Béland, 2008), and police forces have been quick to study their roles in these performances. Zajko and Béland (2008) find that, in theatrical terms, the success of SM/police performances for either party is increasingly a product of good design and direction prior to the event. Influence over the design and direction of SM performances is exercised by police forces through both delimitation and surveillance of the performance space, or "strategic incapacitation" (p.721), and heightened attention to the emotional and psychological impacts of embodied policing strategies. While both strategies are important, in terms of embodied performance that occurred where protest was actually permitted, the second aspect is perhaps more relevant.

During the 2002 G8 summit in Kananaskis, Alberta, a mountain resort many miles from the nearest city (Calgary), Calgary police applied lessons learned from the highly publicised violence and police brutality that occurred at the previous G8 summit in Genoa (p.728). The deliberate inaccessibility of the Kananaskis site already indicated a "spatial" lesson learned, but Calgary was still to be the site of blockades and occupations from the activist performance repertoire (p.729). Police employed strategies to minimise and diffuse these incidents, but not necessarily contain them. While the protest spaces themselves were largely ceded to the protestors, they were in fact heavily directed and designed by the security apparatus. Police had employed psychologists as advisors prior to the event (page 730), and to minimise the appearance of heavy-handedness, riot police were divided into "soft" (no face-covering helmets or riot shields) and "hard tack" (full gear) units, with the "soft tack" units prominent and the "hard tack" units hidden nearby (p.729). Activists were monitored by undercover plainclothes police and officers on bicycles (ibid), and the operations began with "the lowest level of force, policemen in golf shirts that say 'Liaison Team'" (Rogers, 2002, in Zajko *et al*, 2008, p.730). In the words of a psychologist advising the Royal Canadian Mounted Police,

> Police have learned that the application of power is paradoxical. The harder you make it for demonstrators to compete with you, the harder you make it for them to co-operate with you...People don't like to look like they are losing...If you are going to bring out the public order units, the people dressed in Darth Vader costumes, all you do is trigger the other side's defences. (Zajko *et al*, 2008, p.730)

This management of the performance space by police forces is intended to manage not only the performance of SM actors themselves, blunting their oppositional intentions (see Juris on the Barcelona actions, 2008a, pp.83-84), but also public perceptions which are often framed through the media. The police performance is then perceived as one not of suppression, but as part of their difficult task of managing the public order for all in the face of intransigent minorities, "only doing their job" (Routledge, 1997a, p.371). Indeed the media can play a powerful role in framing the expectations of publics, SMs, and security forces alike in the prelude to large protest events (Gorringe *et al*, 2006).

Before highlighting the mediatisation of SM performances, it is important to recognize that certain performances can seek to contest and reconfigure spaces for reasons only obliquely about communicating with broader publics. Gorringe *et al* focus on the broadcast spectacle of anti-summit actions, embracing the dictum that "[l]ike a tree falling unheard in the forest, there is no protest unless protest is perceived and projected" (Lipsky, 1968, p.1151, in Gorringe *et al*, 2006, paragraph 4.1). Indeed, a few SM performances are almost entirely dependent on media coverage for their efficacy, such as the globally coordinated Tibetan Support Group demonstrations prior to the Beijing Olympics which sought to simultaneously fill international news broadcasts from many locations (Davies, 2009). However, other authors point to the necessity for SMs to make claims to performance spaces not to facilitate media access *per se*, but to draw attention to the absence of a partner in the performance – to foreground an authority's silence or lack of engagement on a contentious issue (McCarthy and McPhail, 2006, p.229; Koopman, 2008).

Koopman's account of the ongoing demonstrations at the School of the Americas (SoA) at Fort Benning, USA evokes the meaning of both presence and absence in co-performances between institutional authority and SMs. In framing protestors efforts to draw attention to the "space of exception" of the SoA (2008, p.826), Koopman invokes Foucault's invisible Sovereign: "It used to be...that the sovereign was visible, and the individual was lost in the masses, but now it is the individual that is made ever more visible, and the sovereign less so, the better to control us" (p.834). Sovereign power, Koopman argues (via Foucault) is both dispersed among us at sites like the SoA, and effectively invisible. After Agamben, she narrates the coalescence of power in the SoA as paradoxical, visible as a site but absolutely hidden as a function – a "space of exception" in plain sight. She chronicles the attempts of the US Army to hide from the protestors what is plain to see, with each attempt drawing more attention to what they wish to hide. Over a period of several years, a white

line was drawn across the road from the "Welcome to Fort Benning" sign, indicating a zone of distance to be kept. Then fences were put up, then razor wire on the fences. Then another line of fencing. Then a tarp to cover the fence, and even a tarp to cover the welcome sign (pp.825-826). Protestors repeatedly risk arrest by cutting or damaging the fences and tarps in explicitly performative acts, as they have no hope of actually penetrating the barriers and disrupting the SoA in its day-to-day operations. In fact the goal of the protestors is to take down, or even tear by one inch, the obscuring tarps and not the fencing and razor wire itself (p.826). Activists "struggle over watching, speaking, and other practices, productions and performances of that space" (p.827). They perform the symbolic "reappearing" of the site in order to make the Sovereign power of the SoA visible. But the protest is a duet; the US Army moves in time with protestors, playing its part in drawing attention to the 'space of exception'.

Much like the *Madres* of Argentina (Bosco 2004, 2006, 2007), the SoA protestors perform in order to challenge the hide-in-plain-sight logics of Sovereign power at particular sites, making visible the "disappeared" victims of the Argentine juntas, or the torturers who teach hidden within SoA offices. Media attention to these performances is only one limited dimension of their function. However, these and other examples notwithstanding, large-scale (and some much less so) SM performances indeed often "conform to prevailing media logics" (Altheide and Snow, 2001, in Juris, 2008a, p.64). This tension appeared in SWS planning of events such as the Journey for Climate Justice (JCJ) bus through the Scottish Central Belt, where debates both explicit and implicit formed around the dual goals of creating short, high-publicity 'bus stops' to which the media would be invited, and fostering longer-term engagements emergent from a developing dialogue between SWS and 'frontline' communities facing environmental and social justice.

I would like to focus on the possibility of "prevailing media logics" actually foreclosing the transformative aims of the extensive, communicative dimension of SM performances (Dean, 2008). If the essence of performance, from a performance studies perspective, is its unrepeatability, singularity, and bodily affective force, (Reinelt, 2002), perhaps, after a certain threshold is passed, the pervasive mediatisation of public performance into the pursuit of documentable spectacle entails a greater risk of foreclosure than it engenders benefits for SMs.

The media orients public engagement, or "uptake", of SM performances in two seemingly contradictory ways. The first is through the selective filtering of reported material

(Boykoff, 2008; Gorringe *et al*, 2006; Routledge, 1997a, 1998). For example in the run-up to the 2005 Make Poverty History (MPH) march in Edinburgh and the (relatively) nearby G8 meeting at Gleneagles, Scottish media focused heavily on the violence and property destruction of previous summit/anti-summit encounters, leading to unfounded fears of an "Anarchist World Cup" in the city among local business owners and police (Gorringe *et al*, 2006, 2008). The second is the effect that a massive, ubiquitous and electronic "mediascape" has on "the message" itself (Dean, 2008; Juris, 2005b). This dimension of media influence, working through the sheer mass of media 'product', is more nuanced and calls into question SMs adaptation of "the logic of informational capitalism" (Juris, 2005a, p.192), wherein actions are "packaged as a prime time image event" (Deluca, 1999, in Juris, 2005b, p.194), "capturing the imagination of long-time activists and would-be postmodern revolutionaries alike" (ibid). SM actors are not passive victims of this process, but active agents, willing actors who become in themselves "a form of media" (Routledge, 1998, p.255).

The format for these mediatised performances is not entirely pre-determined. While various forms of non-corporate, alternative "indymedia" have been vital in creating viable alter-globalisation networks (Juris, 2005a), Dean (2008) cautions that even these media forms fall prey to what she terms "communicative capitalism". She defines communicative capitalism as follows:

> Communicative capitalism designates that form of late capitalism in which values heralded as central to democracy take material form in networked communications technologies. Ideals of access, inclusion, discussion, and participation come to be realized in and through expansions, intensifications, and interconnections of global telecommunications. But instead of leading to more equitable distributions of wealth and influence, instead of enabling the emergence of a richer variety of modes of living and practices of freedom, the deluge of screens and spectacles undermines political opportunity or efficacy for most of the world's people. (p.104)

Dean's central proposition is that, through processes of capitalist accumulation, ubiquitous mass communications has become a space where "messages are contributions to the circulation of content – not actions to elicit responses. Differently put, the exchange value of messages overtakes their use value" (p.107). She dubs the vestigial belief that messages still have purchase as prompts for response "the fantasy of abundance" (p.106). That the abundance of imagery from spectacular SM performances such as the "Battle of Seattle" "cascaded through global mediascapes" (Appudurai, 1996, in Juris, 2005a, p.194), does not ensure the public uptake of the content circulated; it may in fact blunt it. Public uptake of

content as a process of consumption, rather than a process of message reception (with its Habermasian overtones of communicative action [Dean, 2008, p.107]), is the point of communicative capitalism. Additionally, for SM performers seeking to avoid a diminishing of returns:

> [a]s the practice of politics becomes increasingly dramaturgical, there is a danger that politics may become more about appearance than effect, more about symbolic protest than material change. (Routledge, 1998, p.255)

For Dean, the agencies behind this morphing from the material to the symbolic are irrelevant, as "communication functions symptomatically to produce its own negation" (2008, p,107). And neither can a trans-local unity or connection engendered by contemporary technologies – the "fantasy of wholeness" (p.115) – be trusted to be insurgent, progressive, or even minimally unhegemonic, as "[o]ur networked interactions produce our specific worlds as the world of global capital" (page 116).

3.5. Concluding implications for SM theory and practice

Dean's analysis takes concerns about the mediatisation of SM performances to an extreme. She posits no solutions to the dilemma she poses for publically extensive SM performances, concluding only that we must "break…with and through the fantasies attaching us to communicative capitalism" (p.119). It begs the question whether SM actors had not better stay away from the cameras and microphones altogether.

But mediatisation is only one factor contributing to the extensive effects of SM performances. I have cited empirical examples which suggest that the co-presence of "body-subjects" in performance might reconfigure, contingently and perhaps temporarily, space itself, with space "becoming the principle stake of goal-directed actions and struggles" (Lefebvre, 1991, p.410, in Zajko *et al*, 2008, p.731). The nature of such struggles, goal-directed they may be, may be agonistic and materio-symbolic in nature, such as the bodily vigils of the *Madres de Plaza de Mayo* in Argentina, and the ritualistic "revealing" of the SoA. In the case of environmental direct action and anti-roads activists in the UK, sited performances are about contesting the role the site itself is to play, from both a social and ecological standpoint (Doherty *et al*, 2007; Routledge, 1997a). For Chatterton, bodily activist performances are trans-subjective, explicit co-performances with non-activists and opponents alike, where the result of the co-performance (and

determination of the rights to and proper use of the site) is an affective and embodied dialogue (2006).

3.5.1. Implications for theory

In all these instances, the material circumstances of the performance and performance spaces are contributing actants, resistant to translation through either digitization or print. In SM research on SM performances, often not explicitly recognised as such to begin with, this dimension has been somewhat underserved. Examining how the material contingencies of place influence SM actors (Escobar, 2001; Featherstone, 2003; Routledge, 1994), or framing protests and other mass actions as performances (Juris, 2005a, 2005b, 2008a) is not quite the same thing. Work on SMs that employs branches of what Law calls the broad field of material semiotics (2007) has been limited to some rather critical engagements with actor-network theory (Routledge, 2008), oriented more toward the network than the actor, and focused on second-order extensive or object relations, rather than the constitutive internal relations that actually comprise active subjects, allow assemblages and lead to events.[33]

Alternately, the rich theorizations on affect and embodiment promised by NRT have been, by "its" own admission, quite antithetical to use in examining political movements that recognize commonly held notions of collectivity and social mobilisation (Thrift, 2008, pp. 222-223). This is unfortunate, and I sense a hesitation here in the use of the term "performance" in relation to progressive SM politics. On the one hand, NRT-inflected versions of performativity eschew collective politics as practiced by "the left" ("a foreclosed 'radical' community intent on the pleasures of victimization" [Thrift, 2008, p.222]). On the other hand, Thrift writes that performance "provides a political instrument…[and] has become a mainstream of much political protest, both in its ability to stage events and its corresponding ability to involve the media for progressive ends" (2000, p.577). The difficulty lies with a very limited engagement with performance and the performative as pertains to SMs, which damns with faint praise. Establishing atomistic, emotionally driven actors at one end (who apparently band together out of perversity [see Thrift, 2008, p.222]), and an ephemeral post-human at the other, NRT risks excluding the middle spectrum of a promising version of performative trans-subjectivity. To say simply

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[33] See Chesters and Welsh, 2005, for a similarly quite singular example of using materialised spatial theory, in this case employing Deleuzoguattarian geophilosophy in describing the composition of the global justice movement.

that through performance SMs can stage events and get the media to cover them misses out on the ontologically rich variability of performances, what Chatterton describes as "encounters on uncommon ground...emotionally laden, relational, hybrid, corporeal and contingent" (2006, p.260).

Contemporary cultural theorists have been accused of lending intellectual legitimacy to a neo-liberal capitalist project of overarching individualism (and the subsequent and pathological attention to an atomistic self) (see Smith, 2005; Harvey 2008). Conversely, marxian claims may themselves be undermined by a "tend[ency] to reproduce rather than resolve a polarization between structuralism and humanism" (Bondi, 1993, p.90), explicit in the tension between Marx's key concepts of a "class-in-itself", consisting of "decentered, alienated subjects" (p.89), and a "class-for-itself", with its implication of "politically salient self-awareness" (ibid). In short, how to explain a socio-politically 'attuned' subjectivity, somehow surviving alienating, determining structures to become "homo awarensis", that leads to effective action? Performance and performativity can be an analytical resource that works to recast this tension into a forceful if partial exposition of behaviour and agency. Keeping multivalent and embodied practice front and centre complements rather than negates the powerful tools of critical geography rooted in political economy and Marxism. This type of attention to the imbricated performance of *declared identity* and *lived practice* is commensurate with a critical view of relational space as differentiated in its effects and how it is experienced, reflected, for example, in my confidence in "sedimentation" rather than "path dependency" as a more accurate descriptor of the socio-political spaces SMs operate in (see Chapter Two). In working with SMs, attention to a practical performativity might help generate explanations of motivation, identity construction, risk taking, resource sharing, relations to environments, organizational form, communicative practice, the whole gamut of challenges and processes in the life of a SM. In joining the existing SM studies conversation, through attention to performances that are simultaneously placed and diffuse (in Latour's schema, neither isotopic nor synchronic [2005, pp.200-201]), embodied and representative, lived and declared, we may look more closely and critically at how the forging and binding of salient political relations (Featherstone 2007, 2010) operates. It is on this basis that I include performativity and politics as a key conceptual frame in my research with SWS, along with relational space.

3.5.2. Implications for SM practice

Key terms emergent from this chapter are *declarative identity* and *lived practice*,
dimensions of SM activity that are both intensive and extensive and that together in
performance create multifold opportunities and blockages for socio-political relations-
making. More specifically, the clash between what actors declare and what transpires in
practice can be enormously fertile territory for both SMs and analysts; through the frame of
embodied performance, we establish a (trans)subject that is open to difference and
potential transformation along multiple co-existing lines. This may prove a fruitful
challenge to the politics of both essentialised identity-based grievances and over-
determining political economy paradigms alike, seeing as the significant explanatory and
claims-making abilities of both are often de-fused by treating subjects as instrumental
political entry points rather than multifold wholes, whose needs exceed the axes along
which they might be politically "cut" (after Barad). For example, I have proposed that the
Chicago March organizers' performance of dyke identity (from among other examples)
necessarily meant an inseparable performance of their subjectivity in its entirety, making
the comportments and traces of class, race and age inseparable from the dimensions of
gender and sexual orientation. This is not to imply that an embodied performance frame
dooms us to captivity in our own morphology, even though the variety of our subjectivity
meets in a singular body-subject. That the dyke organizers sought the inclusion of other
"women-loving women" in theory whilst remaining protectively distant in embodied
practice speaks to the tension and lack of singularity within our own performances,
involving "the socially situated body in a dynamic of trust and anxiety in relation to its
environment" (Young, 1990, p.131). Their performance reflects "Conscious Acceptance,
Unconscious Aversion" (p.130), an affective "holding on" and "going further" (see Crouch
2003; 2010a; 2010b), at the porous edges of intent and awareness. This can, I posit, work
the 'other' way, with the, for example, Japanese *nonpori* ('non-political ones') having their
ideational anti-demonstrator stance challenged and transformed through their affective,
embodied reaction to state violence against the same protestors. In this case, revulsion
against state force cut to some extent across axes of class, age and gender, and as a result
the Japanese anti-nuclear and war protests of the time gained in size and diversity of
tactics. In sum, we perform with our whole self, but our whole selves are not performed as
a unity in any one performance. And, as stated, the relationship between *declarative
identity* and *lived practice* works both ways, as we generate and "operationalize" the
communicative mode of the symbolic through our actions and "being", assuming these
meanings through our embodied, intersubjective selves. This fact, and the implicit

wholeness of performance, is an opportunity, requiring an ethos and methodology of *relations-making*, and wilful, sustained attention to *conditions of relations*.

While I have sought to synthesise insights into the relationship between identity, space and lived practice from a variety of sources, there remain two overarching streams in these literatures, each broaching the relationship between SMs and performance and performativity in a rather limited way. Much of the empirical work on SM performances is inflected by SM studies' views on transformative events being necessarily of a certain scale (Diani, 2008), and, perhaps influenced by the lingering influence of Situationism (see Debord, No Date; Duncombe, 2007, Vaneigem, 2006) and the ubiquity of media analysis generally, it is often framed in terms of "the spectacle" (Juris, 2005b, 2008a). Much of the more theoretically inclined social science and geographical literature on performance and performativity urges a finer reading of the micro-geographies of embodiment, those littoral zones of action, ideation and feeling through which we realise intent, but to date this literature has produced few empirical SM studies. In relation to these literatures my fieldwork – ethnographic observation, interviews, and social theatre workshops – sits in the somewhat liminal space between SM empirics and performance/performativity theorising. In the proceeding methodology chapter, I present the practical tools I used in order to work in this liminal space with SWS and the emergence of their climate justice platform.

Chapter 4. Methodology and Methods

4.1. Introduction

Thus far I have reviewed some of the recent literatures on space and social movements and performativity and politics, foregrounding the material and practice-based dimensions of each subject. Applying these literatures to my research, I have sought to emphasize how these material-practical dimensions can be particularly valuable in considering SM activity, and perhaps climate change itself, as intensive-extensive socio-material performances, making relations and shifting conditions of relations. And, while nowhere employing a performativity frame, geographers have certainly called for urgent attention to climate change as an emergent social, political and cultural phenomenon as much as an atmospheric one (Hulme, 2008, 2010; Clark, 2010; Swyngedouw, 2010). This emphasis will continue here, in my presentation of the methodology and methods used in my fieldwork with SWS. The chapter will proceed as follows. First, I refocus attention to 'relational space' specifically to SMs and the particulars of SWS, bringing this foundational idea forward in a more refined way. In this context I briefly restate my research questions and reintroduce SWS, situating the group within a working understanding of 'activism', and specifying why it presents such a rich environment for considering orientations of spatial and embodied practice in activist performance. In offering a working understanding of 'activism' I will also provide an account of the various contemporary approaches to activist research and their antecedents.

After this 'scene setting', I will describe the actual tools of the fieldwork, explaining the means by which I sought to further my research questions. These means involve both an organising methodological approach with a particular epistemological and ontological stance oriented through performance/performativity, and the use of three specific methods within that approach. I will pay particular attention to the broad notion of ethnography, including my position as a SWS member, and to three issues raised by the method: those of boundaries and sites, ethics, and the relationship of theory to ethnography. I will then focus on the role of social theatre as a research method, with particular emphasis on how subjects are conceived of in this work, and how images and movement are employed.

Recalling "socio-spatial positionality" from Leitner *et al's* typology of SM spatialities (2008, p.158), it is not uncommon for researchers to claim that their fieldwork is being

done from "the middle" (Woodward, Jones and Marston, 2009), that they are entering their field of inquiry at some "thick" centre point of life and activity (Ivakhiv, 2002; Pels, Hetherington, Vandenberghe, 2002). Considering the extent of my involvement with SWS, this could not be otherwise for me. But in spite of wandering "deep into the thick middle of things", at times there has been a vertiginous quality to my research experience, the opposite of what one might intuitively expect of being "inside" something. Orienting myself to the material, to the people I worked with and the context we have worked together as climate justice activists, has been both exciting and *dis*orienting. In other words, the intersubjective and collective process of orientation as a small social movement has – at times – left me personally dislocated as an individual researcher.

Methodologically, however, starting in the middle of a participatory activist research projects does not mean only "getting lost" (although one may be absolutely at a loss at times); rather it has meant discovering and using a different set of research tools. This chapter acts as a bridge between the thesis's two major sections, the literature reviews of Chapters Two and Three and the narrative of my fieldwork with SWS in Chapters Five through Seven. Empirical material is gradually introduced, and to this end I begin in this chapter to use 'Boxes', outlined and lightly coloured, to present supporting material that is illustrative and reflexive of the subject without requiring direct reference to it.

4.2. Focusing the research frame: questions ⟷ subjects ⟷ context

In my introduction to Chapter Two, I offered an outline of how space has come to be commonly framed as relational. Further to that, I also posed two general questions:

> How do we as movement actors and movement researchers define the boundaries and enclosures which necessarily both enrich and impede the effects of our actions, of our reflexive understanding of [space and place]?

> and

> If space is indeed commonly accepted as a "relational category", what are the most salient relations for social movements, and under what conditions are these relations most optimally realized?

As there are no universal and fixed types of relations to generalise from, two additional focusing elements are required. First, the relative salience of the myriad boundaries, enclosures and relations encountered and created by different social movements will vary according to movements' constitution, practices and conditions of existence. And second, answering questions of the efficacy and salience of relations, and identifying how activist

practices may be constitutive of (and constrained by) spaces and places, may require thinking of relationality in a particular way.

The details of SWS's particular make up, practices and their context are the stuff of Chapters Five through Seven, but it is worth noting now that some of their 'particulars' would include: their newness as a movement; their concentration in the Scottish Central Belt; their emphasis on process and making relations and alliances; and their conscious efforts to link mobile 'issue'-oriented activists with locally-embedded actors, to blend elements of both direct action and popular education processes, and to 'ground' climate change activism through a direct focus on a variety of environmental justice concerns resultant in various ways from the extractive, carbon-based capitalist economy. Running through all of these particulars is SWS' significant effort to re-orient their activist discourse and practice away from climate *change* and towards climate *justice*. These are some of the factors particular to SWS that in their enactment contribute to the character of the relations, boundaries and enclosures through which the group operates. They might be called influential but not over-determining 'conditions of relations'. Relational space is the elements it relates, the ways they are related and the conditions in which this is achieved.

The second focusing element – the way in which we might *think* of relations – is more closely tied to an analytical framework rather than observable, or 'sensible', social movement conditions, and is key to operationalizing relational space in the fieldwork. In historical work on British and transatlantic social movements, Featherstone uses relationality specifically "to refer to the productive geographies of connection forged through political activity", activities through which "political activists construct and generate connections and negotiate diverse political trajectories" (2010, p.88). He adds that, "Such relationalities are not merely a given backdrop to political activity. Rather…they are constitutive of political practices and identities in significant ways". Here we have a particular vision of the relationalities of concern to social movements, wherein the politics *is* the relations. These in turn might be positively valued in a normative sense in terms of the connections "forged". But "forged" relations, valuation of which rests on the basis of the implied outcomes, have their political and analytical limits. It is the ongoing "negotiation of diverse political trajectories" – that must sit in tension with processually forged connections – that keeps the figure of a relational politicised space as "the sphere of possibility" and of "coexisting heterogeneity" (Massey, 2005, p.9), while still enabling us to make normative and practical judgements as to the salience of particular types of social movement activities-cum-relations. In my experience with SWS,

"failed", weak or difficult relations and their myriad, constant negotiation have been as constitutive of our "political practices and identities" as those that might be characterised as successfully "forged". This is true of both SWS's "internal/constitutive" and "external/object-relational" relations (Massey, 2005, p.21).

Mindful of SWS's "practical particulars" and the prospect of negotiated relations remaining insecure and multivalent, I have refined the general questions on SM boundaries and enclosures, and particular (spatial) relations, into four specific ones, moving more or less from the general to the specific. As the goal of SWS is the promotion of climate justice in the wake of what is seen as a problematic singular focus on climate change, I use this political transition as a departure point for my questions:

How does SWS perform their move from a climate change to a climate justice focus?

What are the spatial and temporal contours of SWS practice?

How, where and why does SWS emplace climate justice?

Can we develop an impression of SWS's spatial imaginaries, that are useful for analysing the group's efficacy?

4.2.1. SWS, reintroduced

On their website, SWS describes itself as follows:[34]

SWS is an emerging grassroots movement of people who consciously work for empowering social change to develop multiracial politics and self defence strategies for environmental and climate justice...We are people of all backgrounds creating tools to defend ourselves and our communities against environmental and climate injustice. We use community 'popular' education leading to effective direct action. We aim to build a movement to reclaim space, share support, ideas, and strategies with one another across our diverse communities to take control of our lives. We are a think-and-act tank, linking

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[34] Introductory statements and declarations of identity such as these have changed several times over the period of study, and have generally become more focused on direct action and environmental (or climate) justice. They have also become more grammatically coherent, indicative of greater time and resources being spent on website development. From March 2010: "DIY Education Collective are [sic] a popular education movement committed to support [sic] people to learn together about matters that are important to them and make change themselves. Popular Education is Education for Action. Our work is politically engaged and endeavours to support the overcoming of oppression and to assert community control according to their own realities." (http://diyeducation.wordpress.com/; accessed March 7, 2010)

the issues of global capitalism, environmental degradation and climate change with their local impacts.
- http://diyeducation.wordpress.com/what-is-the-diy-education-collective/; accessed November 3, 2010)

To say that SWS's practices have not always emerged as neatly as described above is not a criticism, but recognises instead the constitutive but necessarily incomplete role such declarations of identity play in social movement performance. Nonetheless, there is a distillation of information here, providing a sense of SWS' potential as a dynamic, ambitious and multi-faceted movement, and as a compelling site for constructive analysis and critique of the living performance of climate justice. The statement reveals recurrent themes that can be pulled together and further spun into useful starting points for inquiry: an emphasis on power/empowerment (and 'defence'); a sense of working with and between communities of both interest and geography; and the emphasis on practice: a 'think and act tank' creating 'tools' and 'strategies'.

These self-proclaimed threads of intentional practice correlate with several of the group's 'particulars' I observed during my fieldwork. Weaving between the declarative identity employed in their website text, and my experience of lived practice, a vision develops of a particular kind of activism predicated on a conscious hybridisation of different social movement traditions and practices. The key to success in SWS's own terms is not the grafting of bits and pieces of best practice cobbled together from direct action, popular education and community organising strategies (although that may be a necessary starting point, subject to all sorts of trial and error). Rather, it is the creation of a sustained and synergistic movement – a field of generative relations – that is greater than the sum of those parts. The resultant 'sum' is qualitatively different from any of the means used to achieve it. While the desire to create connections between single-issue campaigns is by no means novel or even particularly noteworthy, in SWS's case it became apparent that the group is attempting to generate relations that would expand beyond the claims-making, clientelist mode of social movement practice (Leitner *et al*, 2008, p.157). They strive for resonances created by cross-community, cross-identity and cross-tradition relations-making; they intend to change ongoing conditions of relations, eventually independent of SWS' collaborative, catalytic interventions. The act of making a new political 'relations-machine' to struggle for climate justice has, with varying degrees of conscious intent, the potential to generate its own new 'conditions of relations'.

As experienced from the middle of SWS' efforts, these generative resonances are precariously secured through mindful practice in the novel, precarious spaces between creative direct action and popular education, mobile activists and 'placed' communities, and issues of locally experienced environmental and social injustice and the emergent connective tissue of climate justice. Members and allies ideas and experiences of these practices and spaces are of course varied.

Box 4.1.

Varied ideas and experiences in conversation

A "spidergram" from a May 22, 2010 popular education workshop, Albion Street, Trongate, Glasgow. An exercise where each participant quickly sketches their immediate thoughts on the current situation, tactics and projected outcomes as they perceive in the context of their work. Bordering the diagram are notes from the discussion that followed, as people shared their drawings.
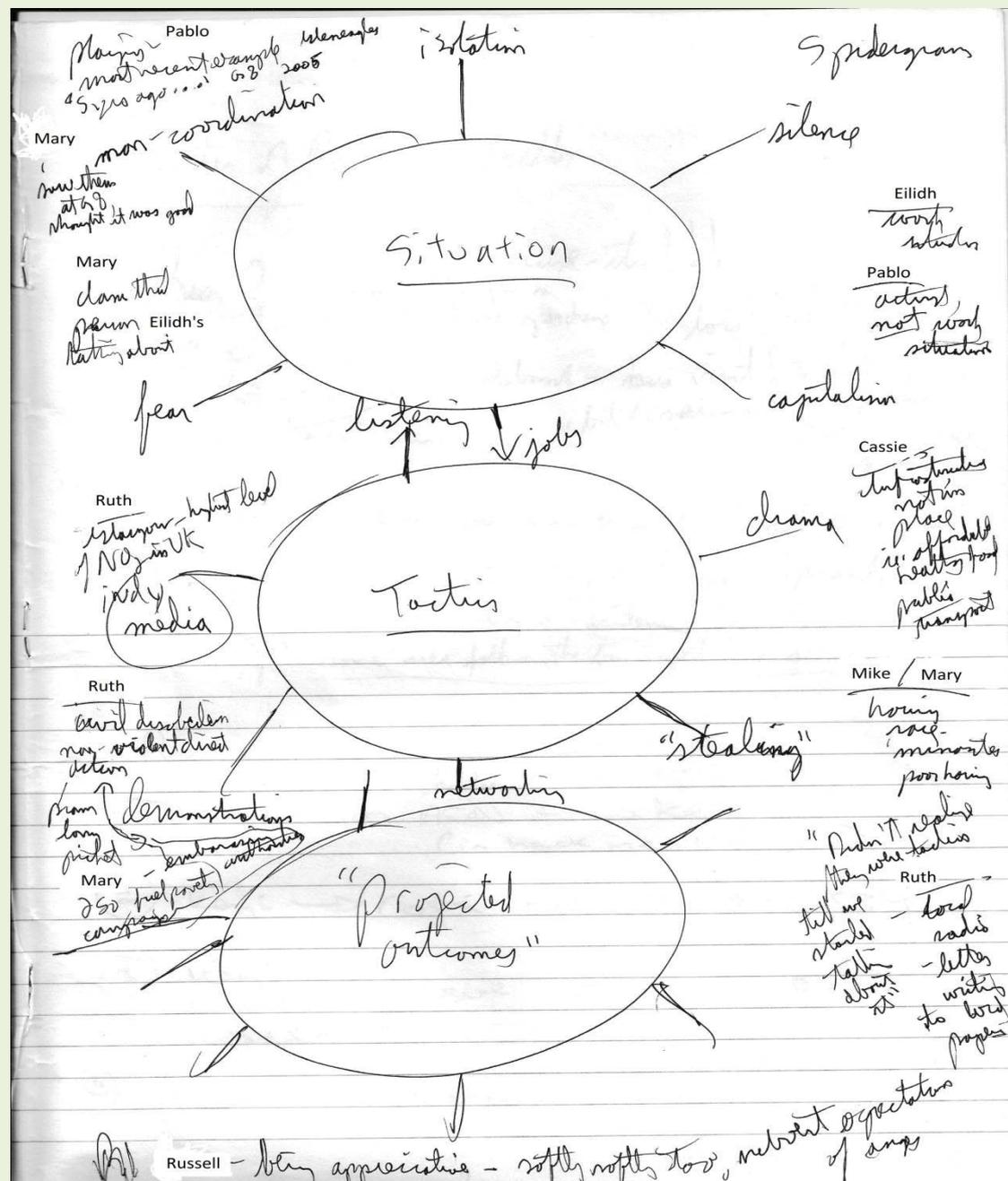
4.2.2. Context: Approaching SWS as an 'activist researcher'

The relations SWS has fostered, their combinative resonances and their 'in-becoming' conditions of relations are enacted by a particular group of individuals. For such a small group there exists a remarkable range of skill, experiences and distinct attitudes toward defining people's own activist identity. Examining the spatial and temporal contours of the group's moves from climate change to climate justice and the ways in which they navigate through relations involving power, mobility and place requires 'relating' to the flesh and blood people who inhabit the field, creating and living these conditions. Academics, including geographers, have attempted to do this in different ways; as the Autonomous Geographies Collective write, "Many academics have long sought to place their teaching and research at the service of radical social change" (2010, p.246).

Several recent review writings offer a quick chronology of multiple intradisciplinary movements towards an "activist geography" (Chatterton, Fuller and Routledge, 2007; Routledge, 2009; Autonomous Geographies Collective [AGC], 2010). They note the emergence of a post-1968 Marxian geography concerned with "the development of historical materialist 'people's geographies" (ibid) that sought ambitiously to realign the sum of social relations root and branch, and subsequent developments that, while more pluralistic in their political-theoretical frames, saw researchers devoting themselves in a more limited way to particular "key social issues and problems" (AGC, 2010, p.246). William Bunge's 'advocacy geography' in the late 1960s and early 1970s undertook comprehensive studies of housing and land use in inner city Detroit to further residents' lobbying efforts, an oft-cited example of a practical, goal-oriented academic intervention (Routledge, 2009, pp.7-8). The means through which to further operationalise project-specific intervention was however ultimately undermined by Bunge's own university administration. While serving as tangible reminder of the power of academic research to lend status and clout to marginalised peoples' struggles, specific project-based endeavours such as Bunge's arguably do not do enough to change the field of relations and 'reclaim the space' in which our struggles occur (AGC, 2010, pp.249-250). At the opposite extreme, it is also difficult to operationalise a transformative political position that remains largely self-referential, a body of theory and 'calls to' that are exchanged within the confines of university seminar rooms, subscription-only journals and pay-to-attend conferences.

Among geographers who value putting their "research at the service of radical social change", new analytical work is being done to explore how best to operationalise a publically minded, publically useful, and crucially, publically accessible research practice. Through, for example, making greater political demands on the role of the intellectual (Eagleton, 2008) – including the "collective intellectual" (Bourdieu, 1998, in Routledge, 2001b, p.118), a renewed critique of the university as the hegemonic node of knowledge-making (AGC, 2010) and wrestling with the meanings and identities of 'activism' itself (Maxey, 1999; Chatterton, 2006), a distinguishable mosaic of 'activist geography' has emerged. Stated as an ideal form, activist geography is a "fusion of theory and practice (praxis)" wherein researchers "seek to forge mutual solidarity with resisting others…through critical collaboration" (Routledge, 2009, p.7).

Set in this mosaic, the following methodological discussion distinguishes my work with SWS as an activist research 'event' with a life of its own. An event with failings and successes that must be contextualised and critiqued, that may not aspire to the many criteria activist researchers have suggested as 'good practice'. I also wish to differentiate 'activism' as a life activity from the aggregate shorthand term 'social movement'. When approaching SWS in particular it is important to recognise that activisms can be both a means and an end. Certain practices can be an endpoint for activists in and of themselves, for example the prefigurative social orders of participatory organising that mark many UK Climate Camps and environmental justice occupations.[35] But activism is an elusive field of relations, positionings and activities that may not cohere long as a social movement. This reflects my personal experience with SWS, where there exist very differing approaches to organisational means, and differing idealised visions of our ultimate ends. For several SWS members, the means were less important than the end result of organising community events, and significant attention to 'process' was seen as a diversion and waste of personal energy. While 'social movement' is a legitimate short hand for this charged and complex collection of people, it can also act as a reifying cipher that deflects attention away from the emergence of (and subsequent task of narrating and examining) the relations, resonances and conditions of relations that animate it.

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[35] For example see http://climatecamp.org.uk/get-involved/how-our-meetings-work (accessed November 28, 2010), and Saunders and Price, 2009.

4.3. Fieldwork: Ethnography

There were four primary methods I employed in my fieldwork: participant observation, direct participation, semi-structured interviews and a social theatre workshop. For months I performed each task and adopted each role, simultaneously and with varying degrees of unconscious adeptness or awkward self-consciousness. It was only near the end of my designated period 'in the field' that I realised that this 'methods machine' I was working with was could remain a kind of ethnography. I was relieved to find that there were traditions of ethnographic study that accepted both its own capaciousness and specificity while still expecting criteria for valuation – "Ethnography is the eye of the needle through which the threads of the imagination must pass" (Willis, 2000, in Denzin, 2003, p.ix). I understand this to mean that in practicing ethnography, whilst one may be limited only by one's imagination, you are also creating a form that ultimately must have its own internal rules for evaluation and boundary making. Ethnography refers to a set of research methods – variations of participant observation and "long term, in-depth engagement with specific communities or societies" (Hart, 2009, p.218). Due in large part to a great deal of soul-searching in anthropology over how ethnographic methods and texts have been implicated in reinscribing unjust power relations (Angel-Ajani, 2008, pp.78-79; Bourgeois, 2008; Martinez, 2008, p.184), there are now many visions of what can be called 'ethnography', how it is to be conducted, what it permits and disallows as acceptable subjects for study, and ultimately to what ends ethnographic studies can be employed, to what, literally, can 'be made of them'. Taking stock of the shape of my own ethnographic work in reference to these broader debates, I see three distinctions that are pertinent to the conduct and narration of my fieldwork with SWS. These are: choice of sites and boundaries, ethico-political concerns, and the permissible role of theory in ethnographic work.

4.3.1. Choice of sites and boundaries

Bickham Martinez writes that "the challenge of globalisation has particularly significant implications for ethnography, since it destabilizes the very notion of 'thereness' that's so crucial to participant observation" (2008, p.139). In response, ethnographers are now increasingly attentive to "social relations and fields of activities that transcend borders; and politically produced and contested 'places' or place-making projects" (p.139). Activist researchers in both anthropology and geography have done just this in their work on transnational social movements (Davies, 2009; Featherstone, 2003; Juris 2008a, 2008b;

Routledge and Cumbers, 2009)[36] – moving not only between communities of place and interest as sites of ethnographic engagement, but enrolling the tenuous achievements of circulating discourses and mobile practices into their ethnographies as well.

There are in fact types of ethnography that engage primarily with texts and their circulation (see Figure 4.1). Sociologist Dorothy Smith and others have pioneered an "institutional ethnography" approach to "explicating how extra-local 'ruling relations' reach into and organise everyday life" (Carroll, p.165, 2004). Institutional ethnography makes extensive study of institutional texts – their production, dissemination, and critically, how these texts are employed by workers and management in the workplace and how they thus mediate the lived work experience of people in particular institutional settings.
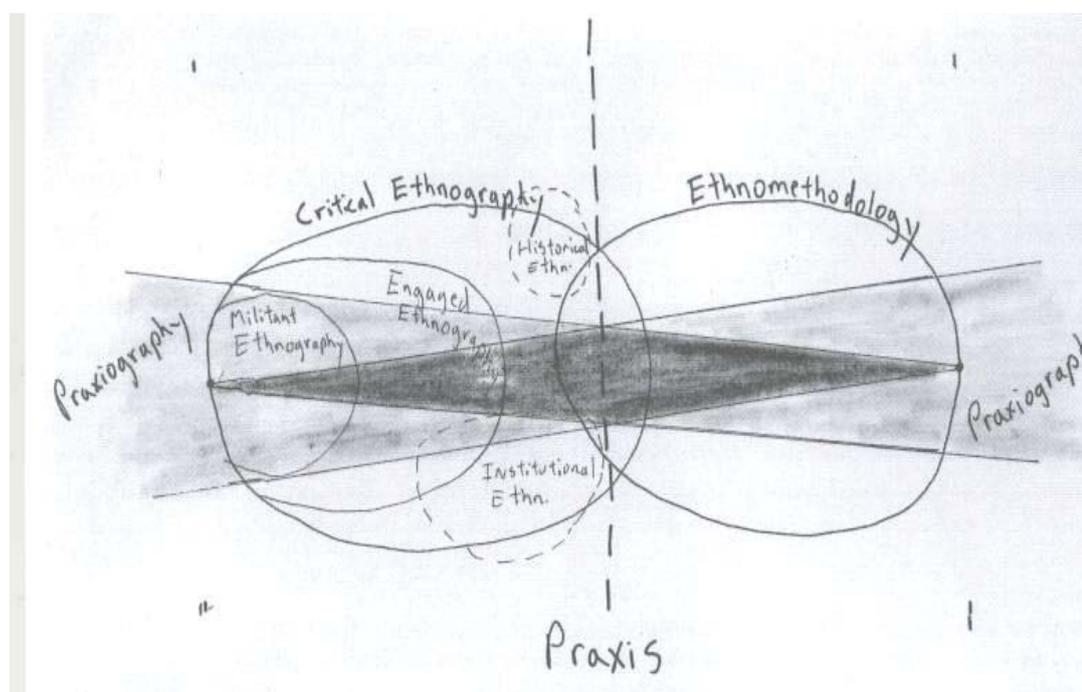
Fig. 4.1 Abstract representation of ethnographic theory and practice

Although my bodily fieldwork with SWS took place almost exclusively in the Scottish Central Belt, and largely in Glasgow, I too have had to partially enrol influences from circulating discourses on climate change, environmental justice and climate justice originating further afield, as well mobile activist practices connecting individuals in the group to other allied groups and struggles. In this sense my ethnographic work is both "multi-sited" and "multi-scalar" (Juris, 2008b, p.18). Juris identifies two modalities for

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[36] It bears noting that all of these cited works make use of ethnographic methods, but then go further by 'lensing' their observations through various modalities of social movement theory, performance and communications theory, and other facets of critical theory. This does not disqualify the working methods as ethnographic, but may disqualify their texts as 'ethnographies' when taken in their entirety, as per the second part of Hart's definition of 'traditional' ethnography (pp.217-218, 2009) – as a text that is meant to reflect nothing more than 'writing about people' descriptively.

pursuing such research with activist networks. One emphasises "the multiple, temporary, and discontinuous" (from Marcus, 1995, in Juris, 2008b, p.18), as the researcher moves with the purported flows, remaining embedded within specific communities of place and interest only briefly. The other strategy is to "situate [oneself] within a specific locale, or node, and follow the network connections outwards" (from Marcus, 1995, in Juris, 2008b, p.18). The latter mode best describes my fieldwork from September 2009 to October 2010. Part of the appeal of working with SWS was the opportunity to work in depth and intimately with a relatively small group of people over a relatively small geographical area. The practicalities of family and work life may have been a kind of constraint, but ultimately a productive one, providing the external parameters that encouraged multi-faceted relationships built on respect and personal understandings that only come with working together in shared spaces. I believe the relative depth of many of these relationships, built over time, has engendered the trust required for the more critical observations on group processes that appear in my analysis. In saying this, I recognise that for several SWS participants, relative lack of mobility due to domestic and financial pressures may have acted as constraints that were not realisable as opportunities.[37]

4.3.2. Ethico-Political Concerns

Activist ethnographers have used terms like 'engaged' (Sanford and Angel-Ajani, 2008) or 'militant' (Juris, 2008b) to describe their ethnographies (see Figure 4.1). They have sought to change social, political and economic outcomes for groups of people facing injustice, marginalisation and violence through acts of solidarity, reportage, policy critique and sympathetic critique of social movement practice resulting from ethnographic research. While researchers who hope to use their work to promote practical social change have used different strategies to do so, there are elements specific to ethnographic work meriting closer attention. I want to briefly discuss my attention to positionality, voice and solidarity, and what constitutes collaboration in my time with SWS. My concern is with the development of a *passionate modesty* through research with others – making a co-habitation for the intense passions and modest aims that inspired this project.

If Featherstone's vision of politically salient relationality proposes "productive geographies of connection forged through political activity" (2010, p.88), and Routledge

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[37] In my observation, SWS made many practical efforts to cover the expenses of members and allies who would otherwise have been far less able to participate. This included transport, food, and at times money for small training courses, internet access and even a laptop.

defines activist geographies in part as the "forg[ing] of mutual solidarities with resisting others…through critical collaboration" (2009, p.7), it is my task as researcher to be mindful and ever-watchful of the forging process. This includes an awareness of limits and the relative tensile strength of connections, solidarities and collaborations. Not only are limits and their attendant opportunities important practical considerations for conducting field research, they are also important 'praxical' ones as well, in light of some of the demanding criteria that have been proposed for ethnographically-informed activist research (Routledge 1996b, 2001; Juris 2008b; Mendes, 2008; AGC, 2010). One commonly held criterion for activist research is that it is "not only politically engaged but collaborative, thus breaking down the divide between researcher and subject" (Juris, 2008, p.20). This is a *specific* goal of a qualitatively different order than a *general* commitment to "relevance" and "criticality". I want to suggest that there are limits to a preoccupation with breaking the researcher/researched divide in activist research. It is not strictly practical limits, such as available time and money, that concern me – researchers (see Routledge, 1996b; Kindon, Pain and Kesby, 2007; AGC, 2010) have long demonstrated awareness of these limits, which I see these as ongoing challenges rather than limits in the most concrete sense of the word.

What I am suggesting instead is that there may be a subtler way of working *both with and against* the limits to praxis imposed by the researcher/researched divide, by taking up positionality, subjectivity and relational power agonistically rather than agonisingly. Praxis here would be sought through sitting in the unnerving spaces of difference, and recognising that, as stated in the conclusion to Chapter Two, axes of difference might also operate in a polar way as a powerful underwriter of commonality. Rather than conceptualising a generic inside/outside that acts as a condition of *un*-relations between activists and academics, ethnographic attention needs to be paid to specific arenas of collaborative activity. These may be conceived as littoral zones of contact, a kind of spatial domain (Woodward *et al*, 2009), or they may be multi-sited domains, only loosely connected through multivalent relations, what Chesters and Welsh call "plateaux" or planes of political activity of certain intensity (2005). SWS has characteristics of both. For example the meeting rooms of the Pearce Institute in Govan, the plans for the Journey for Climate Justice (JCJ) Bus (see Fig. 6.3) – if considered as a whole time period and set of planning sessions, text sharing and conversations – even the group's web presence might all be considered "littoral zones" of contact. And while named and placed by SWS as potential 'stops' on the JCJ Bus Tour, communities such as Linnvale, Greengairs and Grangemouth (see Fig. 6.3 again) are sites diffusely linked across a plateaux of activities.

And if we can assume that zones and sites of activism take on their particularities because of the qualities of their relations, emergent from their conditions of relations, then fixative notions of inside/outside need to be contested if the full potential of fine-grained activist ethnography is to be realised.

For activist researchers this might include reshaping our positionings *vis-a-vis* our research co-learners away from normative declarations of either being "in the flow" of activity or being a passive and complicit bystander on the sidelines (Routledge, 2001b, p.119; Juris, 2008b, p.20). Instead, our reflexive stance towards the co-habitation of "valid sites of struggle and knowledge production" (AGC, 2010, p.245, see also Routledge, 1996b) might be site-specific, non-heroic, passionately modest. It is a complex task, since if "ethnographic approaches to political activism have resources which can be more alive to the generative and multiple character of political activity" (Featherstone, 2010, p.90), this generative and multiple character must also be extended to the academic-activist relationship, making "validity" a messy and alive performance of weighing means, ends, and outcomes.

In practice my collaboration with SWS has found me among skilled and articulate individuals with, very often, considerably more experience of various forms of activist practice than I, some of whom also have considerable experience with academic institutions and research, as postgraduate students, faculty or community research peers. Co-creating valid site(s) of praxis-oriented research has involved a particular type of critical if somewhat "undramatic" reflexivity. Critical in that the process is vital and constant, undramatic in that nominally I share many of the same "axes of social difference" such as "gender, race, class and sexuality" (Nagar and Geiger, 2007, p.267, in Leitner *et al*, 2008, p.163) as my peers in the core membership of SWS.[38] As a result, the reflexivity in my research approach is redirected into certain concerns that don't necessarily take difference/bridging difference between the researcher and researched as the starting point.[39] Marcus writes of four types of researcher reflexivity that "indicate significant

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[38] To which I would add age, education and able-bodiedness.

[39] While this reflects my position in relation to the group, this was not always the case with SWS' "socio-spatial positionality" (Leitner *et al*, 2008, p.158) while working to catalyse and connect disparate communities and campaigns in the Scottish Central Belt and the Greater London. In our work we often found ourselves reflecting furiously on negotiating identities and finding commonality – between ourselves as largely privileged activists, and others who faced difficulties due to low incomes, poor housing, geographical isolation, and in some instances ethnic discrimination. It is extremely telling that the demands of working with difference within the group were experienced very differently from the way we worked with difference in trying to bring together 'outside' communities and campaigns under the rubric of climate

differences in the way people conceive of ethnography as a political project" (1998, in Chari and Donner, 2010, p.76):

- o "The most popular form": 'self-critique, the personal quest, playing on the subjective, the experimental, and the idea of empathy";
- o 'Sociological' reflexivity, "which seeks objectivity through reflections on the condition of research";
- o 'Anthropological' reflexivity, "based on the point of view of an 'other'";
- o 'Feminist' reflexivity, "based on a recognition of intersectionality".

It is my hope that this fieldwork exhibits the vital signs of…a 'feminist sociological reflexivity'. Perhaps the intersections of our subjectivities as researcher and co-learning activists were a condition of the research, indistinguishable from the conditions of relations from which SWS self-composes.

Box 4.2

Positionality and axes of commonality/difference

Russell and Yann's initial ideas on including a positive example of local healthy food activism in Edinburgh as part of the proposed Journey for Climate Justice Bus Tour (Spring 2010) were met with very different attitudes:

Food understood as an outwardly reaching and inviting practice, dependent on contexts of community habits and expectations (Russell).

Food understood as class-branded political realm, discounted from 'authentic' community work (Pablo).

Food understood as a register of inter-personal politics, with possibility of cutting or bridging difference (Cassie).

4.3.3. Permissible theory?

When does an ethnography cease to be an ethnography and become a case study to illuminate a theory? Del Casino Jr. *et al* indicate that we "theorize organizations as objects whose contours are dependent upon meta-theoretical perspectives" (2000, p.532). In this case my "meta-theoretical perspective" rests in performance realised through embodied relationships in SWS within the group's varied sites of organising for climate justice. It is a perspective that I believe reflects the workings and working conditions of SWS, an analytical frame that is commensurate with the work I engaged in as a SWS member. It is

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justice. It is in reference to my relationship with SWS's core membership that I posit the reflexivity of this research as being 'undramatic'.

animated by the possibilities of better interrogating SM practice rather than adding to an ever-abstracting skein of theory, wherein, in Bourdieu's view, reflexivity towards practice results in "the bending back of science upon itself" (Edelman, 1999, pp.36-37, in Juris, 2008b, p.19).

Similar to the growing acceptance within ethnography of multiple *physical* sites and boundaries as appropriate fields of study, the question of the role of theory and theory-making in ethnographic work is also one that presses us to define our *conceptual* "*in situ*". Researchers practicing ethnomethodology (see Figure 4.1), a conceptual relative of ethnography, seek to avoid any sort of theoretical 'double glazing', or the application of "smoothing abstractions", "concepts that...ironicise [or] stipulate those found *in situ*" (Philo, p. 219, 2009). They "resist importing theoretical constructs that derive from 'elsewhere' or are specified at a level of abstraction removed from the situation in question". For ethnomethodologists there is, "if you will pardon the mild paradox, a *deep* concern with the *surfaces* of the world" (Laurier and Philo, 2004, p.429).

However, for ethnographic work with a multi-sited activist movement such as SWS, predicated on making relations that configure sites of climate justice contention, and that make conscious deployment of varied and at times conflicting ethico-political practices, it is questionable how one identifies what is "immediately, obviously available, *just there*" (Laurier and Philo, 2004, p.429). I suggest the paradox that an ethnography such as this one, even one that employs theatre as way of making and organising meaning, is also deeply concerned with surfaces – surfaces understood relationally as a contact zone between different things, such as practices, sites and subjects. These surfaces could be a meniscus of tension, or a membrane for passage. They could be a conceptual dividing line – such as that between the temporally very different processes of practicing popular education and creating activist direct action – which SWS must somehow negotiate as practitioners and researchers.

The goal of my ethnographic work is not to establish SWS and climate justice activism as a 'nice place' for "'concepts on holiday'" such as performance and performativity theory to visit (Lynch and Bogen, 1996, p.273 cited in Laurier and Philo, 2004, pp.432-433). Instead I use performance and performativity constructs adopted from geography, critical theory and performance studies to help make the sites and conceptualizations of climate justice enacted by SWS more amenable to being written across, to being told. Consistency across sites and practices is not guaranteed by this approach, just as SWS' efficacy as a

nascent climate justice movement is precarious and questionable. And a performance frame cannot guarantee the ideal holism between lived practice and academic theory that is often demanded of activist research. In proposing the development of an activist-academic "third space" for political action and knowledge production, Routledge writes that "One of the problems of theory is that we attempt to understand processes, things, others, in a moment of cultural petrification, where we objectify living cultural-political forms" (1996b, p.400). More often than not this may be true. But the suggested corrective, that theory somehow be "lived", also seems to be a problematic ideal. In this positive desire to share "living" with our politically-engaged peers outside of the academy, there is also a negative conflation of the "analytical" with the "disembodied" (p.401). An ideal quickly becomes established and the yardstick used is "in the flow" (= embodied + lived), vs. "on the sidelines" (= analytical + static).

A passionately modest ethnography should not claim the full breath of an authentic life, and my experience has been more of a dance, useful for its stumbles and glances, than an immersion in "the flow". As an activist ethnographer, the need to sense and experience the relational 'surfaces' of SWS has not precluded engaging with theory, even that which at some time was produced "at a distance" (p.401). I have been inspired by Katz' vision of 'minor theory' (1996): purpose-built and oriented to praxis, a considered but not first-principles bound fabric of workable frames and animators. Some SWS members would consider it a failure on my part if I were to not make use of such academic resources, along with free room space, flipchart stands, paper and photocopying, successful funding grants, and my secretarial work for the group.

Academic theory involves a series of mediations (Routledge, 1996b, p.401). But rather than equate mediation with alienation from life, I seek to use a rolling 'minor theory' based on relational space and performance as living as any non-theorised or non-normative account of the field could be. This has been to support a *weaker but truer ethnography* of how SWS *weakly but truly operates* in sites and across distances that are conceptual, subjective and geographical. The premise is intimate but the field is wide. Butler states that she "like[s] [Deleuze's] question 'What can a body do?'...especially thinking about vulnerability, because he is trying to suggest that the more a body can be acted on, the more capacity it has for action" (in Bell, p.149, 2010). Crouch (2010b) highlights these actions and potentials for action in terms of the life practice of *spacing*, a term I take up again and expand on in Chapter Six, where "in geographically pertinent terms...space is highly contingent, emergent in the cracks of everyday life" (p.6); with obvious resonances

with climate change, space (and subjects in it who are *spacing*) are also "affected by maelstroms of energies well beyond human limits" (pp.6-7). As Woodward *et al* phrase it, I am striving to work within the SWS "middle regions" (2009, p.6), the region of acted-upon and acting bodies, the empirical region of *spacing,* "where space and life cohabit in holding onto the familiar and going further into what is unknown" (Crouch, p.7, 2010b).

4.4. Fieldwork: The role of specific methods

Anthropologist James Clifford writes "It may help if we view 'the field' as both a methodological ideal and a concrete *place* of professional activity" (p.21, 1997, emphasis in original). Having situated my approach in terms of certain "ideals", I turn my attention now to the three concrete activities that undergird my fieldwork: observation and participation, interviews and social theatre. Social theatre is not widely practiced in the social sciences as a research method, but plays an important role in both SWS's popular education activities and in my conceptual understanding of the emergence of the group's climate justice platform through its performance. For this reason I have given it the most attention as a method here, though that does not reflect a greater relative weight as a knowledge-generating activity.

4.4.1. Observation and participation

I have been observantly participating with the Scottish 'branch' of SWS since September 2009. This forms the backbone of my findings. During this time I have attended approximately thirty face-to-face meetings, largely for the purpose of planning, organising and (sometimes) executing four events (see Fig. 5.3): the Gathering Under the Flightpath (GFP) at Linnvale, Clydebank in November 2009, a small follow-up event in Central Glasgow in May 2010, the aborted Journey for Climate Justice Bust Tour of the Scottish Central Belt planned for winter-spring 2010 (see Fig 6.3), and the 'Living for Climate Justice: a day of popular research using social theatre' in July 2010. In between these primary events I have been linked into an enormous web of emails, texts, phone calls and personal conversations.

There have been arguments and internal divisions, and times of real celebration. The experience has been complex – vertiginous and disorienting at times. I created emotional connections with many individuals, and personal 'biases' – my orientation towards certain members' beliefs and practices rather than others – strained against the dual need to

maintain a critical, analytical eye, both as a researcher (so I could reflect equally well on practices and beliefs I found less comfortable), and as an activist (who found it personally comfortable to play the role of broker). In SWS' constant internal negotiation between putting significant time and resources into longer-term, cumulative forms of popular education and more outwardly directed direct action type events, I have tended to align myself with the former more than the latter. I have been open about this while also constantly reminding myself that the two aims can be compatible, trying consciously to push myself out of my comfort zone of experiences and beliefs, while acknowledging that my 'bias' toward slower more resource-intensive work isn't necessarily a bad thing. Taking this position can be a resource to the group so long as it is not entrenched, and so long as I make room in my work for other voices (Chapkis, 2010, p.491).

Perhaps because SWS is relatively new and has to date spent far more time planning and creating partnerships than executing actions, there has been little of the "affective solidarity" (Juris, 2008b, p.126) associated with intense and immediate events such as direct action and protest. The affective tone comes out of church halls, Quaker dining rooms, social centres and activist workspaces (sometimes cold and dark), and fluorescent lit community meeting rooms rather than "the spontaneity and Saturnalia of struggle" (Routledge, 1996b, p.407) (see Fig. 4.2).

Figure 4.2 Popular education workshop at the GFP, Linnvale, November 2009

If there is a "structure of feeling [Williams, 1977] resting upon collective experiences and interpretations" (Routledge, 1996b, p.404) associated with the Scottish SWS during this

time, it is a yearning or striving for connections, predicated on *acts of communion* rather than *states of community*. The first definition of "communion" in the OED is "the action or fact of sharing or holding something in common with others" (OED online, 2010). The central task of critique and assessment afforded to me by my privileged position as both participant and observer is to help the collective distinguish what is an intentional *act* of sharing – making relations – from any assumptions that the *fact* of sharing is a certainty; such 'facts' are only as trustworthy as the strength and salience of the relations created in performance. Similarly, with regard to "holding something in common with others", the remit of SWS is very broad. We may indeed be "a think-and-act tank, linking the issues of global capitalism, environmental degradation and climate change with their local impacts", but we are explicitly not representative of "people of all backgrounds". In "creating tools to defend ourselves and our communities against environmental and climate injustice", the notion of community – the socio-spatial placing of climate justice – is the open and perhaps definitive question for SWS. We must attend as much to the positive and negative consequences of "holding on" as "going further" (Crouch, 2003, 2010a; 2010b).

Box 4.3

"Field" observation: community, identity and popular education in practice

Mary is an activist in Clydebank. A campaigner against fuel poverty, she lobbies to make meagre fuel-cost benefits increased and made more widely available. We chose to hold our first SWS event in a church hall in Linnvale, Clydebank because it's under the Glasgow Airport flight path and has a high incidence of fuel poverty, and sought her involvement as an experienced campaigner and long-time Clydebank resident. She arrived late for the "Gathering", and found the doors to the church locked (for security reasons the minister had told us to keep the doors locked once we'd started). She banged on doors and windows in the rain for several minutes before being heard. When she entered the hall, and into a series of breakout discussions in small groups, she was fuming with anger, shouting and cursing "If you're gonnae invite me to the revolution, don't lock the fuckin' door!!" A pall of embarrassment in the crowded room. Facilitators stepped forward, apologising for what had happened. She was offered a chair and brought up to speed, in the midst of the current exercise, on what was going on.

Later that day there was a session on the Freirian technique of 'code building', intended to introduce the method to an inexperienced group of activists. Rather than creating a generalist session that solicited the queries of the whole group, the facilitators decided to focus the session on the creation of Mary's own 'code' – resulting in a series of stop-motion vignettes portraying life in an unheated flat. The assembled group was suspended between honouring Mary's demeaning experience of fuel poverty and asking questions of their own about the technique generally, while perhaps also wanting to attempt "codes" of their own that may have appeared less immediate and dramatic than Mary's. Weeks later, some members of the group and I shared our thoughts on why that training opportunity felt inadequate. Some felt that Mary, in our response to her regrettable but accidental lock-out, had been reified as "fuel poverty and destitution" itself, creating an unhealthy dynamic of authenticity that risked fixing her, and perhaps Clydebank generally, as heroic but also somehow fragile, requiring both deference and pity within SWS.

While I am still an associate member of SWS, for all the practical reasons entailed in doing a PhD I consider the period of September 2009 to October 2010 as my 'data gathering' phase. It would be fair to say that from the period of September 2009 to January 2010, I was central to event planning, particularly the attempt at a Scotland-wide community conference, and following that there was an ebb and flow of participating and observing, making time to write and reflect, then subsequently re-engaging. This pattern of deep participation followed by stepping back is methodologically necessary, allowing for reflection and analysis of SWS's organisational contours and evolving practices, and the group's spatial and temporal dynamics.

But "stepping back" can also prompt anxiety about one's position in the group: this is a complex dance. Self-perception in the group and the perception of others are influential, so to the weight of self-imposed responsibilities and commitments, and the practical reality of having limited time and resources. I have been fortunate in this regard. My peers recognise that one of my contributions to the group has been in facilitating possibilities for reflecting on practice. This is partly through the social theatre workshop, but also through other tools of this thesis research – the interviews, my habitual note taking and my input at meetings as a mutual co-learning tool. The network then shifts slightly, increasing the emphasis on participatory reflection and analysis, a theme that is already theoretically present in SWS. In an internal email to the group describing aspects of organisational change and peoples' evolving roles, my participation was described as:

…a member particularly interested in trainings. Social theatre workshops and participatory appraisal methods, that could be used by us internally and also in our work as allies with other communities and community groups. Aaron is keen to help with a finance working group to support the network.[40]

4.4.2. Semi-structured interviews

In the spring and summer of 2010 I conducted 14 semi-structured interviews (see Tables 5.1 and 5.2). If participating and observing formed the backbone of my fieldwork, the interviews helped give context and background to much of what I saw and experienced and were invaluable sources of biographical information on people whom I had known only in the present context of SWS. Information from the interviews plays an important role in fleshing out the group's origins and founding ideals, and informs many aspects of what I've called SWS's *declarative identity*. The interviews were with current 'core' SWS members, as well as activists who had had a role in the formation of the group but were no longer active, and community organisers who were interested in collaborating with SWS but were not significantly involved in the group's operations. Interviews were varied in length (between 40 and 110 minutes) and where they took place, but my questions throughout were sequenced to foreground the relational spatialities of members' conceptions of climate change and their activities combating it. My interview questions were designed to shed light on members' conceptions of place and space in relation to their activist practice, to climate change generally, and the relationship between the two.

In several interviews, I was conversing with people with whom I already had an extensive seven to nine month working relationship. These relationships emerged out of the diverse practices of organising. There are the "mundane" tasks of setting up meetings, which can involve days of emails and phone calls that might lead to only two to three hours of face-to-face group interaction. Actually *attending* meetings, which for an extended period in autumn 2009 were at least fortnightly, involved the on-the-spot interpersonal negotiation of agendas, facilitators, and minute taking, as well as discussion and debate on matters of substance. Setting up and attending meetings might factually describe the skeletal *plot* of DIYs everyday practice, much as a play might be described through the five act structure and a *dramatis personae*, but they do not account for much of the *story*. Power dynamics, tensions and agreements, and the complexities of personal relationships play out not only

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[40] This last sentence refers largely to the ESRC Knowledge Exchange Small Grant for which I was the principal applicant in November 2009.

through deciding meeting structure and establishing agendas, but also through the embodied and emotional performance of tasks that in one dimension existed as discursive "action points" or agenda items. "Things happen" that are in excess of the nominal agendas and tasks, and are also then thoroughly constitutive of them. It is through this performance combining the mundane and "excessive" aspects of our practice that relationships and my understandings of SWS evolved.

So as well as co-existing in a narrative with SWS, I also have a role in a variety of entwined personal stories. Everyone in SWS knows that I am a PhD student doing research with the group; most know I'm a geographer, and a very few may even remember that my specific interests are in the group's spatial practices and members' perceptions of the spatiality of climate change. But this aspect of my positionality (researcher, geographer, 'space man') plays a relatively minor role in how fellow activists may perceive me and my relationships with them (Maxey, 2009). I was generally considered an activist peer; in fact early in the process I was gently admonished at times for not being more forward about my needs as a researcher. My relationships with SWS members were a result of my participation in group practices and were not determined by peoples' predispositions to certain research questions. However, it is possible that the character of some interviews may have been influenced to some degree by unspoken agreement or disagreement on the salience of certain temporal and spatial imperatives of climate change activist organising, relating unconsciously to the proclivity I shared with some individuals toward slower connective processes of popular education. The micro-geography of personal relationships is central in the formation of SWS's varied communicative spaces. But even if interviews are in fact a dialogical process (Tanggaard, 2009), "how does one 'decide which facts are pertinent unless one already has a story in mind?'" (Heddon, 2002, paragraph 23).

While I suspect that thinking of climate change and one's political practice as overtly "spatial" was new territory for many people, I suggest that some of the most impassioned, productive, yet potentially divisive interactions amongst the membership have centred on the implicitly socio-spatial dimensions of SWS aims and practices. For example, when facilitating popular education events, do we gather people from various communities together centrally, or do we go to a number of communities? Would a bus tour promoting environmental justice engage with communities (defined as?) as they are and with their struggles as they themselves understand them, or will we merely be mobile activists dropping round for a visit then leaving for the next locale? As Rose (1997) has concluded,

power, which in a participatory project takes many forms, including the power to influence group policy and practice, is not a landscape that can be surveyed and navigated by a researcher as discrete traveller. But nor is the research field, which is not a thing but a set of relations, one in which the researcher can be immersed in a manner that erases difference (p.313). One way in which I can reflexively situate my interviews in light of my pre-existing and ongoing relationships with interviewees is to acknowledge that amidst all of the stories being performed amongst SWS members, I too have "a story in mind" about the spatialities of climate change and political action.

I found that the presence of my "story in mind" during interviews evolved considerably over the interviewing period. Recalling how I felt as I prepared for those early interviews in Spring 2010, and re-reading the transcripts, I was anxious to hear a coherent spatial 'narrative', at the possible expense of allowing the story to be co-conceived by us organically, in dialogue (Tangaard, 2009). During the earliest interviews with Yvonne, Duncan, Susan, and Mike there were many awkward pauses as I silently scrambled to 'translate' their responses into an abstract spatial referent structure. And, more painfully for both of us, several episodes of clumsy paraphrasing, speaking interviewees words back to them in the flattened context of my research questions: "So…you've said that you saw the mold growing in her flat…and if we think of the flat as a site of environmental injustice, is this a space of climate change…?" As the interviews continued I was much more relaxed about simply allowing the conversation to flow, while at the same time remaining true to the "semi-structure".

4.4.3. Social theatre

In July 2010, I organised and documented a social theatre workshop for SWS members and collaborators. It was a small group of nine participants.[41] The day was facilitated by a fellow SWS member who had experience with social theatre methods developed by Brazilian theatre artist and politician Augusto Boal (see Boal 1985, 1992, 1995), and related techniques advanced by radical educator Paolo Freire. I provided some introductory statements, took extensive notes, fielded the occasional question, participated in the first third of the exercises and facilitated the recorded group discussion at the end of the day. While workshop attendance was disappointing, what "recruiting" difficulties we

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[41] Two were core SWS members, one had worked with SWS for a limited period of time, three had shown an interest and attended at least one prior meeting or event, one was with a Glasgow city agency and was interested in social theatre, and two were activists and community organisers with different organisations who were beginning to collaborate with SWS in various ways

had, for example in choosing the most enticing imagery for the workshop, or deciding how much lead time potential participants from different political organising backgrounds needed in order to attend, led to findings in themselves (see Chapter Six). But the nine participants reflected an interesting mix of SWS core members, occasional collaborators, and interested 'others', and as SWS at its heart is about creating relations and resonances with such collaborators and others, the demographic was a good one.

In this section I will provide some context on what social theatre is, and succinctly describe the specific sub-field of methods used in the workshop. I then move on to three specific means through which the method worked as co-research with SWS, from the pragmatic to the more speculative. Doing this requires a more detailed consideration of how the method works through its approach to subjectivity, representation, creativity and embodiment. To help locate the method in building 'minor theory' (Katz, 1996), I also situate it within the spectrum of performance, the performative and performativity. I conclude with some brief speculation on the ontological consequences of the method for grappling with climate justice. Many of the findings from the workshop – recorded in twenty five pages of notes, several sketches, dozens of photographs, and a transcription of a one hour focus group-style discussion – are developed in Chapter Seven, 'Active and Ethical Subjects'.

4.4.3.1. Social Theatre, Boal and Image-Making as Research

Social theatre is a loose collection of practices rather than a school or movement, defined in many different ways by its practitioners. It has been "proposed that it should become a term that encompassed all uses of theatre that were not commercial theatre" (Jennings, 2009, pp.xv). *Applied* theatre, a nearly synonymous term, has been described as "a kind of shorthand [for] forms of dramatic activity that primarily exist outside conventional theatre institutions, and which are specifically intended to benefit individuals, communities and societies" (Nicholson, 2005, p.2). Resisting a sense that applied theatre "applies" itself to problems like a bandage to a wound, Prentki and Preston cite Nicholson in advocating a "scientific" meaning, which distinguishes the "pure" science of the laboratory from practical application in the conditions of the "real" world (2009, p.10). Depending on the context, these broad practices could include highly regulated forms of therapeutic practice such as psychodrama and dramatherapy (see Jones, 1996; Jennings, 2009). What does link all forms of social theatre is its "intentionality – specifically the aspiration to use drama to improve the lives of individuals and create better societies" (Nicholson, 2005, p.3), and that its practitioners:

> share a belief in the power of the theatre form to address something beyond the form itself...The intentions of course vary. They could be to inform, to cleanse, to unify, to instruct, to raise awareness. (Ackroyd, 2000, cited in Nicholson, 2005, p.3)

The title of the July 2010 workshop was "Living for Climate Justice – a day of Popular Research using Social Theatre", and I used the term *social* theatre when writing and speaking with potential participants. It was intended as an encapsulation of several concepts, meant to provoke curiosity while also alluding through association to popular *education*.[42] In this way I wanted to indicate that our theatre practice would not assume any single stance, even though as an event the goals of the collective research were in support of an oppositional climate justice group. Such potential tension between the workshop's two imperatives of open co-learning and enabling oppositional politics is already present in both SWS's overall practice ("we use community 'popular' education leading to effective direct action" [SWS, 2010]), and in Boalian theatre generally (see Nicholson, 2005, pp.115-119). While Boal "famously described theatre in Marxist terms as a rehearsal for the revolution" (Nicholson, 2005, p. 115), as a researcher I am trying to understand what a revolution for climate justice might need. Boal also states, "To know and to transform – that is our goal" (ACTive INquiry, 2010). It is in this latter vein that we used Boalian social theatre as a form of activist research.

While Western social theatre practices are rooted in several traditions, the method we used can largely be traced to the work of Augusto Boal. Since Boal laid the groundwork for "Theatre of the Oppressed" (TO) in Brazil in the early 1970s (see Boal 1985, 1992, 1995), it has been widely adapted around the world, becoming "a nomadic body of techniques...devoted to disassemblage of 'official' and totalizing renditions of experience" (Schutzman, 1994, p.139). I will try to distil TO's theory, form and aims as they inform the methods we used at our workshop as succinctly as possible.

Regardless of the particular format, early TO rejected the fundamental Western dramatic principle of *catharsis* as debilitating to people's self-understanding of their social and political position, where the dramatic *catharsis* releases the audience's transformative energy away from structural change and onto the external figure of the distanced protagonist (Boal, 1985). More prosaically, TO valorises participation: "...it is

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[42] As explained by a local popular educator at a SWS workshop in Glasgow, May 2010, the "popular" in popular education means "of the people" and is implicitly counterposed to hierarchical structures and elitist hegemonic thought, as opposed to the common usage of "popular" as "widely liked".

fundamental to Boal's work that anyone can act...The dual meaning of the word 'act', to perform and to take action, is also at the heart of the work" (Jackson, 1992, p.xix). Behind these main principles, many of his ideas were born of early experiences as a theatre practitioner in poor communities, where he confronted his illusions about the political efficacy of his leftist theatre company amongst the rural poor and oppressed (see Boal, 1995, pp.1-9). Of two seminal encounters he writes

> With Virgilio, I had learnt to see a human being, rather than simply a social class; the peasant rather than the peasantry, struggling with his social and political problems. With the big Peruvian woman, I learnt to see the human being struggling with her own problems, individual problems, which though they may not concern the totality of a class, nevertheless concern the totality of a life. (p.7)

From these precepts and experiences, TO and its three main forms, Forum Theatre, Image Theatre and Invisible Theatre emerged (Jackson, 1992, p.xix). For twenty years these forms circulated worldwide. Forum Theatre, a facilitated community problem-solving tool that asks participants to enact their own solutions to oppression in 'life-like' scenes created by the group, has attracted the most attention. However, a major shift in Boal's theory and practice occurred as a result of his exile in Europe (1976-1991), where he posited that many oppressions experienced by people living in the relative wealth and security of Western Europe and North America had become so internalised that they were no longer identifiable as such (Boal, 1995). After several years of experimentation, by the early 1990's he developed a set of techniques called 'Rainbow of Desire' (RoD) (Boal, 1995), an extension of TO centred on creative image-making rather than constructing 'problem scenes', altering the oppressor/oppressed dualism that underpins much 'classic' Forum Theatre. The workshop facilitator and I agreed that RoD image techniques were best suited to keeping the question "What is climate justice?" as open as possible. As the image-making process is central to method, much more fully explored in Chapter Seven, I provide a description by leading UK practitioner and translator of Boal's work, Adrian Jackson:

> Image Theatre is a series of exercises and games designed to uncover essential truths about societies and cultures without resort, in the first instance, to spoken language – though this may be added in the various 'dynamisations' of the images. The participants...make still images of their lives, feelings, experiences, oppressions; groups suggest titles or themes, and then individuals 'sculpt' three-dimensional images under these titles, using their own and other's bodies as the 'clay'. However, the image work never remains static...the frozen image is simply the starting point for...the action, which is

revealed in the dynamisation process, the bringing to life of the images and the discovery of whatever direction...is innate in them. (Jackson, 1992, p.xix)

'Dynamisation' refers to the various ways in which the facilitator guides participants in animating their still images, linking and iteratively changing them.

The workshop contributed to this research in two distinct ways, the second of which leads us to a different way of thinking about knowledge-production and indeed starts a new section of the chapter. First, notwithstanding limitations noted in Chapter Seven, the event was popular and collective activist research produced *by* SWS, for SWS, its collaborators and peers. The process of organising and executing the day led to connections and conversations that continued for some time. The event had practical political value to the participants and to SWS as a whole, as well to myself as an academic. It became part of the ongoing research, theorizing and dissemination of materials that activists conduct outside of the academy (Juris, 2008b, pp.21-24), and is a documented example of the applied practice of social theatre after SWS' commitment to employing popular education practices. As will be seen in Chapter Seven, the workshop facilitator wove the popular education techniques of coding/decoding into the image-making process (Freire, 1996, pp.86-105)

4.4.3.3. Subjectivity, Performance and different ways of knowing

Second, the experience provided a different perspective on discourses of climate change, and climate and environmental justice. Getting participants engaged with their bodies, with others and with their surroundings prompted different forms of expression than result from interviews or seated group discussion. It does not replace "discourse", because discourse, often conceived as speech or text acts, is not a matter of delivering and interpreting signs alone. For Boal "movement is in itself a writing. This writing can and must be read" (1995, p.67), and movement is rooted in "self-consciousness". Critically, the "self" here is always social, constituted among others: "self-consciousness [is] a means to examine interpersonal, which is to say ideological, experience" (Auslander, 1994, p.125). Self-consciousness shared may then be self-consciousness opened to transformation.[43] This is why variants of social theatre are used in education, therapy, and community action research. RoD is then a technique of self-awareness and transformation

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[43] Self-consciousness as used by Boal and Auslander is related to the Portuguese term *conscientização* employed by educator Paolo Freire, and shouldn't be confused with the common English meaning of social anxiety or embarrassment, although that may of course be present.

as well as another mode of expression and information sharing. As research, the latter is allied to the typical information-seeking function of social science methods, while the former addresses the also-desired action element of the research, providing participants with a mechanism for examining their activist practice and the context in which it takes place. SWS activities with a dual focus of relations-making with others while providing participatory opportunities to reflect on practice included the 'Gathering under the Flightpath '(November 2009) and the May 2010 follow up event, the July 2010 social theatre workshop, and even elements of the SWS AGM in Manchester (November 2010).

While based in embodied images and movement, RoD is not preoccupied with pre-discursive states or bodily attunements (see Nash, 2000). Rather, it operates through multiple registers of movement and stillness, speech and silence, reaction and consideration, affect and emotion. RoD participants might "represent" situations, but their ability to share, examine and transform these situations does not stem from the facility of accurate representation (see Grosz, 2008). Further, the re-ordering of space is central, and space is both an explicit constitutive factor and an implicit presence throughout. A foundational concept is breaking down "the fourth wall"[44] between passive spectators in an audience and performers set apart on stage, who have the privilege of acting and speaking.

> Since the division between stage and audience is not only spatial and architectural, but also intensely subjective, it dampens, discourages, and deactivates the 'audience' part....(Boal, 1995, p.20)

For Boal, "all human beings are Actors (they act!) and Spectators (they observe!). They are Spect-Actors" (Boal, 1992, p.xxx) and all must be able to inhabit the aesthetic space, the "extreme plasticity" of which "allows and encourages total creativity" (Boal, 1995, p.20). But "total creativity" never simply happens of its own accord. The aesthetic space is one of potential only, it "liberates memory and imagination" (p.21). Such a liberation may happen only through the co-presence of body-subjects in shared space. But the presence may not even need to be in shared *time*, for

> The affective space thus created...is at one and the same time *what it is* and *what it has been* or what it could have been, or what it could become. It is in the present, but also in the remembered past or the imagined future. In the present, the observer sees the past – or simulates the future – which she juxtaposes with her own perceptions...In the affective dimension, the subject

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[44] In theatre, the invisible plane between the actors and the audience at the front of the stage is called "the fourth wall".

> observes the physical space and projects onto it his memories and his
> sensibility. He remembers situations lived or desired, successes and failures;
> he is swayed by everything he knows, and also by all that dwells obstinately in
> his unconscious. (p.22, italics in original)

"Total creativity" is thus a capacity both enabled and circumscribed by lived experience, and creative acts in the affective space are an assemblage achieved across many times and spaces (Latour, 2005, pp.200-201). The image-making techniques of RoD are the means by which creative capacities, locked within embodied sediments of passive reception (Dewsbury, 2012; Read, 1993, p.151) and alienation from our bodily-knowing selves, are explored and expanded. These take the form of group games and exercises. In this context, games take participants out of comfort zones of comportment and sociality. They are almost always very simple in design, and indeed part of leaving ones social comfort zone simply involves play and the pleasures of a group-sanctioned vulnerability. They also teach us new ways of using and perceiving our bodies. At a University of Glasgow workshop (on risk and vulnerability in research) that used RoD, one participant, after positioning his body in an unfamiliar and vulnerable position, commented "it wasn't me, it was someone else".[45] In a RoD workshop, people gain a new acquaintanceship with their bodies as part of the way they experience and know the world. This experience and knowledge is used in image-making exercises, based on participants' embodied creative capacities, which are drawn from multiple space-times.

The "affective space" is a liminal one, between the stage and the everyday, staged and unstaged selves, self-conscious and un-conscious selves, process and presentation. Revisiting Reinelt's distinctions between the terms *performance*, *performative*, and *performativity* (2002), I would locate RoD in "the performance of performativity" (Heddon, 2002). There are productive tensions between what Auslander calls "self-consciousness" (1994, p.125), and the precarious achievements of subjectivity that performativity theory enjoins us to consider, with multiple selves involved – the self that is performed and the self performing (Heddon, 2002). This second performing self is a self-conscious one: in the colloquial sense of being uncomfortably self-aware, and in the sense that however contingent or partial our identities might be, there is a self – a version of ourselves – whom we like to hold onto, exploit and present in order to accomplish or protect certain things. Rather than dismantling this presentational self, it is important to honour the fact that such presentational versions of ourselves are very powerful. They

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[45] On February 26, 2010, I invited the Edinburgh-based social theatre research group ACTive INquiry to facilitate a workshop for University of Glasgow researchers on the theme of risk, vulnerability and uncertainty in research. See http://www.activeinquiry.co.uk/ for information on their aims and activities.

function in part to maintain our "ontological integrity" (Young, 1990, p.131). In this vein they allow us to operate socially along the meniscus of tentative self-control within a "situated activity" (Goffman, 1997, p.39), and vulnerability to re-orderings of subjectivity that might bleed outside of the situated activity into other contexts and self- presentations. As stated in Chapter Three, we may perform with our whole self, but our whole selves aren't performed as a unity in any one performance. In this way, the body-subject holds on and goes further (Crouch, 2003, 2010a, 2010b), along the seam of declarative identity and lived practice.

Box 4.4

Ethnography among a group of 'selves'

Yvonne [the workshop facilitator] asked "which discussion are you most interested in, *in this moment, inside yourself*"

Those last two clauses are key qualifiers. It is a subtle but fairly direct admonition to respond to the image as a set of bodies before you, in a relationship that includes you, even obliquely, in its compass. *Inside yourself* – is this an appeal that's meant to go past the rationally analytical towards something much more emotional and personal? No appeal here to something "transpersonal". In this moment and inside yourself seem to add up in pointing toward what we call a "gut reaction". Unmeditated on, and born out of instinct and desire. How people responded is of course ultimately unknowable, but I am attempting to piece together a story based not simply on conjecture, but a critical analysis of how people participated, what they did, and what they said about what they did and saw, and critically, *what they did in response to what others did*.

4.4.3.4. Ontology: the performative register, SWS and climate change

Grosz writes that for Deleuze and Guattari, philosophy, art, and science are three different means to "enframe chaos, each in its own way, in order to extract something consistent, composed, immanent, which it uses for its own ordering (and also deranging) resources" (2008, p.8). Each enframe chaos and extract consistency in different ways:

...philosophy is primarily oriented to the creation, elaboration, and development of concepts...science primarily develops *functions*...to address and exchange with chaos; and art elaborates, produces, and intensifies *affects* and *precepts* as its mode of response to and contamination by chaos. (p.27, italics in original)

In this chapter I have sought to lay out a methodology to develop functions which can bear, and perhaps extract consistency from, the non-conforming forces of the conceptions and affects of a group of people. A particular group of people themselves trying to enframe somewhat well-rehearsed socio-economic struggles within the new epochal paradigm of climate change and its own 'contaminating chaos'. Theoretical concepts, functional methodological devices and affective responses to relations-making and conditions of relations are hybridized and brought together to engage

the emergent phenomenon of climate change – understood…*simultaneously as physical transformation and cultural object*, as a mutating hybrid entity in which the strained lines between the natural and the cultural are dissolving. (Hulme, 2008, p.5, italics mine)

RoD operates along similar lines. It facilitates, through the transformation of body-subjects, the teasing apart, analysis and reconstitution of socio-political events, events that in the same facilitation process are themselves foregrounded as material and affective. It does not divide subjectivity into pre-discursive or discursive modes – into either a disembodied "mind in a vat" (Latour, 1999, p.4) or an essentialised sensuous body, or into atomistic subjects on the one hand and unrecognizable post-human entities on the other.

While social theatre as experienced by participants knits the social and material together in one broad operation, as research it operates in two distinct keys. First, as an alternative affective platform for expression and interpersonal reflection on the relations and space-times of climate justice, it expands the circle of qualitative 'data' admissible to traditional social science field research. In this sense it remains an interrogative tool with social science cognates. The second key queries ontology, speculating on the resonances between the embodied aspect of the method and the aspect of embodiment in the subject of study. It is not only speculative; it may impinge on the cosmological. Entering this speculation is riskier than simply adding a performative method to a research repertoire as a means of expanding communicative possibilities. It is misplaced to seek like for like, putting them together in a false relationship, expecting an equivalence between the materialites of embodied experience in a workshop setting and the materialities of experienced places, locales, environments (or those projected through an experientially-

informed imagination, as per Boal). It is naïve and misguided to equate the embodied experience of doing social theatre with other embodied experiences, such as living next to an airport or attending a protest, in a like to like relationship. But there are critical lines of inquiry in which the hybridity of social theatre as both a discourse-expanding method and a cosmological proposition is a strength. This requires thinking through the theoretical suppositions behind the methodology as a whole – materially relational space and imminence in performance, taking seriously the meta-ontology of material semiotics. Hulme (2008), in his call for geographers to reorient their practice toward the cultural dimension of climate change, supplies a testing project for this. He writes that we must

> reclaim climate from the natural sciences and…treat it unambiguously as a manifestation of both Nature and Culture, to assert that the idea of climate can only be understood when its physical dimensions are allowed to be interpreted by their cultural meanings…Climate change knowledge and meaning travels uncomfortably across scales and needs constant re-interpretation as it is applied in different spatial contexts. (p.6)

To this I would add an important qualification, that "meaning" be understood not only as a culturally shared supposition, but also in the sense that to *mean* something, the thing in question must *do* something, and do it to other things and subjects. Thus meaning becomes a matter of the thing's *function* in relations for, on, and between objects and subjects. As Guattari writes:

> the unconscious doesn't mean anything, nor does language…The only question is how anything works, with its intensities, flows, processes, partial objects– none of which mean anything. (Guattari, in Deleuze, 1995, p.22)

My embodied presence as an ethnographer and the use of RoD approach the *function* – crashings into and reactions between – of things when SWS organizes to re-cast climate change as a placed social-natural phenomenon, framing it as an immediate environmental justice issue that affects members of local communities here and now, on maps and in homes. Locality and immediacy are magnified as a spatial consideration by SWS' declared aim of using necessarily intimate and interactive popular education methods with communities. This consideration must then be situated in relation to the far more abstracted temporal-spatiality of climate change as universal, global and frustratingly intangible – the hegemonic IPCC version of climate change (Hulme, 2008). Attention to the functions of embodied and relational activities may not supersede the cultural suppositions affixed to meanings of climate change, of the environment, of industry, of

protest, of activism, of community and well-being. But not attending to them is a missed critical opportunity. Social theatre instantiates what Read has called the social immanence of performance, where "performance affects mutate at the boundaries between those things that are already social and those things that are not yet social" (2008, p.43). It addresses both the littoral zone of activists' bodies and material lifeworlds, and the dimensions of their politics that are formalised through circulating texts and shared logics, such as their declarative identities and rationalised critiques of climate change as an environmental justice issue.

Box 4.5

Decoding an image: on the possibilities of acting and doing rather than assuming

Question raised: Can the puppet actually look behind themselves to see "the boss" or puppeteer? Do they have any agency in the situation? Is the puppet a useful figure for the scene- what does it say? What is it saying about agency, manipulation and responsibility? In discussion it was implied that technically a puppet cannot turn around and look at the puppeteer, further implying that the worker or intermediary figure it was representing was not capable of seeing the system behind them.

I intervened, not sure how welcome it was, and said:

"We 'know' intellectually what a puppet *can't* do, but unless we embody a puppet we don't know what it *can* do."

I was trying to drawn them closer to the method of movement rather than discussion, and in the shambling process we created a kind of blended moment of learning based on the shock of the recognition of the difference between physical and verbal action (this is my hope at least)

As to the 'emplacing' of climate justice, we did not represent an extant external place of SWS' climate change activism within the walls of the workshop space, seeking abstract extrapolations about participants' behaviours in relation to particular places of climate change activism. Precisely the point is that differing places are not proxies for one another, that place is a contested, evolving agreement of sorts. What I hope was possible

in the "affective space" was to examine the terms and conditions of this contested and evolving agreement that constitutes meaningfully relational spaces of climate change. Social theatre may provide a way to revisit the terms of the socio-material accord (see also Serres, 1995), exploring what is most salient to a group of subjects engaging the particulars of place both as a cartographical location of climate change causes and effects, and place as a catchment of meaningful activity (Escobar, 2001; Massey, 2004).

4.5. Conclusion

Methodologically, a performativity approach works against a separation of voluntarist human agency from other social and material processes, those that are either considered out there in the world beyond our reach – Nature, or abstract Space (see Ingold, 2006), or in some inaccessible personal interior – the realm of psychology, emotion, or for some the spirit or animus (see Pulido, 2003). In its relationship to broader theoretical debates, this methodological approach has ontological consequences, but is not based in a commitment to any singular ontological orthodoxy. Leitner *et al* (2008) write that

> In Anglophone geography, there is a tendency not only to swerve from one fashionable spatiality to the next, but also to construct ontological rationales for the choice of one or the other as the master spatiality. The practice of contentious politics is quite different, however… cobbling together different spatial imaginaries and strategies on the fly, without deep reflection on the philosophical implications. (p.158)

In the methodology's practical orientation to SWS, examining the spaces of climate-oriented politics doesn't require a "master spatiality" underwritten by a novel ontology. Regarding the reference to philosophy here, SWS' reflections may not be philosophical in Leitner *et al*'s sense of the term, but they are ethically minded reflections on guiding principles and frames such as popular education, direct action, creative practice, environmental justice, and "frontline communities". Kirby and McKenna define praxis as "thoughtful reflection and action that occurs simultaneously...the integration of knowing and doing" (1989, p.34). Even as such reflections occur within the heat of organising and acting (Leitner *et al*, 2008, p.158), they are philosophical in Grosz' use of the term, a means of enframing and extracting consistency from chaos, in a manner "primarily oriented to the creation, elaboration, and development of concepts" (2008, p.27). In this sense, a layered methodology of observation, participation, interview and theatre is attuned

to SWS ideational life, emergent as it is from the interplay of formalised discourses, their 'tests' in practice, and the unanticipated results of myriad encounters.

"Spacing" requires both the familiar and the unknown (Crouch, 2010b, p.7). An ideal ethnomethodology might ask us to bracket off that unknown. At the risk of adding a further layer to situating this ethnography, Mol speaks of a *praxiography* (see Fig. 4.1), where "talk about what is, does not bracket the practicalities involved in enacting reality. It keeps them present" (2002, pp.53-54). Since "realities...are produced, and have a life, in relations" (Law, 2004, p.59), it follows that the particular frames and spatialities of our methods used to explore those relations must remain present in the outcomes, or "findings". Performance and performativity don't disappear as analytical frames as we enter performance and performativity as constitutive processes; in this case the frame is an integral part of composing the ethnographic picture.

Iterating between my field experience and insights from the work of others, I have attempted to engineer a 'minor methodology' that aims for "weak explanations" (Latour, 1988, p.174, in Bingham, 2003, p.159) of: complex processes of multi-sited placing and organising, reconceptualisation of the hegemonic and anodyne discourse of climate change, and the "spacing" of relations that might matter towards performing a climate justice, as multi-sited, both intimate and global (Pratt and Rosner, 2006), a micro-geopolitics (Pain, 2009; Pain and Askins, 2011). I have also sought to situate this project within the corridors of activist research. Using this methodological framework, in the following chapters I will present three narrations of SWSs emergent climate justice platform, worked more by theme than chronology. Chapter Five, 'Foundations', is the briefest and addresses SWS's origin story and *raison d'être*; Chapter Six, 'Climate Justice Performed', explores the process of the improvisational emergence of SWS climate justice as events and activities were deliberated and (sometimes) carried out, and the creative tensions that result from the heterogeneity of their approach and the scope of their aims. Chapter Seven, 'Active and Ethical Subjects', uses the affective space of the Living for Climate Justice workshop to investigate the relations-making, conditions of relations and spacing of climate justice as they are imagined and played out between gathered SWS members and allies.

Chapter 5. So We Stand Foundations

…and the other thing that I've learned as well, which links to why I got involved with DIY [SWS], is I spent years looking for a group I could work with, because I didn't have the confidence to just be me, and do it myself.
- Amy, interview, 2010

Like, boom, this is your space. Do something with it and see you there.
- Cassie, interview, 2010

5.1. Introduction

By way of re-introduction, SWS is a syncretic social, environmental and economic justice movement catalysed by the imperatives of climate change – including members' dissatisfaction with existing activist approaches to the issue. In this chapter I will introduce the basic constitutive components of So We Stand as a small evolving SM, focusing on SWS origins and early development. I will also attend briefly to the process of translating the performance of an organisation and its ethos into this written narrative, and how these reductive technical specifications might act as base from which a story expands.

This chapter lays out SWS' basic structure in terms of timelines, biographies and organisational form. It introduces those members who have been involved since SWS' inception, and includes those who have since left the group after contributing to its formation. A time frame for the group's origins is established, marking the period of my entry into the group and the series of meetings and events that dominated the participant observation dimension of my fieldwork. Through interviews and close organising work with many of these individuals, a portrait of several activists will be presented, foregrounding their initial interest in SWS, and tracking the motivations and practical considerations that led to their involvement. These portraits are drawn from those activists involved in both 'core' Scottish activities (i.e. conceived during SWS meetings and using SWS-generated funds) and projects organised independently with 'outside' allies that were then brought in under the SWS network banner. Vignettes of particular SWS organising practices will appear, based on my participation in organising two early events: the 'Gathering Under the Flightpath' (GFP) at Linnvale, Clydebank, November 2009, and the aborted 'Journey for Climate Justice' (JCJ) bus tour across the Scottish Central Belt (SCB). Along with these observations, respondents' views on SWS' structure – just *what* is it? does it matter? – are included as comment on SWS organising practices. These aspects of

activity – temporal, biographical and organisational – are presented against the backdrop of SWS's foundational aims of *making relations* and *conditions of relations*.

5.2. Narrating a performance

Theirs is a complex story that I have described as an evolving performance. Though 'portraits' and 'vignettes' may momentarily fix facets of ongoing lived practices, without enrolment into a narrative they are parts without a sum. It is the narration of relations between such lives and practices, the analysis of SWS' connective tissue, which testifies to SWS in action. Crang writes that analysis "works by taking an existing pattern of material and breaking it down, and then recomposing a new one" (2003, p. 133). Here we are about to approach a variety of empirical materials (field data), which have already been loosely pre-ordered by other conceptual materials (literatures on spatiality, subjectivity, performance and politics). To recompose an analytical pattern that has some fidelity to So We Stand, rather than to abstract stand-in versions of SMs and climate change, I frame these three analytical chapters as the active narration of So We Stand's developing climate justice platform (See Fig. 5.1). It is an ethnographic account (a narrative or story) of an ongoing process with which I have been intimately involved (active); experiential, partial and knit together from both empirical and conceptual materials.
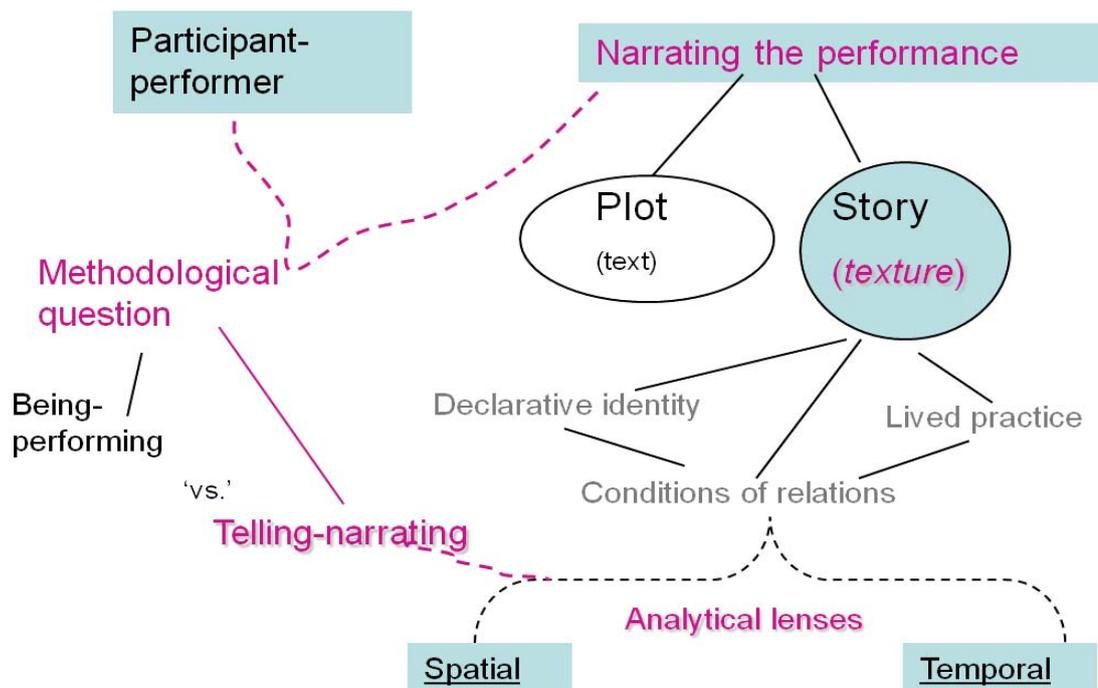
Figure 5.1 The dual roles of narrating a performance of climate justice

This approach is a practical, technical response to the necessity of "writing up", but it is not a neutral or value-free one; as I replied to an interviewee, in response to a burst of recollections, "OK. So, wow that's quite a story of…well I guess the danger is that someone comes along and puts a story on top of that". To speak openly of narration centres the constructedness of the account, and requires us to keep visible the devices we use to assemble, order and process the elements that comprise the performance of climate justice. Figure 1 charts the division of labour between participation and narration, born of the pragmatic need for moving from field to page but also consciously conditioned by "abductive" (Crang, 2003, p.132)[46] manoeuvres and categorisations. The narrative is animated by:

- ❖ The **texture** of story, found in
  - ➢ The connective **tissue** of
    - ▪ **Declarative** identity, **lived** practice and **conditions** of relations
      - • examined through **lenses** both
        - ♦ **spatial** and **temporal**

But although we may be in the "thick middle" of textures and tissues, we are not entirely without anchors or referents. In Chapter Four, it was stated that rather than forming a coherent constitutional foundation, SWS' (largely online) texts play an important role in presenting outward-facing declarative identities to diverse publics, and inward-facing touchstones or principals for organising to SWS members. To write of SWS requires writing of their writings, but it also means not "trusting" these texts to tell a story on their own. What these texts – anonymously and at times collectively written, posted online (if they made it that far), taken down, revised, spliced, deleted or recycled and re-posted again – can do is provide certain markers that may, if the texts are trusted as fragments of intent and not coherent parts of a constitution, act as referents along which a performance of climate justice might be 'plotted'. These referents are active in the sense that they provide benchmarks for SWS' claims, but also somewhat 'inorganic' or 'inert' in that while they are discursive anchor points, they exist in a shifting littoral zone of lived practice (see Chapter Three) in which evolving narratives thrive, adopt and adapt. They are referents that can dissolve from members' view, but are aids to the observer in developing an "abductive" explanatory story one hopes is "worth following up". While the production and circulation of texts like those quoted above are important parts of SWS practice, producing them served the generally inward-facing function of creating forums for debate

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[46] "Abduction" is the term used by pragmatic philosopher and semiotician C.S. Peirce, "for developing knowledge where we are not trying to falsify hypothesis, but develop plausible explanations through data, to examine which ones are worth following up" (Crang, 2003, p.132).

in the process of sharing, editing and rewriting. Acts of text-making provided material as well as online opportunities to meet and discuss, and sounding boards for airing members' views. Ultimately, they were a forceful presence in the texture of event organising within the group, but much less so in outward-facing communicative practices as they are messily performed in public spaces.

From SWS web texts we can, for example, build a narrative anchor point that lifts up and centres climate change from among the interlocking social, economic and environmental injustices which SWS challenges. In Figure 5.2, I combine SWS declarations from two significant web pages, "What is So We Stand?" and "So We Stand Principles" respectively, that together might help us place the importance of climate change in SWS ethos and practice.

So We Stand exists to support communities living in high emissions areas (for example near to power stations or airports), and other areas of environmental injustice…**We see climate change as perhaps the starkest and biggest example of environmental injustice** (http://sowestand.com/what-is-the-diy-education-collective/; accessed 07/09/11)

We think **environmental justice, social justice and anti-racism are the same struggle** and by this we mean we recognise that **environmental justice intersects with all forms of structural social oppression** – race, class, gender, sex, ability, age, sexuality (http://sowestand.com/so-we-stands-principles/; accessed 07/09/11)

So...

If **Climate Change** $\geq$ Environmental (in)justice

and

Environmental (in)justice + social justice +
racial justice = '**structural social oppression**'

then

Therefore (\\), the struggle for crosscutting justice
= struggle for **climate justice**?

Figure 5.2 A textual anchor point for narrating the performance of climate justice

We can make evident the distinct position that climate change holds in SWS discourse as the ultimate exemplar of injustice. This, much more so than an environmental threat, is its character.

An anchor like this one is helpful for analysis, but being assembled by me as an interested observer, practically speaking it is largely invisible to SWS members in this simple formulation. In fact the purpose of conducting interviews, analysing field notes and holding workshops like the LCJ is to see how SWS climate justice platform is performed through, around and beyond the formulaic. In this chapter I will use a set of narrative anchors – temporal (Origins), biographical (Impulses) and practical (Structure) – that will help establish the scene.

5.3. SWS Origins ("What's missing?")

So We Stand began as a conversation between two friends in Brixton, London, 2007 as a "greening the academia, greening the universities thing" (Mike, interview, 2010). It didn't retain that shape for very long. While Mike's friend did pursue "academic greening" activities in London, he moved north to Glasgow to study at the Centre for Human Ecology, then housed in the University of Strathclyde.[47] For a year the concept that was to become the DIY Education Collective (DIY) simmered, than in 2008 it began taking shape through discussion among a small group of campaigners, largely activists and students who were living and working in Edinburgh and Glasgow:

> At the beginning was a lot of discussion and a lot of "what's missing in society?" in terms of social movements – what's missing. We all knew that something was wrong, that something was missing, that we really wanted to do something...because it's not a single issue campaign, it's not a simple "three demands and sign on the dotted line" kind of thing. And the thing is it's a lot more difficult and complex, which is part of the problem, the fact that there isn't multi-issue movements which tackle many injustices at the same time and join the dots and, you know, things which you have to be skilled-up in, in terms of popular education, and environmental justice, it's not…it took a little while to formulate, and maybe that's a part of the issue, the fact that there aren't more groups like this is testament to the fact that it's not, ahhm, single issue. (Mike)

For Mike and others in the earliest days of the DIY, the missing element was two-fold: a lack of activity in "joining the dots" between multiple issues – or more specifically "injustices", and a perceived lack of the skills necessary to do something as "difficult and complex" as this. Of the thirteen DIY/SWS members or allies interviewed (see Table 5.1), only three were directly involved in the earliest plans and discussions. During interviews Mike, Amy and Marion, all involved in this murky phase of 'early planning', each made

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[47] The Centre for Human Ecology is now resident at the Pearce Institute, Govan.

reference to a period of questioning and revising strategy as the small group confronted the difficulties of not only joining dots, but choosing which dots to join.

These choices were all to varying degrees channelled through the locus of climate change. While all the "many injustices" (or "dots") were seen as interlinked in the remit of this new "multi-issue movement", from the beginning tackling climate change was understood as the pragmatic hinge point from which such linkages would be articulated. It followed then that people, the places they lived, and the injustices that collectively motivated them would need to be measured and approached in terms of their current and possible relationships to climate change. As we shall see, different SWS members related to this pragmatic "dot joining" mechanism in various ways, and the primacy of climate change itself as a central issue – as *the* central issue – was contested.

Box 5.1

On diversity and a decentralised, anti-authoritarian political response to climate change:

Shadowing current explorations of an ecological citizenship is a fear that the severity of environmental problems might foment the rise of new universal rules of progress that could bring our social lives under an intensified set of hierarchies and controls. Such a project is likely to be perceived (mostly correctly) as authoritarian, and a betrayal of the ethical opportunities opened by diverse and popular participation in environmental struggles. (Clark and Stevenson, 2003, pp.235-236)

This question operates at many levels of climate change and climate justice contestation: See journalist and activist George Monbiot's exchange with anarchist and climate change activist Ewa Jasiewicz for a public debate on the subject of grassroots, horizontalist organising versus corporate and state involvement in contesting climate change at: http://www.guardian.co.uk/commentisfree/2008/aug/22/climatechange.kingsnorthclimatec amp (accessed 03/06/12)

Name	Approx. SWS entry	Main places of activity	Main events/areas of involvement	Main interests	Approx. SWS exit (if applicable)
Amy	Spring 2009	Scotland, internet	Early planning, group structure	Peak Oil, transition towns, energy	January 2010
Callum	Summer 2009	Clydebank, Edinburgh, Grangemouth	GFP, Bhopal Commemoration	Environmental Justice, popular education	
Cassie	Spring 2009	Clydebank, Glasgow, Heathrow	GFP, JCJ	Climate change, arts practice, direct action	Autumn 2010
Duncan	Autumn 2009	Clydebank, Glasgow	GFP, JCJ	Arts practice, popular education, social theatre, anti-capitalism	Spring 2011
Eilidh	Autumn 2009	Clydebank, Glasgow	GFP, JCJ	Housing, health	December 2009
Marion	Spring 2009	Clydebank, Glasgow, internet	Early planning, GFP, JCJ, Website, group structure	Migration, environment, direct action	
Martin	Autumn 2009	Glasgow, internet	Group structure, GFP	Popular education, anarchism	Jan-March 2010
Mike	2008	Clydebank, Glasgow, Edinburgh, London, Heathrow, Manchester, UK generally, internet	Early planning, GFP, JCJ, Website, group structure, fundraising	Climate change, environmental justice, anti-capitalism, racial justice, direct action, popular education	
Olivia	Summer 2009	Grangemouth	EJPP, JCJ, Bhopal Commemoration	Environmental justice, anti-poverty, theatre	
Russell	Autumn 2009	Glasgow, Edinburgh	JCJ	Popular education, arts practice	
Ruth	December 2009	Greengairs, Glasgow	GFP follow up event only	Environmental justice, planning regulations	Spring 2010
Susan	Spring 2009	Clydebank, Glasgow	GFP, JCJ	Anti-poverty, anti-capitalism, popular education, health, housing	Left core organising December 2009, still active ally
Yvonne	Autumn	Clydebank, Glasgow	GFP, JCJ, LCJ	Arts practice, popular education, social theatre, asylum seekers	
Myself	August, 2009	Clydebank, Glasgow, Central Belt, internet	Group structure, fundraising, GFP, JCJ, LCJ	Popular education, social theatre, climate change, environment	

Table 5.1 Interests and Activities of SWS members/informants

While discursively, the passage from Mike above (and others elsewhere) reflects an attention to connecting "issues", "campaigns" and "dots", I argue that this overarching aim of making SM connections was going to be achieved, as it played out in the practices described in these chapters, through making social and ethical relations with individuals and communities. And while climate change was enrolled pragmatically as a linking paradigm, its social, ecological, economic and emotional complexity made it an unstable locus through which relations were to be worked, becoming its own constitutive *condition of relations* with accompanying opportunities and risks to SM stability and efficacy.

The emergence of climate change as a powerful condition of relations was a result of a series of organisational iterations and various pragmatic contingencies. Marion recalled that an early plan was

> an environmental justice day, like environmental justice education day...that would take whatever format the community was interested in doing, but the idea was to have a day that would be a focus, when there would like maybe the community would run some workshops or they would do an event that invited other people to um…come along. (interview, 2010)

This was to have been the culmination of a process wherein activists would have researched and built a map of environmental injustice sites in Scotland, and then approached nearby residents associations and other community organisations to "see if they were interested and wanted to be involved in a project about environmental justice" (Marion, interview). Facing the reality of this massively ambitious plan (and beginning a pattern that was to be repeated months later), organisers then focused instead on mobilising their existing contacts with already active organisations and individuals.

Glasgow-based Mike and Cassie had been involved with both Plane Stupid and Plane Speaking, the latter an attempt to move from an insular direct activist culture toward more solidarity-based participatory engagement with communities near airports and under flightpaths.[48] Plane Speaking had been holding a series of community meetings in Clydebank, addressing local concerns about airport noise and air pollution specifically. At this point, in the winter of 2008/2009, there is a blurring of events and ideas between Plane

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[48] There is a level of self-consciousness and even embarrassment about the failure of direct action activists to engage effectively with communities which are, in the words of SWS, on the "frontlines of injustice". In response to my question "Is Plane Speaking associated with Plane Stupid in any way?" Cassie replied "It's trying not to be, but it's the same people."

Speaking and the DIY, and a difficulty in recalling what remained a plan and what became a reality. Amy says of Mike:

> ...interview[ing] people. See what we also organized or were talking about organizing, a series of workshops, and I drew up a poster that Mike had put around

It may be the case that activists in Plane Speaking were also, then or at some future point, DIY London members, with whom organisers in Scotland had little to no contact, outside of Mike. Here in discussion, Marion refers to the time when popular education based events were being planned in Clydebank:

> I: Do you – do you speak to anyone from the "DIY London" group? Do you know them? Have you met anyone?
>
> M: No. (laugh) I've never met them. No.
>
> I: Me either.
>
> M: No. Um, actually when I first got involved it was Mike and ____ and there was some London people as well that were involved. They were on the original emails but I never met any of them. I think they were people Mike and _____ had spoke to about popular education, environmental justice who were keen on the ideas but um… but yeah, lived down there.

Prompted by Mike and 'unknown' others' interlocking involvement in Plane Speaking and the DIY, rather than enter into a years-long process of cataloguing, mapping and contacting communities near carbon-intensive industries in Scotland, the embryonic DIY decided "to trial the thing [popular education based workshops] in Clydebank and then see how it worked" (Marion). So at some point during the period of late winter/spring of 2009, Plane Speaking's community engagement around issues of airport expansion morphed into a more ambitious and multi-faceted approach to the "many injustices" faced by Clydebank-area residents, fronted now by the DIY.[49] Highlighting the intermittency of member's involvement, Cassie, although involved in the earlier Plane Speaking work in Clydebank, expressed pleasant surprise that the DIY had chosen to work there as well months later.

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[49] Like many communities along the Firth of Clyde, Clydebank has suffered from high levels of unemployment as a result of deindustrialisation, particularly the cessation of shipbuilding. Substandard housing, low incomes and cuts to state benefits have also resulted in high levels of fuel poverty. In addition, parts of Clydebank lie directly under flight paths into Glasgow International Airport, and residents suffer from noise and air pollution. The airport area is also home to large tanks of explosive and flammable liquids associated with aviation, and at least one local resident has become active in trying to discover the potential radius of an 'explosion zone', along with other health hazards associated with hazardous materials storage.

The DIY's first actual Scottish event, in the airport-affected community of Linnvale, Clydebank and using a popular education methodology and ethos, made a critical impact on the shape of the DIY in Scotland (and distinguished it from the "London" branch), in three primary ways. First, the Gathering Under the Flightpath (GFP) marked a commitment to Freirian and related pedagogies and organising (see Chapters Four and Seven) that attracted further key organisers and set a tone for the next eighteen months. Second, the twinned issues of aviation and fuel poverty helped cement the role of climate change as an over-determining environmental injustice. Finally, it was indicative of an approach that focused on class and the oppression of poverty, in contrast to DIY 'London' with its focus on environmental racism and racial injustice. In Mike's words, the DIY has "two main areas...in London with the racial justice and climate justice project, and in Scotland, particularly about climate change and poverty". The largely White European make up of the DIY and its allies in Scotland (see Table 5.2) contrasts with the more racially mixed composition of DIY in England.[50]

Name	Approx. Age	Gender identification	University/HE	Ethnicity
Amy	45	F	y	White British
Callum	50	M	y	White British
Cassie	26	F	y	White European
Duncan	24	M	y	White British
Eilidh	30	F	y	White British
Marion	32	F	y	White British
Martin	40	M	y	White British
Mike	26	M	y	British Other
Olivia	25	F	y	South Asian
Russell	25	M	y	White British
Ruth	55	F	y	White British
Susan	60	F	n	White British
Yvonne	31	F	n	White European
Myself	40	M	y	White and Other Mixed

Table 5.2 Demographic characteristics of DIY/SWS members/informants

These three elements – popular education, climate change and poverty – which catalysed at Linnvale and helped establish the conditions of relations-making that SWS would then pursue in Scotland, are modalities which facilitated the imbricated performance of various declarative identities and lived practices. Declarations of cross-issue, cross-community and cross-class solidarity are mediated in practice by extant networks of contacts and the strata of previous practice (see Barnett and Scott, 2007). Much like the desire to change

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[50] The three England-based activists whom I encountered at the December 2009 general meetings (the first time many of us in Scotland met them in person) were all young women of "mixed race", or identified as Black Minority Ethnic.

course evidenced in Plane Stupid's budding into the Plane Speaking project, DIY's "going further" is balanced with the need to "hold on", to the known, the tried and the tested (Crouch, 2003, 2010a; 2010b).

While committed to challenging their own perceptions and widening the remit of DIY as a 'big tent' umbrella network, early planners such as Mike and Marion often adhered to formats and strategies which conformed with environmental direct action practice, albeit the communicative and collaborative dimension of such practices. One SWS 'London' member, not interviewed but later questioned by email about early DIY 'pre-fieldwork', wrote

> Q: What was your initial or early understanding of what the DIY was?
>
> A: Initially it was all about using popular education to work with communities on a Scotland wide 'teach-in' about climate change and its impact on their lives. When Dan and Rose realised it was counter to popular education methods to prescribe to communities what the teach-in should be focused on (i.e. climate change) there was a drastic change in tack, and we all reviewed what we were doing/could do/wanted to happen. (Janine, email questionnaire, 2011)

The reconsideration of the teach-in, with its unidirectional energy and presumption that people felt impacted by climate change to begin with, is an early example of the creative tensions that DIY/SWS would continue to work through for years. There was a continual tension between the desire to share one's existing knowledge while engaging with the specific knowledges of injustice that "frontline communities" were presumed to have, and the imperatives of popular education processes intended to enable community analysis and action without presuming the bases for that analysis and action.

The direct action emphasis on skills and skill sharing seems particularly prevalent during this early 2008/2009 period. For Mike, lack of practical skills was central to the difficulty in connecting the dots; Marion and others speak of planned "skill-sharing days". There is a sense, perhaps not to be overstated, that the sharing of skills was intended to be between already engaged activists, with shared understandings of working processes, rather than an exchange of skills between those immersed in activist culture and people experiencing injustice but who had not organised that way, or identified themselves as politically active at all. As Marion says

> we were looking at um….like um…other information that was already in existence about environmental justice and things like that, cuz a big part of it was that people wanted to build their own…um…knowledge or skills in those areas, so it was like planning um…like popular education skill sharing and things like that.

In the search for practical footholds in making relations, one risk is that popular education becomes less a processual, reciprocal ethos than a set of skills for organising, circulated within activist circles. At several times over the course of my involvement, I sensed this risk becoming a reality.

5.4. Impulses ("which links to why I got involved with DIY...")

As Marion pointed out, the term "direct action" has a specific, perhaps hegemonic connotation in the positioning of activism in the UK ("in general I think its action orientated, it's just that there's been like this um…direct action movement kind of thing in the UK, that uses direct action as a tactic"[interview, 2010]). The immediate implications of "direct action" can obscure the fact that

> some people just rush off and do something, but other people do take a long time to think about something and say, we just talked about the…my political history as it were, so um….all of that stuff leads to a particular stance or action, whereas [sic] all of that previous stuff is like educational or whatever to get to a particular point of doing something.

Marion had a background in environmental direct action and anti-borders and immigration control activism. At the same time a job as a youth worker opened her to different ways of communicating, persuading and prompting people to take action "without directing people saying 'We're gonna do this protest on this day'". She eventually studied Community Education, which she was completing when I began working with her in Autumn 2009.

Box 5.2

Other origin stories- LCJ workshop participants 'find their place'

Map of the World Exercise

We push all of our chairs to the edge of the room. [Yvonne] designates a north pole and a south pole, an east and a west – "America is over there". The room is not very wide and is ringed with cushioned wooden benches, so our Earth is compressed in favour of the span of the great oceans rather than the height and depth of the "tall" continents of Africa and South America.

People take a short time, maybe 2-3 minutes to place themselves in the place they feel closest too, whatever that might mean to them:

Edinburgh, where I am from. It is where I was born.
My hometown _____ in Corsica, which I don't see very often.
Somewhere in the Western Isles…
Deep in the Nicaraguan rainforest…
Palestine, I hope to join the flotilla in the autumn.
India…[I am not sure if he has lived there per se but I know it has been a place of research and activism for him.]
Mexico, the only place other than the UK where I would feel at home
Alberta. I could never move back there, but I have family there and my thoughts are often there.
Indonesia; I grew up there.

I group the results very roughly in terms of home, comfort and politics, and see that these are not categories of identification, but rather intensities of desires.

-personal notes, LCJ, 2010

For all SWS members, involvement with the group has been in part a conscious exploration of one's own personal relationship to a socio-ethical ecology of thought and practice.[51] More specifically, individuals' pathway to SWS seems to have been marked by the energy of uncertainty and the desire for connectivity and attachment. For all members SWS was the latest manifestation of practice emergent from a variety of earlier and concurrent experiences in other activist groups, community organisations, workplaces and educational institutions. Resisting what Bataille called environmental politics' "general submission to the concern for the future" (1993, p.379), with its "sorry consequences for our daily enjoyment of life" (Clark and Stevenson, 2003, p.238), most members began work with SWS excited by the promise of an approach to activism that exploded the remit of environmentalism in the first place.[52] And in our interviews, it was apparent that for several people this excitement was fuelled by a curiosity as to just what this amalgam of methods and motives was going to become. They sensed that, by becoming involved, they were entering some sort of novel energised space, but how it had come to be, what its mission was, and where it was going were largely mysteries. This uncertainty was largely

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[51] See Chapter Two, section 2.6.2. for a brief discussion on how the metaphor and ontology of ecology has been used to describe all manner of spatial and subjective relationships and orderings, both intensive and extensive.

[52] The following passage is from a more recent version of the SWS website, post fieldwork. However it is broadly indicative of SWS declared approach to 'environmentalism' at the time as well: "We are not against the so called 'environmental movement', but hold it in a **critical friendship.** We believe it holds with it an embedded sense of self-congratulation which fails to address its own privilege. This, in turn, up holds and recreates many of the unchallenged systems of oppression and hierarchy embedded in all struggle, including environmental struggle. **To define yourself as a 'movement' or as an 'environmental activist' in itself invisibilises and ignores the real fight on the front lines of environmental injustices**, it denies the experiences of those environmental warriors who are not part of your 'movement' but who fight daily for their health, lives and communities. Therefore, we **will not organise with groups that we feel don't organise within an anti-oppression framework** in this sense." (from http://sowestand.com/what-we-stand-for/; accessed 25/07/12; emphasis in original)

a positive force for many, engendering curiosity – with its attendant sense of care for both what is present and also possible (p. 242) – about the shape of SWS and the people and communities it sought to collaborate with.

In keeping with anchors or generative points, what follows is an overview of the impulses behind "why SWS?" in Scotland, gathered into the categories of popular education and creative practice. The categories are both overlapping and incomplete; at the same time, they do name practical channels of the energy of uncertainty and exploration that, I argue, prompted people to become active in SWS. There is something biographical but less than a 'life story' here, as members sought to challenge and re-constitute their own conditions of relations.

5.4.1. Popular education

Of SWS' three "planks [of]...environmental justice, direct action, popular education" (Mike), none was as readily embraced in the Scottish DIY/SWS as popular education. This is not to say the other two were rejected, or even contested in their meaning, more so than popular education. But as an ethos and a mode of working, popular education broadly defined has been SWS' chief attractor for members in Scotland.

SWS' popular education practice was based largely on the radical pedagogies of Paolo Freire and Augusto Boal, which are explored more specifically in Chapters Four and Seven. In the emergence of SWS syncretic climate justice platform, popular education (and social theatre to a lesser degree) acted as both an element of members' reflexive understandings of SWS practice and aims, and as set of practices for engaging with "communities on the frontlines of environmental, social and racial injustice".[53] Of the thirteen people interviewed plus myself, nine of us trained in, practiced or experienced forms of popular education to some level. Russell and Marion studied Community Education at different times at the same Scottish university. Duncan and particularly Yvonne both practiced Boalian social theatre methods, with Yvonne leading or co-facilitating several SWS events post-fieldwork as well as being hired by Glasgow City Council and other agencies to perform such work in schools and with groups of vulnerable

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[53] During the period of SWS website redesign, which happened outside of the formal period of my fieldwork, members contributed ideas for a "strapline", or promotional subheading. Many variations on a similar theme were offered. While I continue to struggle with just what and where "frontline communities" are, the final version, "So We Stand: organising with UK communities on the frontlines of environmental, social and racial injustice" was my suggestion.

people. Mike and Susan both completed "Training for Transformation" courses in Ireland. Martin was a postgraduate student studying popular education and SMs; Callum had been a long-time popular educator in Scotland, and had worked extensively with Friends of the Earth (Scotland) on environmental justice issues. I had studied Augusto Boal briefly during my Masters degree, and had previously witnessed or participated in a few workshops, including one co-facilitation.

It isn't necessary to flag Russell's experience as typical or exemplary, but as one of the more formally 'trained' popular education students and practitioners in SWS, his reflections on how he began work with SWS are illuminating:

> when a friend was talking about the – a group of interested, interesting, engaged environmental activists that were wanting to adopt a popular education process and integrity, I was quite excited because I – although I've always felt strongly about environmental justice, I haven't been centrally involved with many activities. I've been more engaged on the level of getting people to share and to try and cultivate people's desire to do that themselves rather than engaging myself in doing it. (interview, 2010)

Reflecting on his undergraduate university studies, Russell spoke of dissatisfaction at hierarchical learning structures that worked to compartmentalise knowledge by disciplines, creating highly individualised educational experiences rather than "cultures of sharing", and reflecting a lack of learners' "confidence in their own expertise", and the sense of excitement that learning should generate. Although he "love[s] the synthesis" of popular education and environmental justice which SWS fosters, his primary interests lay with pedagogical processes rather than specific social struggles. In this extract from our conversation, Russell describes "the core of my activism" as

> trying to engage people with that question of what is really important and helps stimulate and fulfil you or me or us as humans. And can we move forwards in being more – having more conviction about common denominators that we can then not have to be so tentative and be like "oh yes, its all relative and what's right for me is not right for you"

Russell's activism as a popular educator is aimed at a shift in subjectivity, perhaps even 'body-subject'-ivity (see Thrift, 1997, p.142).[54] At the same time he expresses "middle class guilt, potentially" about not being more involved in environmental activism as a

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[54] "I've been asking myself that for a while, what is – what's the really valuable knowledge I have. And I feel that its knowledge of my body and sort of through my body that I need to be physically stimulated, and then there's an intellectual facet to myself and creative and emotional, social and spiritual. Those sort of five categories are sort of contrived and they don't really matter, but that's just the way I break it down for myself." (Russell)

specific issue. However, the opportunity to participate in and explore the syncretic promise of SWS through popular education brings Russell into contact with the principles and practice of environmental justice.

If Russell's popular education takes an interest in the fulfilment and integrity of the whole subject as the starting point, and then moves in indeterminate directions, Susan's experience with popular education seemingly begins with the pragmatics of place, environment and health and builds relations and knowledges from there. A long-time resident and activist in Glasgow's Easthall estate in Easterhouse, Susan travelled to Nicaragua in the early 1990s to experience Freirian popular education in action:

> S: But, goin' back to popular education, obviously, my, my whole interest in popular education was the fact that, you know, we had accumulated so much knowledge in Easthall, right, and there was so much other stuff goin' on that we wanted everybody to have the light switched on? (both laughing) Right? (A: sure yeah yeah). I mean how can youse no see what we can see?! Right?
>
> A: But you're laughing though, why?
>
> S: Wha, it's just like, you know, it's the whole thing about the…it's frustratin' when people cannae see…
>
> A: yeah
>
> S: When people cannae see the light, put it that way, the light about whas goin' oon. And because there's so many issues, like just take Easterhouse for example, there is so many issues in the different communities that, obviously, people are all competing against each community. And so they don't see the bigger picture? (A: sure) 'Coz they're all competin' for funding, but that's all part of the political structures, about divide and rule, so the energy goes in…and so, you know my concern was well how on earth do we enable people to form, to say tha it's a common struggle? And create a common vision. Right, and that's when I got interested in the work of Paolo Freire (A: right). And that's, I just felt that's key, and that was my whole reason for going to Nicaragua, because I wanted to see popular education

For Susan popular education was both a set of tools enabling collective analysis that would highlight commonalties of experience across communities in both Glasgow and Central America,[55] and a practical way of dispelling the stigma and isolationism that prevented people from associating their damp housing with their structurally embedded poverty in Easthall. After meeting Mike at a conference on housing, health, fuel poverty and climate change at Glasgow Caledonian University in 2009 (Eilidh, Susan interviews), Susan

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[55] Susan also later travelled to South Africa, staying with activists and residents of impoverished urban communities and exchanging ideas and practices on popular education.

committed to using similar means to break the silence on the causes of climate change – as having current, concrete effects on poor communities at the local level:

> A: Do you think you can use popular education in the same way for getting people engaged on climate change?
>
> S: Aye, definitely, because, ehm, I mean just for example, one of the things that struck me about Mike, right was, when we were out in Clydebank, and he was talking about the Flightpath. Well I know that the, that the planes are causin' fuckin' pollution and all the rest of it, right? But I wasnae aware ae the...you know until they started talking about the clothes bein' covered in black spots? That's real, that's no somebody's imagination. You know so then you can start to imagine what it's doing tae people, if people are breathin' that in. So people have gottae make they're connections in their communities.

Popular education has a third as yet realised role to play. As well as functioning as an ethos (and in this function, at times perhaps a measure of "virtue"...) and a method of analysis, popular education is also meant to provide a catalyst for self-determined community direct action. In commenting on SWS development through to May 2010, Mike spoke of popular education as a sort of forerunner that would empower communities to take action in the context of a supportive structures and relations: "one day we will do actions, but at the moment we're just building the framework, building the infrastructure". When questioned further on this term "actions" from the perspective of someone not directly familiar with UK activist culture, Mike allowed that although the term is generally used to mean either a direct intervention that prevents a type of harm (e.g. blockading a runway and preventing aviation emissions) or a "publicity stunt" that draws attention to the issue (e.g. gluing yourself to the Prime Minister at a public event), popular education-based workshops might conceivably be thought of as actions too:

> It's not easy to quantify, like, yes we're the Collective, we haven't done any actions, ahhhm, as in direct interventions or stunts, but by this growing network building we may all consciously or subconsciously be working on organising in different ways which may be preventing [emissions]…the message filters out.

Instrumentalising popular education processes as a precursor to community-led direct action is consistent with a gloss of SWS textual rhetoric, but aside from Mike (an original and still central SWS organiser), this aspect of popular education did not appear to be a strong attractor for many people in their engagement with SWS in Scotland.

Box 5.3

Ambition, passion, contradiction: Mike and Duncan's draft JCJ 'vision statement' text, April 2010

About us…… an emerging grassroots movement of people who consciously work for empowering social change to develop multiracial politics and self defence strategies for environmental and climate justice. Creativity, popular education and direct democracy and fun is central to our work.

We believe in (and are striving for): do we need separate demands?

·   **1. Building a network of united struggles.**

·   We are consciously networking people and groups, sharing skills for collective action by building common ground against oppression. We defend ourselves against the inequalities of capitalism with the goal of eradicating all systems of oppression that capitalism feeds and needs. Thus, we are dedicated to addressing oppressive power dynamics in our organizing. As one step towards this, we aim to to go beyond mere tokenism with a network balanced in gender, race and financial privilege.

·   **2. Empowering the many, not the few, by organising creatively and horizontally, by consensus and without leaders.** We believe that the process of striving for justice is as important as the outcome. We reject election politics which only listens to concerns once every four years. We create unexpected alliances between movements and communities challenging what is seen as 'democratic' and 'accountable.

·   **3Building a movement for self defence for the protection of people and our communities.** We organise to empower each other, our communities and support disenfranchised people who are faced with barriers to joining the struggle. We base ourselves in our community spaces and share tactics on how people can defend themselves against the perpetrators of environmental and social injustice.

·   **4. That the 'political is personal'.** We organise to build the foundations for healthy movements, by supporting all our people with skills and motivation for resistance. We say 'yes' and 'no' at the same time. We support civil disobedience which says 'no' to environmental injustice and equip ourselves with the tools to say 'yes' to community empowerment.

·   **5. Exposing the opposition and the tools to fight it.** We work to expose environmental injustice and the social impacts of climate change, blow by blow, and inspire strategies for resistance.

5.4.2. Creative practice

For many, popular education as a social, intersubjective and creative process took precedence over using these methods in a programmatic and goal-oriented approach toward a coherent platform of climate, environmental or social justice. This does not mean that these members were not keenly interested in building practical structures and relations that would enable community resistance. Rather it reflects both a strength and a weakness. On the one hand, eagerness to explore new forms of communicative and creative activism and pedagogy was a powerful force in maintaining people's interests and fostering the curiosity and attentiveness concomitant with genuine care (Clark and Stevenson, 2003, p. 242). On the other, the energy given to making genuinely open spaces of exchange meant that the material and political specifics of the issues at hand, be it aviation emissions, fuel poverty, incinerators, or a focused micro-analysis of capitalism and class, were at times neglected. Potential creative practices for SWS Scotland planned events included the visual arts, such as banner making, bus decorating and video screening, and various types of performance such as clowning, street theatre and applied or social theatre. We also considered a range of practices that used the communicative rather than the strictly aesthetic potential of co-creation planned, such as recording "vox pops" and poems, and writing and reading out manifestos.

Creative artistic practice was their main entry to the political for some (Yvonne, Duncan, Cassie), and an intriguing but still somewhat unknown mode of activism for others (Mike). Whether or not they were practitioners or even directly interested in creative practice, almost everyone in SWS whom I encountered during the fieldwork had at least some brief experience with creative activism. The many contemporary variants of social theatre and popular education practices comingle and circulate, and are borrowed and reworked through circuits that might be unanticipated (Pratt and Johnston, 2007, p.104). In one singular instance, Olivia quite consciously chose to keep separate her creative artistic practice from her empirically oriented environmental justice advocacy. Her personal playwriting practice was something to be bracketed off from the data-oriented environmental research she was pursuing through her MA in Environmental Sustainability, the "number crunching" spurred on by her "frustration with the lack of information there".

For those artists and theatre makers for whom creative practice was central to their activism, the possibility of contributing in this way prompted them to become engaged with SWS. Once "in", they found their involvement might quickly expand to include other

dimensions such as fundraising and budgeting, planning events, making contacts with community organisers. In Autumn 2009, Duncan, Yvonne and Cassie all became involved with SWS and the Gathering Under the Flight Path (GFP), followed by a long intermittent period of planning the (eventually abandoned) Journey for Climate Justice Bus (JCJ). In each case, an offer to play a particular and limited role as an artist led to incorporation into SWS working groups, meeting regimes and organising practices. This extended excerpt from my conversation with Duncan captures that sense well:

> D: So in terms of whether or not I see my role as like a theatre maker and an artist being fundamental to the DIY, ahhhm... *yes* in that it's kind of the capacity in which I first became involved in it, you know, "hey you, creative resistance guy, let's do something", you know, ehhmm, but now, no in that, well that's just not practically in a real, you know, in terms of looking at the work, the actual nature of the work that's being done by me and the people that I'm working with closely at the DIY, that's just not what I'm doing, it feels something very, very different from my performance work so …
>
> A: Right. How do you, is that, how do you feel about that?
>
> D: Yeah, kind of okay. I feel like it's all sort of happened really organically like, I feel okay and good with how this bus thing has developed as an idea and how my role within the organisation and planning of it is changed accordingly, like I feel cool with that. Ehhmm, I think I decided quite early on just not to freak out or worry about, like, what this collective is and what my role in it is, and just more like what is it we're *doing,* and what capacity can I assist the doing of that, do you know?
>
> **A:** Yeah, yeah, I think so, yeah.
>
> **D:** So, so yeah that feels ok, like there's no, I'm really excited by the bus. I really want to make it happen. I'm really glad or privileged, you know, that I'm working with such exciting people to make it happen, umm, and the simple fact is...doing performance intervention about the bus is like, isn't, isn't what needs to be done so, do you know what I mean, like so that's, so that's, it's fine. I do sometimes feel a little bit like I'm doing things for the very first time like, you know, going to meet [Clydebank anti-poverty activist Mary]. It was like well someone's got to do that, I'll do that but I'm like, you know, I've never met anyone as a representative of an activist organisation inviting them to come to our day of planning before. Like never, *ever...*

For Duncan, this period of SWS work was one of learning new skills and challenging himself. It is also coupled with a certain anxiety about his competence in performing this new role, and what I took to be ambivalence in the side-lining of his activist theatre contributions in favour of a more administrative-organiser role. "Going further" as an activist at the expense of the comfort taken in "holding on" to one's usual role.

Duncan's partner Yvonne came to SWS similarly – as a theatre artist and activist who "had expressed an interest in joining this, in participating in the kind of arts side of that event [the GFP]", and found herself becoming much more deeply involved that day and beyond. Initially planning on simply projecting some photographs of Glasgow asylum seekers during the meal break, and "kind of be present", Yvonne ended up helping the facilitators of a short workshop that used photographs and live human tableaux as Freirian visual codes (see Chapter Seven). In her words:

> I saw that they, I felt that they weren't being used effectively and I was confused as to why they were being used but there's something, that's something that I use often in my work with communities and so I felt, well, in that workshop I tried to *help* them facilitate it...and came away from that being...recognising that I could help, does that make sense, that I had the experience and the knowledge to be able to help the movement and that the movement, I guess just realising that the movement wasn't as established as I thought and so there was a role for me if I wanted to. (interview, 2010)

In seeing the opportunity to use her theatre and facilitation skills on the spot, Yvonne also learned that SWS was not a discrete organisation with a fixed membership, and that it was open to others joining and shaping its performance quite fundamentally. Like Duncan, her role as an artist shifted towards that of organiser and event planner. This was not the case for other creative practitioners: Cassie maintained her "quite loose and quite peripheral" relationship with SWS. The fact that she "still don't feel I have the overall vision" of the JCJ Bus did not prompt her to seek a greater role in shaping that vision; rather she wanted to "take on a very specific technician's role or something when, when it does all become clear, what it is we're actually going to do" (interview, 2010), lending her artistic skills to the Bus project while avoiding the imbroglios of groundwork and planning.

5.5. Form ("perplexed as to what the DIY actually...looks like")

This perplexity was a common sentiment in interviews. However, it was perhaps more common, in interviews and in conversation at meetings, to hear the word "network". People would often express great uncertainty about SWS' form while still describing it readily as a network. Any discrepancy between perplexity and defining DIY/SWS as a network shouldn't be surprising; when one is in the middle of performing one is not aware of the form that performance takes in the same way one is aware with the distance of reflection. And as Latour has said, "network" is "a pretty horrible" term (2005, p.142) that is now so ubiquitous and amorphous he'd like to see it retired (2003).

Before SWS was a network, if it is indeed so, it seems to have been a small knot of people in search of a bank account and a constitution. For most of the full extent of 2009 Amy, Janine, Marion and Mike and other foundational organisers worked largely behind the scenes of event planning and community engagements to create a formalised group that held strategic legitimacy for funders and the state. The potential for a disjuncture in identity was apparent:

> then I got to thinking, what's even the point of this? Is anyone in DIY actually interested in things like structure, and again some activists because you're against the system, you maybe don't want to work in it, but if you're talking about raising funds and having a bank account…sorry, you're in the system. (Amy)

At one stage early organisers seriously considered registering the DIY as a workers' co-operative, but this was abandoned.[56]

Similar to these administrative manoeuvres in 2009, in 2010 there were several attempts at drafting a constitution, which has never been ratified by members. Indeed there is no accepted method for doing so. The form of SWS was highly improvised, and for many months we commonly spoke of things simply "going where the energy was" – we would back and build on plans that had an impetus of general goodwill and some bodies and resources behind them. The illustration below (Fig. 5.3) presents the ebb and flow of SWS activity during the approximate period of fieldwork, without conjuring a conceptual form *per se*. With streams, points and clusters all related around a central chronological axis, SWS' form encompasses both 'core activities' (e.g. the GFP at Linnvale) and those members' activities that ally with SWS principles and aims (the Environmental Justice Photo Project, or EJPP) but don't draw heavily on 'core members' resources, time or energies.

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[56] As Amy bluntly put it, "you can't just be a workers' co-operative because you like the sound of it". While some early SWS members were attracted to the ideals of a co-operative, the bureaucratic, financial and tax implications of such a structure did not suit SWS' organisational needs.
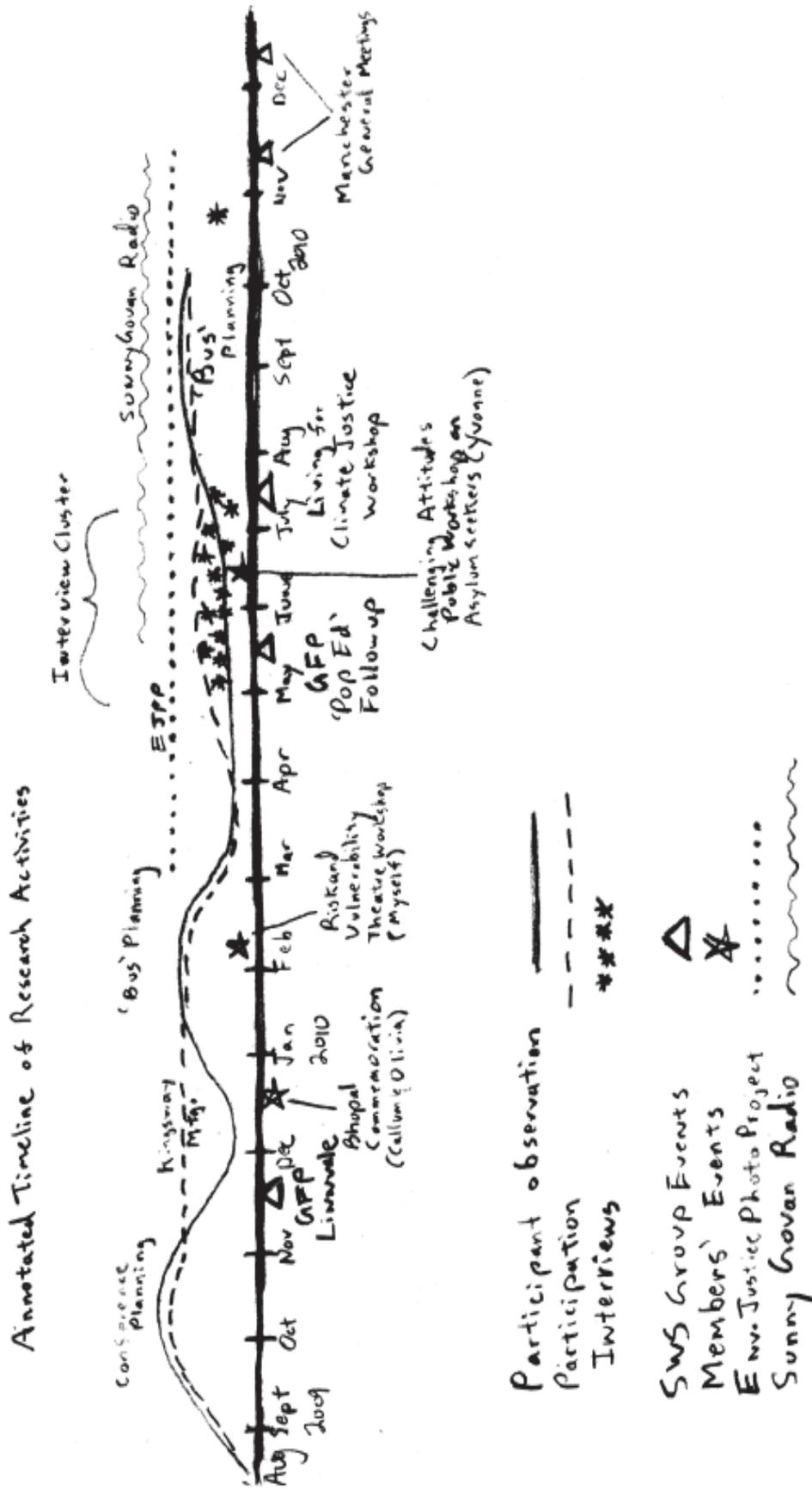
Figure 5.3 Annotated timeline of SWS (Scotland) activities during fieldwork period

This looseness was accommodating, with positive and negative consequences. For Callum, for example, the very looseness of the network, it's umbrella-like character was one strength, in that events such as the commemoration of the Bhopal disaster could be planned and executed by himself and Olivia but linked to SWS to both 'sides' benefit. Associations could be made, information shared and disseminated, "it is a network through which activities can happen and then connect with other activities." While Callum felt that instrumentally for him, SWS was a "space whereby I can locate some of my activism" while remaining somewhat on the "periphery" of the organisation, he also acknowledged the cumulative drawbacks of that loose form; "that kind of unstructured network is a weakness as well. There is a limit to what it can do..." SWS can make links but it cannot provide leadership or resources.

The energy of curiosity and exploration also provides a potentially thin organising resource, as people select what they are interested in, and "going where the energy is" can mean ignoring key issues around funding, decision-making protocols, membership, communications and core self-maintenance. The freedom to be on the network's periphery may also mean

> I don't really care what it's called or what the relationship between these groups are or whether it's got a bank account or whatever. I'm not going to be part of that central organization (Callum)

5.6. Conclusion

The development of SWS climate justice platform is indebted to the continued imprints of SWS' origins, form and members' motives for participating. But we cannot speculate on climate justice in relation to form, life circumstances or the generative force of a passion for popular education alone. 'Origins', 'impulses' and 'form' are starting points, which, as mentioned in section 5.2., will inform the scene but begin to disappear from view as SWS relations-making activities like the GFP, JCJ and LCJ take practical shape and narrative focus (see Fig. 5.4).

In Chapter Six we move off of these nodes to trace the emergent field of climate justice as a set of discourses and strategies. Here what I've referred to as the 'platform' takes shape as ideations of environmental justice, popular education and community engagement are modified by embodied experiences, affective encounters and the rigours and compromises

of planning. We begin to see SWS' plans come to life as events and activities in the Scottish Central Belt, or fail to emerge, remaining as resources and lessons for future action. As organisational and resource constraints combine with members' nuanced and complex understandings of climate change as a full-spectrum social, ecological and economic phenomenon, climate justice in contemporary Scotland emerges as something potentially very different to prevailing globalist state-centric readings of the term.
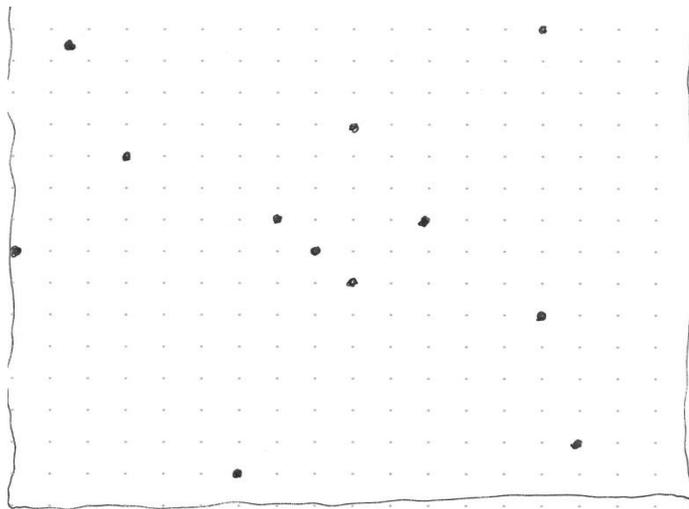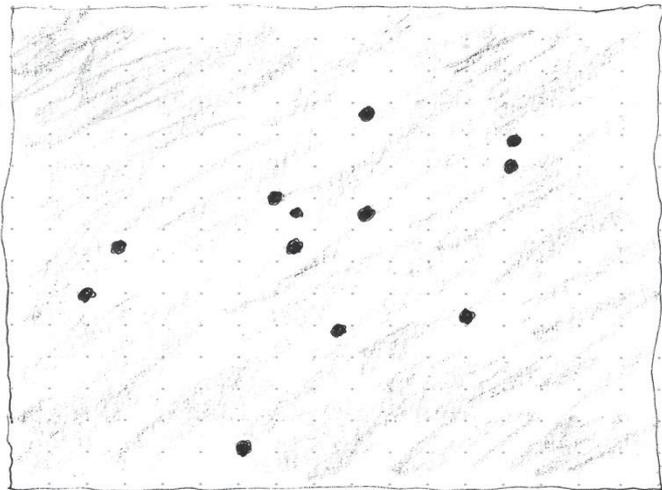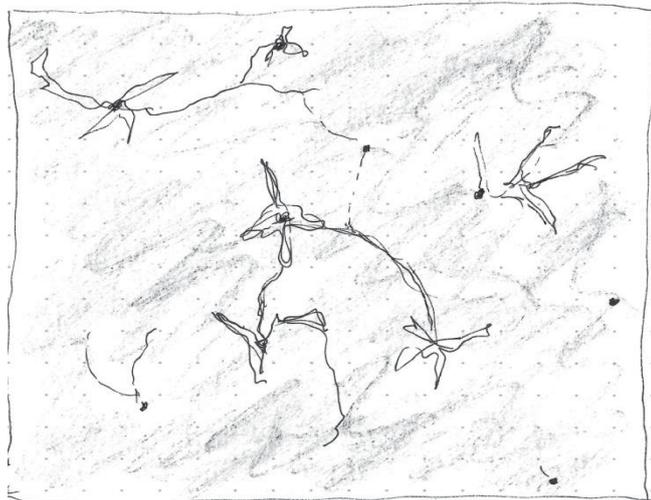
Figure 5.4 Making relations: schematic of narrative and performance across three chapters

Chapter 6. Climate Justice Performed

> If climate change is the question…then climate justice is the fight?
>
> (Yvonne, SWS member, 2010)

> Duncan: So climate *change* is happening and climate *justice* is about -
> Tasha: Is about that change.
> Duncan: - bringing about a just world, but through the lens of stopping climate
> change.
> Tasha: Cool.
>
> (Exchange during 'Living for Climate Justice' workshop, 2010)

> Climate justice is needed to effectively address climate change.
> (Prof. Allan Miller, Chair, Scottish Human Rights Commission [SHRC],
> 2009a)

6.1. Introduction

In the opening of their book *A Climate of Injustice*, Roberts and Parks narrate their vision of climate injustice in a story about two adjacent landowners, one the owner of a small family farm, the other the wealthy and well-connected owner of a large landfill site (2007, pp.1-2). Their cautionary parable plays out quickly and directly: the two men arrive at a joint land management agreement, which, driven by greed, the landfill owner betrays, expanding his waste and pollution onto the farmer's property. The farmer protests, so, in a nod to equity and fairness, the landfill owner promises to consider the situation – if the farmer stops dumping waste too, even though it is negligible and vital for his farming. The farmer seeks alliances with other small farmers, but many, particularly the slightly more successful, are afraid of the financial and political consequences of seeking limits on the landfill owner. The farmer is left to resist with only his weakest neighbours, and the pollution and destruction continues.

It will be instantly apparent to readers of *A Climate of Injustice* that the farmer represents the Global South, the landfill owner the Global North, and their worthless agreement the ongoing climate change treaty negotiations under the auspices of the UNFCCC (UN Framework Convention on Climate Change). To press this home the authors then provide a climactic "nonfictional scene": Bangladeshi academic Atiq Rahan addresses a "sea of scientists, negotiators and lobbyists from around the world", stating "If climate change

makes our country uninhabitable, we will march with our wet feet into your living rooms" (p.2). The parable of the fictitious landfill dispute sets the imagination's table for the 'real life' scene of a rapacious North laying waste to the ostensibly common resource of the atmosphere, causing untold and enduring hardship. The response of the South (as told in the stories here) seems to be limited to forced migration and the threat of northern home invasions. Rising tides, waves of mass migrants pouring in through increasingly leaky borders, southern voices shouting at the sea ("of scientists, negotiators…"), all part of a hydrological story of massive movements and epic forces.

Stories generally, writ or performed large, are "quite possibly…the principal way of understanding the lived world. Story is central to human understanding" (Lewis, 2011, p.505). I begin with this particular story of climate justice because it is a powerful narrative that, in various derivations, holds much popular currency. It aligns two different sets of relations into one narrative, those of the increasingly distant ways we are governed, and our assumed distance from those suffering from climate change. Stories, I would also argue, are a primary instrument in translating and shaping understandings across spaces, times and scales. As social or political climate change research, some stories begin with a particular vision of the Social Global, drawing on massive monolithic tropes and symbols from, for example, the Bible and Marx (Wainwright and Mann, 2012). Others convey temporal (deep geological time) and spatial (the Earth's solar system) visions of a more-than-human Global that is even grander still (Clark, 2005, 2010). Many, many more stories are testaments to suffering due to climate change effects, and a very few point to the suffering created by its structural causes (see Bond, 2010, 2011; Fryer and McCormack, 2012).

In this chapter, I construct a short series of climate justice narratives that differ in significant ways from the popular account that begins Roberts and Parks influential book. In terms of the spaces these narratives range through, they are "microgeopolitics" (Pain, 2009; Askins and Pain, 2011) in a different register from the 'macro-tale' related above. The constituent parts of SWS' climate justice platform appear out of relationships and encounters, a particular vision of the 'micro' owing much to the "intimate" in Rosner and Pratt's formulation of the "the global and the intimate" (2006). Resultant narratives emerge through SWS's declarative identity and lived practices as they iterate in making relations, both within and without its fluid organisational borders. And as SWS itself emerges out of the improvised energies of a small number of individuals, climate justice

stories are also shaped in the space between members' ideas and beliefs, their life experiences, and their hopes and emotions.

Where Chapter Five focused largely on the impetus behind SWS' formation, the primary task here is to interrogate how 'climate justice' is crafted by and informs the conceptual and practical frameworks of SWS activism. I would argue that the crafting of this research itself contributes to the generation of the meaning of climate justice, and I use 'meaning' here in the sense of what *functions* climate justice performs, how it works for and through SWS.[57] The manifestation of climate justice introduced in Chapter Five is brought forward: from being the 'new' political aim that prompted SWS formation in the first place, to its 'becoming' as a potential platform for action mediated through many iterations of discourse and practice. Methodologically the chapter draws heavily on interviewees' views of climate justice, the recorded group discussion after the July 22 2010 "Living for Climate Justice: Using Social Theatre for Popular Research" workshop (LCJ) and SWS planning and outreach texts from the Linnvale GFP and the aborted JCJ Bus Tour. As climate justice is an emerging, elastic and contested concept, some attention is paid to how it has been discursively deployed by government agencies and NGOs, providing a context for SWS evolution of the term.

In interrogating the meaning/function of climate justice for SWS and allied individuals, three different dimensions come into focus. Climate justice is equally a pragmatic rallying hub for activism (as seen in Chapter Five), an idealised political discourse (as will be examined shortly here), and, most centrally to this chapter, a spatial and temporal imaginary that is comprised of elements of the previous two, as well as the lived relations (and conditions of relations) which are constitutive of SWS and their activities with allies and communities. The expansiveness and fluidity of climate justice as it is performed emerges as both an opportunity and a difficulty. If the 'big tent' of climate justice allows for broad-based movement building by SWS, it may also divert from the compelling need to reduce greenhouse gas emissions within technocratically (i.e. derived from techno-economic policy frameworks) or empirically (i.e. beholden to the best projections and advice of climate scientists) established timeframes.

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[57] From Chapter Four, Section 4.4.3.4. "Thus meaning becomes a matter of the thing's function in relations for, on, and between objects and subjects. As Guattari writes: 'the unconscious doesn't mean anything, nor does language…The only question is how anything works, with its intensities, flows, processes, partial objects – none of which mean anything'. (Guattari, in Deleuze, 1995, p.22)"

6.2. Discourses of 'Climate Justice': justice, rights and scale

> ...that's always been my moment of losing clarity inside the words - I know
> what climate *in*justice is, but when I get to the other side I get lost quite
> quickly.
> (Tasha, Living for Climate Justice [LCJ] workshop, 2010)

The constant risk of "losing clarity inside the words" represents one of the key
problematics for SWS in creating a workable and efficacious platform for climate
justice activism. Undoubtedly, however, it also presents an opportunity for SWS to
stake a distinctive position through both declarative identity claims and innovative
relations-making and organisational practices. Here I briefly engage with how
'climate justice' has been interpreted by relevant government agencies and NGOs. I
focus on the question of scale, and filter the question of the formulation and function
of climate justice down from a generalised globalist discourse to its use on SWS'
home territory of Scotland, providing some context for the discursive political terrain
in which SWS works. Central to these climate justice discourses is that they are
framed as a question of human rights, situated in the contemporary western liberal
tradition.

2009 marked an important year for Scottish climate change policy and governance
strategies. On August 4, 2009, the Climate Change (Scotland) Act 2009 was passed
(Scottish Government, 2009). At the time in Holyrood there was much fanfare about its
ambitious emissions targets: "The world-leading …Act introduces targets to reduce
emissions by 42 per cent by 2020 and at least 80 per cent by 2050. It will drive new
thinking, new solutions and new technologies, putting Scotland at the forefront of building
a sustainable low carbon economy" (SHRC, 2009a). Four months later, the United Nations
Conference on Climate Change (COP-15)[58] was held in Copenhagen. Between those two
events, the "Human Rights and Climate Change" conference was held in Glasgow,
November 23, 2009. One of its express purposes was to "inform…the Scottish
Government's position ahead of the…Copenhagen Climate Change Conference" (British
Trust for Conservation Volunteers [BTCV], 2009). The conference was co-convened by
the Scottish Human Rights Commission (SHRC), the BTCV, the Scottish Environmental

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[58] COP-15 refers to the fifteenth session of the 'Conference of the Parties' to the United Nations Framework
Convention on Climate Change, which came into effect on March 21, 1994 ; the Copenhagen conference was
also the fifth "meeting of the Parties to the Kyoto Protocol (CMP 5)", which was adopted on December 11,
1997 (UNFCC, 2011)

Protection Agency (SEPA) and the Scottish Government, and dubbed "a seminal event marking the beginning of defining what climate justice means for Scotland and the actions to be taken" (Miller, 2009, p. 1).[59] Taking that statement at face value, climate justice as a component of Scottish policy had not previously made it to the negotiating table.

While asserting 'climate justice' as a central part of Conference discourse and aims, key addresses by SHRC Chair Professor Allan Miller (see above) and former UN High Commissioner on Human Rights (UNHRC) Mary Robinson[60], as well as a variety of other conference outputs, present a "climate change strategy + human rights = climate justice" equation. The rights mentioned are already ubiquitous in the foundational rights discourse associated with UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 1948; the rights to housing, health, a livelihood and the right to life itself (Miller, 2009, p.2).[61] However, there are several key dimensions of the climate justice 'rights-talk' which are highly problematic, and these help to highlight what SWS' climate change platform is *not*, *vis-a-vis* the Scottish government's position. As it emerges from the Conference, I posit that this climate justice 'rights-talk' is technicised, distancing and ultimately non-transformative (i.e. liberal reformist) in its vision.

Non-transformative

The first and perhaps most important dimension is that having the right to something is not at all the same as having the ability to exercise that right, and more vitally, to secure the means by which one may exercise that right in perpetuity. As Patel *et al* argue, "without the hard work of social mobilization, legal transformation – even of the most profound stripe – amounts to little" (2007, p.88). "Lanes" on a "climate justice roadmap" such as "empowerment…of the most vulnerable" (Miller, 2009, p.2) make little difference if the structural causes of vulnerability remain untouched. Patel *et al* (2007) offer an interesting case study of a radical deployment of rights discourse as transgressive and politically transformative: the food sovereignty work of the global peasant movement *Via Campesina*.

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[59] See SHRC chair Prof. Allan Miller's address to the conference, available as an MS Word document embedded at http://www.scottishhumanrights.com/news/latestnews/article/climateconferencenews
[60] Robinson addressed the Conference live by video, which can be seen at http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=lwtIrqczrfI (last accessed 27/07/12)
[61] The closing conference communiqué states that it "is based on universal principles of human rights, values and law, as established by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the International Covenants on Economic, Social and Cultural and Civil and Political Rights, the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change, the Aarhus Convention on Access to Information, Public Participation in Decision-Making and Access to Justice in Environmental Matters as well as the Scotland Act 1998 and Human Rights Act 1998."

As Clark and Stevenson note, "Rights discourse, at the level of international statecraft, BINGOs and summiteering, has played a past pivotal role in the 'convergence of issues of sustainability and development'" (2003, p.236). While *Via Campesina* acknowledges the strategic importance of such traditional claims-making (the right to food in this case), it also works to achieve *the right to secure their own means* to the right to food itself via the principle of food sovereignty. There is a useful illustrative parallel to be drawn between a SWS understanding of climate justice and the *Via Campesina* employment of food sovereignty, one which seems to place SWS' relation to climate justice at some distance from the vision offered at the Human Rights and Climate Change conference:

> La Via Campesina's approach to rights...operates not by pointing to extant rights and their violations but by using the language of rights to summon an active politics over a social domain that has, through progressive…liberalization been technicized and rendered "anti-political" (Patel *et al*, 2007, pp.92-93)

Legal scholars have noted that the relative success of rights-based claims "deployed against power", even where such rights are entrenched in law, are based largely on *extra-legal* conditions such as the strength of social mobilisation and the prevailing political climate (Patel, 2007, p.88). As an SM, it is within these extra-legal conditions that SWS works to make transformative relations based on community self-defence and processes of collective education and autonomous horizontal organising (each of these, of course, come with their own problematics) which profoundly break from the long-standing capitalist extractive paradigm.

Distancing

The substance and tone of key conference speakers and the joint communiqué also work to place climate justice elsewhere in the Global South. Inhabitants of the developed Global North are to support climate justice out of fear that in the future they will suffer similar negative impacts to their safety and livelihood as people in the Global South suffer now. In her video address to the Conference, former UNHRC commissioner Robinson recounted hearing testimonials from Ugandan and Kenyan subsistence farmers at an Oxfam-sponsored 'climate justice tribunal' in Cape Town, South Africa. She added that climate change "icons" such as "polar bears and melting glaciers" were "distancing", and that the images of climate change which might move us to act were those described at the tribunal: of drought, flooding, destroyed harvests and fracturing African communities. Climate

justice in this vision does connect people globally, but in a relationship between those in a position of immediate peril due to climate change effects and those able to provide the requisite ameliorative measures that will sustain their own futures:

> We can have a new paradigm of development that's more respectful, that recognises the interconnections...we need to be connected with the poorest at the moment, because if we're not, then their exercise of a carbon right to development will bring us above the 2^0C, and the 450 parts/million [of CO_2 in the atmosphere], and we will not have a *safe world*. (Robinson, conference address, 2009, emphasis mine)

While praising "the impact of climate justice on Scotland", Robinson clearly is referring to what would hopefully be Scottish policy at an international level. In her closing remarks she added:

> Finally we need to get this across in Copenhagen itself. Many...will be there urging a much more human approach, we need much more radical approaches to mitigation if we're to have a *safe world* by 2050...we need a big adaptation fund, in addition not instead of aid, it must be new money and a commitment to the transfer of green technologies...So I must commend again, Scotland, your focus on climate justice, I hope your voice will be heard loudly in Copenhagen, joining with all the other voices urging a human centred, people centred approach to this incredible challenge to all of our futures.

Here, Robinson seems to distance climate change from her Scottish audience (in a sense, all of us in the developed Global North) in three linked ways: climate change is a matter of mitigating toward a target some 40 years hence; it is a matter of foreign aid policy rather than the milieu of (Scottish, local) politics; and it stresses expert knowledge and technology (even while asking us to 'raise our voices and be heard').

Technicisation

Closely tied to a 'distant' climate justice is the dimension of technicisation, and SWS' climate justice platform also differs markedly from the technicised vision of rights-based climate justice offered at the Conference. A strong emphasis was placed on Scotland's responsibility as a "duty holder" whose greatest task is to share its expertise in renewable

energy technologies with other jurisdictions, particularly developing nations, and on "preferential terms to the poorest countries" (Miller, 2009, p.2; joint communiqué, 2009,

p.1). In line with this position, Robinson claims a major aspect of the right to climate justice is the right for poor nations to pursue non-carbon development:

> The way we need to address the next concept of climate justice is the right of these poorest countries to development...we recognise the MDGs [UN Millennium Development Goals]. This now cannot be the carbon development we've had, if everyone at the bottom of the pyramid exercised that right to carbon development, we would have no *safe world* after 2050 so it's in our interest for climate justice to ensure the transfer of green technology, and a huge adaptation fund...if poor communities do in fact get better seeds, farming methods and renewable power like solar, wind, thermal, they'll then be part of the solution, because they'll be mitigating climate change through their adaptation, to help *secure our world*. (emphasis mine)

Less-carbon intensive energy and agricultural technologies (among others) are arguably needed worldwide. However, such technologies and materials are framed as necessary for *securing* a *safe* world (for "2050"), with justice conceptualised as a limited and limiting instrument for stabilising global climate pressures in order to secure a balance of socio-economic forces. The autonomous interests of the disenfranchised majority are subsumed within this securitisation. The technical dimension is not limited to material technological practices, but extends to mechanisms of governance. Miller in particular adds a technocratic element to the implementation of human rights, proposing "combining environmental impact assessments with human rights impact assessments, so as to identify and priorities the needs and rights of the most vulnerable" (2009, p.2). Arguably, identifying priorities, needs and rights, indeed meaningful public participation at all, is particularly problematic in Scotland, which features an extreme concentration of land ownership (Wightman, 2011) and has been described by the Jimmy Reid Foundation as

> a country which by many measures has one of weakest local democracies in Europe. The distance between where people live and their first 'local' democratic structure is, in some cases, greater than the distance across entire EU nations. (2012, page 1)

In this light, it would seem that these "specific actions we (the 4 partners to this Communiqué) commit to undertake together" may be stymied by strong existing structural limits:

- Explore what a human rights based approach to tackling climate change looks like in a Scottish context

- Assess the extent to which Scottish policies and actions are already aligned to a human rights based approach and identify areas where this is scope for improvement

- Ensure public participation and engagement in contributing to the objectives of the Climate Change (Scotland) Act through awareness raising, knowledge transfer, peer mentorship and environmental volunteering

- Identify how an over-arching human rights based approach to climate change can be implemented in practical terms, taking account of the range of existing tools and assessments which are applied at policy level (joint communiqué, 2009)

"Technicisation" of climate justice, both through technologies of energy and engineering and technologies of governance and power, further serves to evacuate "rights + climate change = climate justice" of political traction, rendering this version of climate justice as another post-political instrument of populist governance (Swyngedouw, 2007, 2010).

> I would say that [climate justice] it's about…well, like capitalism and oppression and the way society's organized about …in relation to neo-liberalism… and that, that's not really talked about at all in like, the things now about climate change, like that the government says you should cut carbon use and things like that. So its like depoliticized in those discussions. (Marion, interview 2010)

As Marion states above, and as argued elsewhere in this thesis, SWS places those exploitative relations and extractive industries that have *caused* climate change at the heart of its climate justice platform; in contrast, the Conference vision of rights-based climate justice focuses only on a rights-based approach to ameliorating the *effects* of climate change ("the Conference..aim was to begin a conversation…about how we protect the most vulnerable from the effects of climate change" [Curran and Miller, 2010, p.3]). So when the SHRC chairman adds "part of the empowerment necessary in Scotland is the right particularly of those most vulnerable and affected by climate change to influence policy making" (p.4), it is unclear exactly to whom he refers. With this emphasis on effects rather than causes, it does not appear that those Scottish communities SWS has sought to work with in the past two years, such as those under the flightpath in Clydebank[62], next to the UK's largest petrochemical plants in Grangemouth[63], or the proposed largest incinerator in

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[62] On November 22, 2009, The Gathering Under the Flightpath was held at St. Cuthbert's Church Hall, Linnvale, Clydebank, with approximately 25 participants. Linnvale is a housing estate built in the late 1940's after the area was destroyed by bombing during the Clydebank Blitz, and lies directly under a flightpath into Glasgow International Airport. The airport and area is also home to large tanks of explosive and flammable liquids associated with aviation, and at least one local resident has become active in trying to find out about the potential radius of an 'explosion zone' there and other health hazards associated with hazardous materials storage.

[63] SWS collaborators Callum and Olivia have been involved in environmental justice activism in Grangemouth. They have co-organised activities commemorating the Bhopal chemical plant disaster of 1984, tracing the complex link in corporate ownership and responsibility between the Bhopal and Grangemouth facilities (via Union Carbide and Dow Chemical). Olivia and collaborators have also facilitated the Environmental Justice Photo Project, a community photography project with Grangemouth,

Europe in Greengairs, would qualify as sufficiently "vulnerable" to exercise what right to climate justice the Conference vision might permit.

6.3. SWS' climate justice platform performed: space and time

SWS' platform differs quite radically from the Scottish government's rights-based approach critiqued above. I argue that the central discursive distinction lies in the government's application of circulating universalist rights discourses, best suited to a global institutionalist framework (Clark and Stevenson, 2003, p.236), to a 'mismatched' Scottish scalar context which is then rendered featureless, aspatial and a-material. While we can only speculate about the possible disjunctures and necessary further remedies this creates in decision and policy-making, we do know that the greenhouse gas emission reduction targets set in the Climate Change (Scotland) Act 2009 appear very unlikely to be met without considerable and immediate changes across an enormous spectrum of economic, environmental and social policy and implementation.[64] Insofar as the conference was intended to work a climate justice frame into Scottish climate change policy, particularly for the Copenhagen COP-15, it was a practical failure on this one (but central) point. This means that the rights discourse employed, as ever, oscillates between process and ideal, potent in the transmission of faith rather than in the promise of keeping a rise in global mean temperatures below 2^0C. SWS shares this processual ethos. But as an

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Merthyr Tydfill, a largely deindustrialised former coal and iron mining centre, which has recently seen the opening of one of Europe's largest open-cast coal mines by the company Miller Argent, and Southall, a predominantly Asian community in West London under the Heathrow flightpath, facing expansion of a large gasworks facility (http://environmental-justice.com/multiple-deprivation/; accessed July 6, 2011).

[64] While CO_2 emissions are indeed gradually falling, see Russell (2010) on the 610 % rise in sulphur hexafluoride emissions, a far more powerful greenhouse gas, in Scotland since 1995. SF6 is one of six gasses considered 'greenhouse gasses' by the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change. Despite legislating a 42 % reduction in greenhouse gas emissions by 2020, and in spite of promising a 3% per annum reduction during the early years of the ambitious program, in May, 2010, the SNP government proposed reductions of just 0.5 % and 1 % in 2011 and 2012 respectively. Green MSP Patrick Harvie stated those cuts in emissions "represented 'smaller cuts than those which took place before the climate change act was even written' " (Edwards, 2010). The legislative outcome was eventually even worse: in October 2010, more deeply compromised emissions cuts of just 0.5 % in 2011 and 0.3 % in 2012 were voted into effect in the Scottish Parliament by the SNP, on the back of a mass abstention by the Scottish Labour Party (Carrell, 2010). The SNP government has been criticised for relying on European carbon market schemes to meet its targets on a 'balance sheet' basis (see Randalls, 2011), as well as an optimistic reliance on new renewables and bringing managed natural stores of carbon such as peat bogs and forests into account – whilst at the same time promoting roadway and airport expansion, new coal mining and deep sea oil drilling, inefficient wood biomass burners at Dundee, Leith and Rosyth, and mega-incinerators at Greengairs.

oppositional movement that begins outwith formal governance structures, comprised of individuals who have, to a person, expressed no belief in current governmental strategies to combat climate change, SWS enters the space that the Conference evacuates, a space for more potentially transformative socio-economic relations.

6.1

Clydebank Fuel Poverty Campaign leaflet, distributed at GFP

Here I will explore individual members' interests, ethics and personal politics that inform, in what may be novel ways, the plural 'justic*es*' that SWS invokes in this space, and how these inform their nascent climate justice platform (or 'plateau' [Chesters and Welsh, 2005]). This platform inevitably comes together on the ground, at sites, in community halls, or just as importantly in the meeting and planning processes that are meant to lead to such groundings. In SWS' attempts to 'locate justice in space' by making relations with communities, we see some of their more declarative identity positions change their appearance, even their function, through their embodied practice in the group's

agglomerate performance of climate justice. I have tried to keep interpretive orderings as open as possible, while organising them into two categories useful for examining the conditions of relations SWS' climate justice platform inhabits and attempted to mediate in the Scottish Central Belt. These are:

- *Spacing and emplacing*, or the 'where?' of climate justice. This includes the scales at which climate change is seen to operate, and the various ways environmental justice discourses and activist practices are used to 'ground' or reconfigure ethico-political conceptions of climate change;

- *Temporality*, particularly the multitude of practical and ethical issues raised by the driving timelines of the climate change crisis, resulting in personal confusion or ambivalence, or alternately inspiration and enhanced commitment to activism

In participating in the extreme ebbs and flows of what has been a chaotic organising process for SWS, I have seen how event execution and planning happens quite autonomously from most formal prescriptions on how SWS would ideally wish to structure itself. There were several failed attempts at drafting a constitution through autumn 2009 to early 2010, and a series of more defined but as yet unimplemented decisions on formal SWS structure emergent from general meetings held in Manchester through late 2010 and early 2011. During the fieldwork period most projects undertaken by SWS were led by small informal groups of two to five individuals, essentially trusted to do what they saw fit in the context of the allied community groups they were working with. Members such as Yvonne and I had complete autonomy to design and facilitate the LCJ workshop. Susan has had a long, productive but organisationally autonomous relationship with SWS for nearly three years. Olivia, Callum and an 'outside' photographer have developed the Environmental Justice Photo Project (EJPP) without SWS organisational involvement beyond cross-listing one another on their websites at various times. Callum describes his relationship to SWS, routed through Grangemouth, thus:

> Callum: so I suppose I see my role as not … not in the centre of DIY but kind of slightly on the periphery, on the basis of my history, my interests, my …it's it's a space whereby I can locate some of my activism…I organized an event in Grangemouth around Bhopal and Dow, because Dow Chemicals was the plant. Now essentially I did that because of my Bhopal links, but I linked that with a lot of people through DIY who also went along, got involved. [Olivia], who I …well I didn't meet her through DIY, but she's kind of connected with DIY…

I: So that event…would you consider that… is that sort of a kind of DIY umbrella event?

C: I think so. I think so, in a sense it's slightly new territory in that it is a much looser network, and networking is a better name than an organization. So it means that yes you can have a Bhopal event on Dow in Grangemouth, kind of connected with the DIY network or maybe the Convergence network or maybe the …whatever the latest name that's come up/

I: /So We Stand.

C: So We Stand. I don't really care what it's called or what the relationship between these groups are or whether it's got a bank account or whatever. I'm not going to be part of that central organization. Um, but it is a network through which activities can happen and then connect with other activities (interview, 2010)

While the looseness of this network was beginning to be queried and challenged in various ways by late 2010, at the time SWS (DIY) was more a constellation of thematically related events and conversations than a tangible organisation. Power did coalesce in individuals, but there was little in the way of structure for anyone to exert this power through – this structure was still under construction. So throughout 2009 into late 2010, SWS "was a space where I can locate some of my activism" for many, a relatively flat space where individual projects could be pursued without being evaluated by procedural or constitutional metrics. The "weight" of differing precepts of climate justice, both as ideals and in practice, was dispersed and levelled.

6.4. Spacing and emplacing

I think it's zoomed into this whole overall umbrella threat of climate change
- Cassie, interview, 2010

From Grangemouth to Easterhouse all these patterns are emerging…What can we do, where can we take it from here?
- Mike, CJ workshop, 2010

Zooming into an umbrella. Focusing in…on a whole…through emerging patterns. These are vernacular expressions, edited together, of the spatialities of SWS' climate justice platform. As an exercise we could translate the vernacular into 'Lefebvrian worlds of abstract and concrete space comingling, then bent across scales, traced with networks and clustered with Events', bolstering the true-enough claim that social movements don't theorise their spatial relations, but enact them strategically and on an as-needed basis (Leitner *et al*, 2008).

While activists do not generally apply academically produced social theory to an understanding of how they operate in spaces and places,[65] in conscious and unconscious ways they are co-producing – even as privileged 'first authors' in some cases – living spatial theories of their own. Callum's reference above to networks notwithstanding, the climate justice narrative of SWS often exceeds Leitner *et al*'s five categories of social movements' spaces (place, scale, networks, mobility, and socio-spatial positionality). It is possible that the "scale" of the story climate justice might demand – a story which must be able to bear an internal logic of unforeclosed complexity (Swyngedouw, 2010), a frightening and liberating excess (Yusoff, 2010), and a confrontation with totalising and seemingly endless spans of time-space (Clark, 2010) – might render the spatial imaginaries of environmental understanding on which we've become dependent for recourse quite inadequate (O'Brien, 2011). Near-ubiquitous lay and policy discourses employing phrases such as 'think globally, act locally' may now "make less sense when global and local issues are recognized as intertwined and interdependent" (p.545).

While all of SWS' work could be understood as spatially routed, enabled and apprehendable, there are identifiable recurring themes apparent in SWS' performance of climate justice that are central to understanding the story: iterated, co-constitutive processes of *spacing* and *emplacing* (see Table 6.1).

Spacing	Emplacing
- Spacing is generally *holding on and going further* (Crouch 2003, 2010a, 2010b).	- Emplacing is *identifying* events and their catchments.
- It is mostly *performed through* imaginative acts; desires; narrations (transsubjective mappings)	- It *marks* the meeting points of the justice(s) SWS enrols into climate justice.
- It *produces* distance, scale, proximity, reach, extension, relations	- It *constructs* and *tests* SWS organising practices.
- Spacing is often *comprised* of care, hope, humility and respect; or fear, incomprehension and arrogance	- Emplacing is how SWS *confronts* its own purpose (efficacy, or "success", vs. capture or derailment).

Table 6.1 Differentiating spacing and emplacing

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[65] SWS is an interesting case in that within the relatively small and fluctuating core group there are four practicing academics and several graduates of physical and social science and arts and humanities programs. In my experience though, outside of internally discussing certain tenants of environmental justice or anti-oppression frameworks, which have emerged from a mixture of oppositional civil society practice and publically-funded progressive social science research, no one attempts to bring academic theory to SWS, whether political, social, critical or otherwise. There is discussion of creating a reading materials depository as an activist resource, but at the time of writing this had not progressed.

Both spacing and emplacing involve deployments of declarative identities that both alter and respond to lived practice and conditions of relations. The distinction between them may be analytically helpful in identifying the tones and tools of the narrative, but it is in many ways an ontologically thin one; if we proffer the position that place is essentially an intensity or coalescence of space, a node or attractor, then acts of spacing and emplacing are largely inseparable. However, as stated in Chapter Two, there must be a pragmatic causality to relations, however diffuse or mediated, to make an undifferentiated space a *place* for SM actors, who are engaging with intent, deliberation and at some cost in "necessarily embedded material practices which have to be carried out" (Massey, 2005, p.9). And while this "carrying out" of practices is by default always embedded, material, and corporeally instantiated, it is also an extraordinary labour of imaginative, affective and emotional subjectivities. As components of how relate SWS' spatial performance of climate justice, it is as if 'spacing' carries the affective and subjective story while 'emplacing' provides the plot: where the impacts are, moments or events of realisation, the coming to ground of the discursive and imaginative vision – the tests of SWS practice. Rather than continuing to hold the two categories apart I want to illustrate through the fieldwork how the two processes are comingled in processes of translation from ideal, ideation and imagination into more 'grounded' practice.

The word 'climate' itself may be a bridging spatial metaphor (Smith and Katz, 1993), linking a variety of concepts and relations between scientific climate as 'atmosphere' and vernacular climate as 'general state' (e.g., a 'climate of suspicion', 'a party atmosphere') meanings. Many commentators have expressly used this double meaning when writing about climate change from a social or political perspective.[66] While SWS does not use the term 'climate' in this way, it does frequently enrol people and places (and their representations) in symbolic and metaphoric ways. There are of course inherent dangers as well as opportunities for public engagement. O'Neil and Hulme (2009) have demonstrated how publics are less inclined to 'take up' "expert-led" iconography, such as graphs of the Thermohaline Circulation, than they are iconic images of species and landscapes under threat from conditions such as sea level rise. On the other hand, Slocum (2004) argues that large social movements and NGOs, in using polar bear imagery to create a symbolic shorthand for communicating both the risks of climate change and the need to modify individual energy-saving behaviours, may risk de-localising climate change as an issue and

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[66] See *A Climate of Injustice* (Roberts and Parks, 2007); *Creating a Climate for Change* (Moser and Dilling, Eds., 2007); *A New Climate for Society* (Jasanoff, 2010); *Cosmopolitan Climates* (Hulme, 2010)

alienating consumers of these images from climate change as a salient personal concern. SWS member Amy spoke of the difficulty in trying to focus the attention of publics that become inured to such symbols:

> Relate to people's income and wallets and bills, rather than the environment because people don't…people will only come to a new idea voluntarily. You can't force them, you can't coerce them with sad images of you know…I don't know…drowning Bangladeshis or polar bears or what…it works for us, works for us greens, that's why we are greens, but we forget that it doesn't work…you know…and you know its not a case of just show more (ha ha ha!), say it louder, you know…/
>
> Aaron: /these pictures didn't work, well here's some more pictures. Look at this desert. (Amy, interview, 2010)

A recurring point in SWS planning processes for the aborted JCJ Bus Tour (see Figs. 6.2 and 6.3) was the stress by some members on seeking out symbolic or iconic sites of environmental and climate justice. I will further explore the subjective and affective dimension of this strategy in Chapter 7. Here, a distinction in the approach to planning and promotion of the GFP in Linnvale and the Bus JCJ Tour sheds light on different contingent and collectively improvised ways of spacing and emplacing in SWS practice.

<div style="border: 1px dotted black; padding: 1em;">

Gathering on [sic] the Flightpath

Poverty, Inequalities and the links with Climate Change

Creating a Tool Kit for Action

Do you understand the links between poverty and the destruction of our planet? Are you concerned and want to take action?

Are you aware of the horrors of the proposed 'welfare reform bill' that will force women fleeing violence into slave labour and could leave the most vulnerable people in our society without money for food?

Have you already been taken off incapacity benefit and left without any money to live on for weeks on end?

Do you live under the flight path of the airports in Scotland or other toxic areas like Grangemouth or near open cast mining?

Do you suffer from insomnia or is your clean washing covered in black spots?

Are you concerned about the health affects that the pollution is having on your children?

</div>

Figure 6.1 Page from proposed Gathering Under the Flightpath brochure, October 2009.

The text above (Fig. 6.1) is from a proposed outreach flyer for the GFP that never made it to print, but not because organisers disagreed with its contents. It posed a series of questions that attempt to cut to the heart of the connection between exploitation (the Welfare Reform Bill, a fractured benefits system) and extraction (coal mining, oil refining), and indeed sets some early desired conditions of relations for SWS' climate justice platform. While the event was sited in Linnvale, the questions were intended to provoke interest in the event by siting the twin injustices of 'poverty' and 'climate change' in the body-subject (Thrift, 1997, p.142), in the embodied experiences of hunger, sleeplessness, filth, disease, and parental love.

In contrast to the GFP's spatial imaginary linking place and body, the spatial imaginary of the planned JCJ (see Figs. 6.2 and 6.3) was consistently suspended (throughout its many iterations debated at meetings), between grounded locale and what Mike often referred to as the "iconic". The tribulations of the abandoned JCJ point toward differing subjective acts of spacing and emplacing within SWS.

The Bus

What it is: day long bus tour which links 'bus stops' across the central belt. This will be a celebratory journey symbolically linking oppressed communities in acts of creative resistance, strategy-sharing and movement-building.

Route:

Bust stop 1: Clydebank

Drive through Glasgow

Pass through Shell (on-bus response?)

Pass through Easterhouse (on-bus response?)

Bus stop 2: Greengairs

Bus stop 3: Grangemouth

Pass by RBS Edinburgh

Bust stop 4: Edinburgh (site?)

Figure 6.2 Internal SWS document, planning the JCJ, undated spring 2010
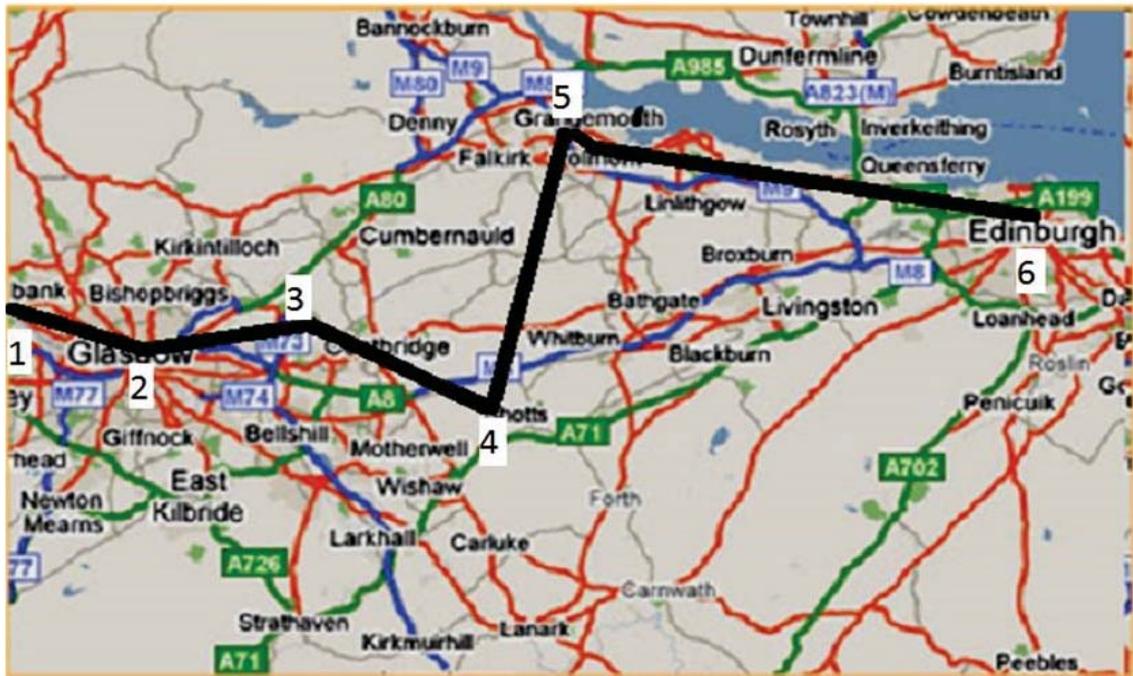
Figure 6.3 Intended JCJ route map: 1) Clydebank; 2) Glasgow; 3) Easterhouse; 4) Greengairs; 5) Grangemouth; 6) Edinburgh

Within the group there were differences expressed between those who wanted the Tour to 'stop' only – spend time in a community – and those who wished to also pass by iconic or symbolic sites of injustice. These sites, often identified in discussion as 'pass by' or 'pass through', would have remained largely relegated to symbolic portraiture within a SWS climate justice narrative: the UK bank which bankrolls fossil fuel extraction, linked to the oil company which has exploited the Nigerian Delta region, presumably linked (somehow) to the estates of Easterhouse. It is not that that there are not links to be made between such nodes in a mapping of climate (in)justice; the artist-activist collective PLATFORM has produced both diagrams (or "Organo-grams", treating sites and relations in the 'carbon web' as part of a body) and guided/spoken word walking tours of the City of London in order to connect the facades and aesthetics of corporate and state power there to exploitation and extraction around the world (Bottoms, 2012; Tompkins, 2011). The difficulty emerges in the contradiction generated by a profuse and unwieldy attempt at spacing and emplacing, routing the JCJ through both places of lively exchange (the 'bus stops') and iconic sites that cannot, in the context of a tour, function as anything but stand-ins.

One way of exploring this tension emerges from Callum's views on "violence in the system". In our extensive interview, Callum spoke at length on the role of active and strategic "non-violence" in his activism; the following is a condensed excerpt of his views on how this relates to SWS' climate justice organising:

...I thought that a non-violent approach was much more addressing climate justice rather than just climate, you know.

I: What's the distinction between climate change and climate justice?

C: Climate change, we know what climate change is. It's about the human induced greenhouse gas emissions damaging the climate. And then what tends to happen then you have policy to try and address that. Climate justice is about the limits on the greenhouse gases but also the distribution of the consumption of the causes, essentially largely who uses fossil fuels, who uses oil, and who gets the benefit of the use of oil...Those questions are central to climate justice.... if you want to tackle climate justice, you don't use carbon trading…'cos carbon trading means people will find the cheapest way to reduce their carbon emissions, if it ever works at all…and the cheapest way is almost certainly not the socially just way...So that's why I thought you need to go to the belly of the beast. You need to go to Grangemouth which is Scotland's biggest oil refinery. It's where the majority of North Sea oil passes through on its way to other refineries throughout Britain, its you know…in many respects it is the epicentre of climate injustice in Scotland...so that's where you locate it. We discussed other places. We could have located it at the Bank of Scotland that was funding oil exploration and pipe lines and, you know, other forms of exploitation. So you could have …but the purpose of the campaign is *you identify the place where the violence in the system can be exposed*, and you go there and you expose it, and you put yourself on the line. That's the non-violent approach. (Callum, interview, 2010, emphasis added)

The Linnvale GFP outreach brochure (Fig 6.1) directly identified this "violence in the system" as airports, open cast mines and the Welfare Reform Bill, and further situated their effects in Clydebank resident's embodied experiences of hunger, sleeplessness, filth, disease, and parental love. Following Callum's interpretation, these 'body-subjects' (Thrift, 1997, p.142) are "the place where the violence in the system can be exposed". Once committed to a community engagement ethos, the challenge for SWS becomes a double one: to space and place the violence in the system at 'both ends', the structural source and the subjective manifestation. In terms of working with 'frontline communities', the extensive group resources and time commitment required, as we had discovered when planning the GFP, would inevitably mean that attention to 'one end' or the other would suffer. SWS' proposed mixing of places for community engagement with iconic sites to be observed and moved through complicated this challenge further. As it was, Mary was politely critical of the GFP's level of engagement with the communities of Clydebank:

This [the GFP] is a wee bit parachuted in, because all the 'Bankies I know are at the pub this afternoon, or sitting at home freezing. (GFP notes, 2009)

Setting aside the difficulties of deploying symbolic sites alongside sites of engagement, symbolic imagery remains an important means of communication. Selecting appropriate symbols and developing a presentational "style" has been a central area of debate and occasional conflict for SWS since its inception. Attempting to bridge perceived and real differences in affective or emotional keys between SWS members, and further bridging said differences between SWS and a variety of publics has been a constant challenge, and creating a suitable flyer promoting the LCJ workshop was no exception.

What Is Climate Justice?

This workshop will use social theatre techniques to aid popular research into the meaning of 'Climate Justice' based on our experiences and views.

The DIY will reimburse your Travel Expenses

A D.I.Y

Popular Education workshop
on ONE of the following dates:
10/11th July
OR
17/18th July
9:30am - 5pm
in central Glasgow

Social Theatre
Theatre of The Oppressed
Rainbow of Desire
Forum Theatre
Code Building
Build connections

and provide lunch, tea, coffee

Can we make the term 'Climate Justice' meaningful and accessible?

Info and booking call   on: or email:

Figure 6.4 First draft of the LCJ workshop flyer

Figure 6.5 Final version of LCJ workshop flyer

The first version (Fig. 6.4) attempts to provide a great amount of information on the workshop itself (however cluttered and de-contextualised…) while managing to be of and for no place in particular, so exhausted is the icon of the Blue Earth.[67] The second version (Fig. 6.5) attempts, successfully or otherwise, to present a symmetry of lived relations and places, aligning in their opposite corners two faces of work and two faces of the sky, each mundane and iconic in their own limited way. The central icon of the CO_2 emitting jumbo jet is both imposing and ludicrous.

In contrast to the GFP and JCJ, the LCJ was not really 'of' or 'for' a place, either grounded or iconic. It took place at an affordable venue in central Glasgow, a Quaker meeting house with a room suitable for moving around in and a kitchen for lunch and tea. As a site of climate injustice, it was not a place of violence in the system but an "affective space" (Boal, 1995, p.22) that researched that violence. At the LCJ, the spacing and placing of climate justice was explored in a differently mediated way, between body-subjects and individual and shared ideas, memories, and experiences. The process and outcomes of this spacing and placing are explored extensively in Chapter Seven. The other important dimension of SWS members' personal responses to climate change, and how this features in SWS climate justice platform, is time.

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[67] See Morton on the iconographic "Earthrise" images of the Earth photographed from the Moon (2010, p.24)

6.5. Temporality

> That's interesting about climate change that everyone is in a rush to do
> something about it, cuz it's like apocalyptic or something…
>   - Marion, interview, 2010

According to Boykoff (2008), between 2000 and 2006, 30% of UK tabloid climate change coverage featured headlines with "a tone [of] fear, misery and doom" (p.561). These are some of the most widely read papers in the UK, with readership in certain cases "as much as ten times higher than their counterparts in broadsheet newspaper readership", with the common practice of sharing these papers in public places likely doubling that readership again (p.551). A popular "[cultural] ecology of fear" (Davis, 1999)? In his analysis of populist apocalyptical representations of climate change, Swyngedouw (2010) posits that

> The discursive matrix through which the contemporary meaning of the
> environmental condition is woven is one quilted systematically by the
> continuous invocation of fear and danger, the spectre of ecological annihilation
> or at least seriously distressed socio-ecological conditions for many people in
> the near future. (p.217)

Moreover he asserts that this tone is the *consensus* position, not merely hegemonic, but a consensually constructed cultural baseline across all sectors of governance, capital, the media and civil society.

SWS challenges this presumption of the Apocalypse Consensus. SWS members respond to the temporal urgency of climate change in complex ways, and fear is indeed a powerful factor for several people. But where influential tabloids contribute to the consensus fear-state by explicitly ignoring issues of "justice and risk" (Boykoff, 2008, p.558), SWS has attempted to channel anxiety toward climate change into an impetus for broad-based transformative action. This channelling does not render itself well into simple calculations of social movement efficacy. It is neither a riding of collective popular energy as a potential social movement resource, nor, at the personal level, an unambiguous catalyst that might trump other barriers to activist action. For the individuals I have worked and spoken with, headlines such as "Global warming and ozone loss: Apocalypse soon"[68] and "IT'S THE END OF THE WORLD – MAINLY FOR CHILDREN"[69] are not signals to take action towards personal or state-level emissions reductions; rather, they are

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[68] From The Independent, quoted in Swyngedouw, 2010, p.218
[69] From The Express, quoted in Boykoff, 2008, p.561

symptomatic of the political misdirection of much current popular climate change discourse – "apocalyptic imaginations are decidedly populist and foreclose a proper political framing" (Swyngedouw, 2010, p.219).

But we all live and relate within the shadow of the Apocalypse Consensus. While SWS members have developed complex personal responses to the temporality of climate change that seek to defy the uni-directionalism that the apocalypse terrain suggests, the rapid imminence of climate change pervades these responses. I suggest two strands of temporal influence that contain but do not capture the variety of individuals' responses to climate change induced time-pressure:

- *Heightening* – time pressure leading to increasing awareness of existing environmental justice issues, or exploitation through extraction.

- *Lengthening* – Realising the need to continue "deep", long term engagements with communities, particularly through popular education processes.

6.5.1. Heightening

We might start by unpacking the statement "climate justice takes environmental justice to a more radical time scale" (Gerard, LCJ workshop, 2010). Gerard is a long-time environmental justice activist in Falkirk who has done considerable work in the petrochemical hub of Grangemouth (independently of Callum). At the LCJ he spoke at length about the difference between environmental justice and climate justice as temporal political practices in a way that highlighted the consistent difficulties in engaging in environmental justice activism in an area both dependent on and blighted by the oil industry. While environmental and climate justice "could be seen as the exact same thing, it's all the environmental sort of impact", for Gerard a reorientation to climate justice marks a shift, where the "shift in emphasis is that timing, so 'climate justice *now*' is a sort of phrase, but it's the reality." A reality at least for Gerard as an activist, and in practical terms one which he wishes to leverage for his activism, by making time-pressure an amplifier of "environmental justice which I've hopefully had something, like been campaigning on trying to get these issues across."

Other comments supported a positive, perhaps hopeful, response to the effects of time-pressure in heightening existing environmental justice activism:

> [climate justice] just narrows it down a little bit for people that want to focus their energy on – for example, you're thinking about climate, like tipping point, the time scale being the issue, so if that's for you the area that's the emergency and you have to call it something, but you know, rather – come out of the general environmental justice which covers everything. Then you look at the emergency situation which is climate, and you bring that forward and it gives you a point of focus, which I think in that sense is good. (Yann, LCJ workshop, 2010)

Heightened urgency does not mean that more resources are to be mustered for strategies that are exclusively preventative of climate change. Common technical discourses of 'mitigation' versus 'adaptation' were rarely if ever employed, unless this was pressed in discussion. Urgency for SWS does not mean they proscribe to a mitigation/adaptation dichotomy wherein they privilege mitigation strategies:

> Um, yeah "adaptation" and "mitigation" are just used…almost like synonymous, as in like you…I guess maybe I don't have that much of a strategy for what I'm going to be doing in the next five or ten years but I'm just going to like fight as hard as I can and do whatever looks most effective and whether that turns out to be "adaptation" or "mitigation", its two sides of the same coin. (Cassie, interview, 2009)

In the workshop, there was some small-group discussion of justice and human rights (though rights discourse does not generally make its way into SWS texts and organising principles). Interestingly, in relation to time-pressure, rights-based discourses as a means of gathering public interest in climate justice were not seen as being effectively amplified by urgency. They were interpreted as less, not more workable in a condition of urgency, which would have negative implications for the Scottish Government's nominal pursuit of a rights-based climate policy. While recognising that certain nations had begun to enshrine environmental rights and rights for the Earth itself in their constitutions, Peter felt that "unfortunately, again, probably we haven't got time" to effectively communicate climate justice through rights-based discourses. In his words

> …this is something like human rights. We kind of agree that there is such a thing. Once you *explain* it to people in these ways, you know, then you can get on to the deep ecology, then you can get on to the rights of the animals and the planet itself. But people aren't prepared to go from here to the rights of birds. If you can explain it in ways that they *do* understand and most people do understand about human rights, then it's a way forward. Unfortunately, again, probably we haven't got time (LCJ workshop, 2010)

Finally in this section, there is another more elusive, unpredictable heightening effect, one that bears special mention as it relates the climatological conception of 'tipping points' leading to rapid and cataclysmic climate change – rather than the incremental climate change often described by the IPCC (Clark, 2010; Yusoff, 2009) – to the increasingly popularised notion of socio-historical 'tipping points.' The very uncertainty and radical contingency associated with climate change time-pressure – the squeezing of temporal and spatial scales – held positive potential for one participant:

> There's also this kinda concept in terms of time, that there's – the tipping point concept – [references the rapid fall of the Berlin Wall]…you would have said "Oh that's going to take twenty, thirty years, you know", and it took months. So there's an extent to which quick rapid change in big systems is possible, in short periods. But it's often very difficult if not impossible to gauge what will make that happen, or when, at what stage it will happen… But I think that's an important thing because we talked about belief, and we talked about if you cannot actually envision, if you cannot believe that change is possible, why would you engage with it…. So this is trying to look at where are our positives and say where those positives might relate to the current situation we have.
>
> (Stephen, LCJ workshop, 2010)

6.5.2. Lengthening

Interviewees, workshop participants and SWS members I have worked with either expressed a personal commitment to longer term organising and education work with marginalised communities, or their firm support for those projects where they themselves could not take part. As has been stated throughout this work, there have been recurring practical difficulties, as well as differing approaches, in realising these projects. The practical difficulties have often been due to temporal constraints (e.g. mobile activists unable to sustain continued relations with community contacts, or community contacts already time-burdened with existing projects) or differences in the value placed on timely outcomes ("If we had an organiser we wouldn't have all this pish" [Susan, meeting notes, 2009]) versus more open ended, process-centric outcomes.

Members' feelings toward the difficult combination of long-term engagements and climate change time-pressure varied. There is a collective ambivalence about the timelines required to essentially re-politicise the discourse of climate change via sustained community engagements. Organisationally, this ambivalence was clear in the extraordinary number of reversals made over four months, when core planners were deciding on the constituency of the November 2009 Gathering Under the Flightpath. It was never questioned that the intent was to invite Clydebank-area people into a process of

dialogue on the problems they faced, how those problems have broader structural causes and impacts, and how these problems are shared by other communities. The question was how to do this: contact a small group of known activists and organisers in the area, and ask them to each invite a couple of "critical others" (meeting notes, 21/10/09), people whom these activists knew to be interested in their community's difficulties, but not activists or organisers as such. Or, through extensive leafleting, postering and possible street canvassing, try to reach as many people as possible, with much less certainty about the logistical needs required for a completely public open event.

Given that material resources could be marshalled for either option (constrained though they were in either case), the tension between time already spent on organising (postponing it "would just be a headache for everybody" [Susan, meeting notes, 13/10/09]) and the desire "to get on with our other work" (ibid), and the recognition that reaching large numbers of politically under-organised people took considerable time was a strong determining factor. The latter includes not only the time-intensive efforts in communications, but also the time required to ascertain potential attendees' needs:

> If we want a large turn out from disenfranchised people with few resources, we need to make sure certain needs are met and that they are made to feel included and respected. (meeting notes, 13/10/09)

In my annotated notes, Tasha summed up the two positions thus:

> [Tasha]: Several options. We stay with Nov 21 and the focus changes to getting more networked, "hooked in" people, or those who just happen to come along on the day after reading an email or seeing a poster.

> If we postpone, we can do the groundwork properly to include difficult to reach people with few resources who are often voiceless.
> [My annotation]: This reopened the debate on who we are hoping to reach any way. I [Aaron] mentioned that our original goal was to bring together [already active people…] (meeting notes, 13/10/09)

In spite of this clear temporal tension in practice, in interviews SWS members frequently stressed the value they placed on forming long-term commitments to dialogue, solidarity building and reciprocity. When asked if constant media and governmental declarations urging the reduction of emissions 'by x amount before year y' informed his involvement with SWS, Russell replied:

> Yes. I'm much more interested in small or large scale dialogue about how we want to be living, relating and consuming, the world than look… thinking about what happens if we don't… um. I guess from personal experience I spent

a while being… sort of feeling … basically it is futile and there is this big industrial machine that is like spreading to other places…sometimes I feel a bit powerless in that, but the times I feel more in power is when I'm focusing on what the strategies and solutions and alternatives might be. (interview, 2010)

In light of this commitment to processual social change, I pressed him further on how culturally dominant empirically based target strategies might go against this grain. He added:

I think its really important to keep that timeline in the back of your mind. I just suspect that the social movement that is focused on an imminent catastrophe without also bringing lots of ideas about how we can make things better, won't happen basically, because people will feel so overwhelmed that they're not going to engage and they don't believe that they can do anything. Yeah. I don't think we should be blind to the timeliness. (ibid)

Russell's views on time-pressure and its presence in his work reflect SWS "root causes" approach to climate justice, that climate change is symptomatic of past and current environmental injustices which communities are already enduring: "its scary times and we need to be thinking about how imminently massive tragedy can happen and *how it already is happening*" (emphasis mine). He also appears to resist the de-politicizing, paralyzing effects of Apocalypse discourse while embracing a very real temporal urgency.

Box 6.2

"Demographics, and imagery and ways of working..." (Cassie, interview, 2010)

While most SWS participants were white British, there were distinctions between members of different ages and class backgrounds in how they described or related their own emotional responses to injustice and their activism; some younger middle-class activists used the word "radge"* to describe proposed activities, a word the older working class participants never used. This differing emotional reflexivity occasionally hinted at deeper distinctions in activist life-choices: in one casual conversation, a young English member of SWS living in Glasgow wanted to introduce activist visitors from England to the strong cheap Buckfast wine that is commonly sold in Scotland, as a "radge" way of having a typical local experience; an older member and lifelong working class resident of Clydebank countered that Buckfast was a symbol of oppression, drunk only by "disenfranchised youth".

* "Radge" is defined in online dictionaries as Scottish and North-east England vernacular for "mad, furious, violently excited", or "anyone that has gone beyond the bounds of regular behaviour, generally because they are crazy".

Cassie is also a very enthusiastic supporter of longer term engagements with communities, believing it a differing approach from what she called the "predictable demographics, and imagery and ways of working of…climate activisty circles" (interview, 2010). She surprised me with her response on the matter of a scientific timeline pressuring social movement work in a way that would suggest shorter and more acute activist interventions:

> Yeah, I know I always wonder what its like for like proper seasoned activists who were doing this shit before they had that… that like five year time clock ticking overhead. It must be like such a different ballgame. I don't know. Yeah I can't imagine what its like to be doing this work without that kind of urgency. (interview, 2010)

For Cassie the urgent timeline scenario was catalytic and energising. She also, however, recognised that this would not necessarily apply to everyone. Speaking retrospectively of the Gathering Under the Flightpath and previous smaller events embedded in Clydebank, Cassie understood the strategy of first engaging with known and experienced activists in communities as a way of honouring the need for long term commitments with communities, while recognising the imperatives of urgent climate change time:

> I was just realizing how long it takes to even really begin to work with a community and how ideally you should be part of it, you should be living there as well…what that kind of commitment represents and then being able to work with people like [Susan], and [Mary] from Clydebank, who have got that kind of momentum and the experience of doing it, and also just that momentum behind them…that none of us are going to be able to drum up in the kind of time frame we need either, is really really interesting and exciting. (interview, 2010)

Panic-inducing climate change discourse was seen as counter-productive to progressive social transformation, as it delinked climate change from its more productive framing, within SWS' deployment, as an extension of existing and interlocking environmental justice concerns:

> [thinking only] about climate change can mean that people want to conserve resources or like …or control population and things like that that are more repressive measures of social control really. And if you go down thinking oh we've only got a certain amount of time to stop this uh…environmental

disaster, then those are the things that come to be seen as justified…(Marion, interview, 2010)

The popular countdown clock representation of climate change is not directly recognised by SWS, which presents a potentially crippling vacuum in their emergent climate justice platform. SWS members however have responded to what they clearly accept as increased time pressure in largely optimistic and personally resourceful ways. The only person to essentially admit defeat was Amy, a long time campaigner on the issue of peak oil:

> So, I …where I'm personally coming from is I actually do think…again, cheery pessimist, I think we are fucked. Because I think we've spent the last forty years, avoiding the bloody obvious. (interview, 2010)

Amy was active in SWS during its formative months, through the winter and into the autumn of 2009, but has not been a participant since. She continues to research and campaign on the issue of peak oil.

6.5. Conclusion

The narrative of climate justice as performed by SWS is expansive, energetic and multiple. As a tactical shorthand phrase, many members and allies agree that 'climate justice' provides a positive rallying point around which to organise:

> I find that [climate justice] a useful thing to ... cuz climate *change* is the term, is the media term, and... its hard to campaign *for* something under the term climate change. You're campaigning *against* climate change, you're campaigning *against* things that create climate change, you're campaigning *against* this, you're ... anti- something. So by saying climate justice, its just... on the level of language, its possible to be doing something *for*, rather than just like "rahhh, its all shit, its all shit!"
>
> - Duncan, LCJ, 2010

However, while the phrase allows an important positive positioning of SWS work, it is also seen as potentially opaque, possibly meaningless: "they're [climate and social justice] terms that I like as an individual, because I understand what they're getting at. But their usefulness in the wider world, I query" (interview, Amy, 2010).

But is this a tension that requires resolution in order for SWS to have a productive climate justice platform? Are clarity and unambiguity virtuous in themselves? If Amy can find useful significance in terms such as climate justice for herself, does that not presuppose

that, given attention to the conditions under which SWS relations-making occurs, diverse others might do the same? Even in moments of uncertainty, SWS members find opportunity rather than blockage there: "It does sound kind of a nebulous thing to the man on the street. No, but actually yes, instead of against something it's actually for something" (Peter, LCJ, 2010). *No, but actually yes*. So climate justice, for all its ambiguity, is an essentially positive narrative intentionally countering the story of Apocalypse that has eroded much of the socio-political fact of climate change. It is itself a discursive and social condition of relations, a spacing that can allow for more embedded (less "parachuted in" [Mary]) practices of emplacing.

The content of these spaces is still chaotic though, a mix of organising conventions – often stubborn conventions of 'red' and 'green' – and declarative identities, mediated by a welter of undiscussed and obliquely expressed desires and imaginings which inform members' participation more than is admitted. I have tried to gather the "under discussed and obliquely expressed" into acts of spacing and emplacing. In the stuttering process of improvising where climate justice work might be best identified, marked, constructed and confronted, SWS must also own up to its responsibility (not the least to its partners in 'frontline' communities) for performing and producing imaginaries of climate justice that are dialogical and founded in ethics of care. Measuring SWS efficacy against its own prescriptions, the uncertain of the space they are creating demands this. Such uncertainty may have contributed to Amy's decision to leave SWS; it is the work of those who choose to stay "zoomed into the umbrella" to seek conclusions as to what climate justice might *functionally* mean. And, such conclusions may eventually point away from the "chilly virtue" of justice (Dobson, 1998, p.229) altogether, justice that "dreams of 'equal and harmonious forces', and in this way 'exists by marking itself off from an outside to which it is hostile'" ([Diprose, 2002, p.33] Clark, 2010, p.45). Creating effective relations across difference may require expanding our vision of the nature of the violence in the system. What further effective alternatives for action might this allow?

In the following chapter, I will build on the work of Chapters Five and Six by (as I alluded to at the end of Section 6.3) changing the scene quite dramatically to the Living for Climate Justice social theatre workshop. Some of the difficulties apparent in realising an effective vision in SWS practice in the Scottish Central Belt will be looked at through a micro-geographical lens, while remaining reluctant to enrolment in a pattern of hierarchically privileging scale. The analytics of temporality, and spacing and emplacing in particular, may change in appearance, but will be put to use in ending (if not resolving) a

narrative that began in Chapter Five with its 'preamble' on origins and organisation. The participants are a mix of SWS core members, occasional contributors and interested allies, whose declarative identities will be seen to co-perform with embodied practices. Questions will be raised as to the presence and absence of climate change itself. Measures of success and failure will be held up against SWS collective ability to make relations and conditions of relations that both hold on and go further.

7. Active and Ethical Subjects

The universe is revealed to me not as space, imposing a massive presence to which I can but adapt, but as a scope, a domain which takes shape as I act upon it. (Pierre Furter, in Freire, 1996, p.73)

I'm here today to do some thinking and acting and talking around climate justice. (Duncan, LCJ participant)

7.1 Introduction: performing climate justice beyond "joining the dots"

Before continuing I will pause to summarise what we have seen of SWS in Scotland thus far. Chapter Five introduced the motivations, personal commitments and processes that prompted people to become involved, emphasizing aspects of members' interests (popular education, creative practice) that were potentially generative of relationships with communities, between SWS members and with active 'others'. Chapter Six introduced SWS' emerging climate justice platform within a local/regional framework, framed as a largely improvised and assembled performance. This broad platform was further interpreted as a set of co-constitutive practices and beliefs with specific spatial and temporal dimensions, with the potential to change conditions of relations. SWS' engagement with climate justice was situated within some current thinking and policy on justice and rights, and as resistant to much current state and NGO discourse on climate justice in Scotland.

In this chapter I will further explore making relations that are salient to climate justice by focusing on the *medium of relations*. This is not an alchemical space, produced by political organising, as a generalised social movement adhesive. Rather it is the relational field produced through specific micro-geographies which emerge in unexpected ways from the relations they stem from, informing the terms and conditions of a relationship even as it comes to be. For SWS, I posit that the SM "missing pieces" which Mike referred to in Chapter Five, the impetus for the early organisers to form SWS, are not to be found by mechanically "joining the dots" (Mike) between issues, but in further building the medium through which such joinings might be made. So the story told in this chapter highlights the trans-subjective connections that vitalize the performance of SWS' climate justice. This field of connections occurs in the spaces between declarative identity-making and lived practice. In this chapter I present the Living for Climate Justice (LCJ) social theatre workshop of July 2010 as a window on the connectivities that happen in this intimate

space. I also make a case for a greater role for embodied, more-than-textual methodologies – such as social theatre – in expanding our capacity for praxis in reckoning with climate change as a full-spectrum crisis, and a full spectrum exemplar of a socio-natural "hybrid phenomenon" (Hulme, 2008). In "storying" (Cameron, 2011, Whatmore, 2006) the LCJ social theatre workshop here on the page, I also stake the place of visual representation as a way of re/presenting the material.

The previous two chapters and the literature reviews addressed various heuristic and 'real' divisions between the inside/outside lives of subjectivity and politics (see Pulido, 2003), extensive and intensive relations, ideation and feeling, ontologies of ecology and epistemologies of social action. One task of the LCJ was to experiment with setting aside even these heuristic distinctions in order to focus, for a day, on climate justice as an ecology of inseparable relations, subjectivities and activities. Digging more deeply into SWS' climate justice platform as an act of transforming the relational field addresses questions and gaps raised in the literature reviews; for example "whether or not powerful axes of difference also operate in a polar way as a powerful underwriter of commonality" (from Chapter Two, "Space, place and social movements"). My review of the recent literatures on performance, performativity and politics ended by drawing attention to the gap between the two types of approaches that, in my accounting, dominate the field: those concerned primarily with the public face of declamatory identities and the semiosis of larger-scaled spectacle, and, those which focus on the micro-geographies of embodied action but tend to go no further in exploring the possibilities for relations-making and collective action beyond that scale. Recent work by feminist geographers has inspired me to consider the grounded, embodied activities of SWS, including the LCJ, as instances of emotional 'microgeopolitics' (Askins and Pain 2011; Pain 2009). In terms of the performance of subjectivity, the LCJ workshop operates in the gap I identified in the literatures on performance and politics. In terms of space, it is a micro-geopolitics of situated connections observing both the global and the intimate (Pratt and Rosner, 2006), that while context dependent may serve to speak to other contexts.

In Chapter Two I posited that activist processes work to make the "medium of space" (Keith and Pile, 1993c, p.220) overt, unmasking potential relations and conditions of relations and recognising material conditions as both opportunities and obstacles that as yet remain virtual and unactualised. Subject identities were framed as one of many

"conditions of existence",[70] with the attendant possibility that such identities may be strategically essentialised for political purposes. It was noted that feminist theorists in particular have found the strategic essentialisation of identity both pragmatically appealing and problematic. Fully implicating the element of performance in SWS' relational 'bindings' and 'forgings', this chapter explores the decentered activist subject in relation to her/his political ecology of climate justice, and how this decentering affords new opportunities and inevitable risks for climate justice activism. Having built a resource of articulations, functions and enrollments of activist subjectivities – comprised as I have said in the space where declarative identities and lived practice meet – I posit that the aim of the SWS climate justice platform is to inform new active and ethical subjectivities while shifting the standards and remit for prehending climate change, and 'doing' social and environmental justice activism.

In this chapter, social theatre is employed as a sort of experimental intensification of this process. This does not mean "distilling" months of SWS relations-making, placing and spacing into an essence, and playing it back in a day of research. Rather, the social theatre workshop took the conceptual functions of relations-making, spacing and placing and allowed them a heightened, "plastic" and "aesthetic space" (Boal, 1995, p.20) to play out in, in the specific context of climate justice. Affective and embodied encounters between activists (and community members), visceral and intellectual engagements with texts, maps, experiences, hopes, imaginaries and ideas were, I argue, key elements of SWS' performance of a nascent climate justice, and the means by which relations were made and unmade. In brief: what might a set of methods (and a methodological ethos) that holds these elements as there stock in trade *also* tell us about the performance of subjectivities and the creation of relations across difference that was the medium of SWS organizing in the Central Belt during that brief time?

SWS' performance of climate justice has so far been told through foundational tales of members joining, and narrating the field of climate justice which has been formed by and informs the organising activities taking place. The balance of this chapter explores further how climate justice plays out in a micro-geography amongst its members and allies, using social theatre. I have written about the theory and practice of social theatre as a research method in Chapter Four, emphasising social theatre as a resource for:

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[70] Reading in "medium of relations" for "medium of space", and "conditions of relations" for "conditions of existence"

- The practical and political development of SWS' popular education organising;

- Expanding the sphere of non-textual and 'non-traditional' qualitative co-research methods in human geography and other social sciences, and including the semiotics of materiality and embodiment in the making of stories; and

- Exploring the ontological relationship between performance broadly defined, SWS and climate change.

I will refer back to these ideas when offering summative comments on the chapter, but will generally limit discussion of the LCJ to a description and analysis of events. But there are other unwieldy questions which, upon reflection, linger on for me as the researcher, and which may provide an engaging backdrop for the reader as they proceed: *why did we do this – what can applied theatre tell us about climate justice? Where is the climate change? Where is the politics? What are the important relations in this relational SM space?*

7.2 Guidance for a "different" method: some practicalities for recutting climate justice activism through performance

Just as using social theatre as research posed challenges, so does re-presenting it here. In order to guide the reader through a research process which may be new to many, and to highlight its productive relationship to other more familiar methods, I have done three things. First, I have embedded a condensed discussion from Chapter 4 on applied theatre and the image- making techniques of Rainbow of Desire (RoD) (Boal, 1995), and here I refer again to the relationship between images, the (trans)subjective and embodied processes of their production, and their material semiotic ties with other ways of knowing that appeared in that Chapter and Chapter 3. Second, I clarify the role of the field notes and other illustrative material, and third, I prepare the reader for how the material will unfold structurally: in four distinct "phases", each finishing with a short gathering of summative thoughts. ,The intent is not to be completely prescriptive but to guide the reader's attention to where and how social theatre "cuts" our concern with research, praxis and socio-political engagements with climate change (manifest with SWS as climate justice). This section can be considered a suggestive "guide to the materials".

7.2.1. Image-making and Rainbow of Desire revisited

RoD is an extension of Theatre of the Oppressed (TO) which focuses on creative image-making, rather than making and playing out 'problem scenes' between oppressed

protagonists and their oppressors (e.g., Forum Theatre, still the most widely practiced form of TO). Because of the relative flexibility of the form, the workshop facilitator and I agreed that RoD image-making techniques were best suited to keeping the workshop question "What is climate justice?" as open as possible. As leading UK TO practitioner and Boal translator Adrian Jackson reminds us:

> Image Theatre is a series of exercises and games designed to uncover essential truths about societies and cultures without resort, in the first instance, to spoken language – though this may be added in the various 'dynamisations' of the images. The participants...make still images of their lives, feelings, experiences, oppressions; groups suggest titles or themes, and then individuals 'sculpt' three-dimensional images under these titles, using their own and other's bodies as the 'clay'. However, the image work never remains static...the frozen image is simply the starting point for...the action, which is revealed in the dynamisation process, the bringing to life of the images and the discovery of whatever direction...is innate in them. (1992, p.xix)

To this description of the mechanics, I add that collective image-making exercises create an "aesthetic space" of "extreme plasticity" (Boal, 1995, p.20), "liberat[ing] memory and imagination" (p.21). In the space, which actually assembles multiple spaces and times through memory, imagination and desire, participants are simultaneously both actor and spectator, working at times individually, often in pairs and groups, observing, adding to, adapting, influencing and commenting on each other's efforts as guided by the facilitator. For Boal, image-making is "…a writing. This writing can and must be read" (1995, p.67) by all participants, and, as we shall see, in different ways throughout the course of the workshop, as the exercises iterate between the individual and the group and move across a spectrum of silent movement and verbal conversation. As Jackson hints above, doing, feeling and discussing are intermingled. Further, participants might "represent" situations through this embodied "writing", but their ability to share, examine and transform these situations does not stem from the facility of accurate representation (see Chapter Three, and Grosz, 2008), as the images depicted are not objective concrete truths but "directions" for discovering whatever is innate in them (Jackson, 1992, p.xix). In describing and analysing the LCJ process and images, this principle will be realised in part by combining Boal's methods with Paolo Freire's tools of *coding* and *decoding*, a process which will be explained in more detail as the story of the workshop moves on.

Reflecting on the contribution of this workshop to debates in contemporary human geography (about climate change and socio-natures, as well as methods for helping us know them), Boal and Freire's Marxist and pedagogical work may be steeped in both

historical materialism and humanism, but it is also a rich practical and conceptual provocation to "cut" our attentions to material semiotics, to affective encounters, to transsubjective ecologies of learning and change. What I attempt to impress in this chapter is that such fundamentally simple creative practices as Boal and Freire helped shape have practical traction across several epistemological frames, or disciplinary ecologies (Bell, 2012), or Barad-ic "cuts" – all concerned with radical political change and material being. Their methods link marxian structuralist praxis to humanist "phenomenology as critical geography" (Simonsen, 2012, p.15), while also enabling a politics of "the material, emergent, ontological, affective, non-representational, and nonhuman" (Cameron, 2011, p.57). This is in part because both Freire and Boal – perhaps in an overtly muscular, even masculinist way – stressed reflexive dialectical reasoning combined with the aggressive assertion of embodiment and experience. One can be bold with them in several directions because the socio-materiality of the techniques, such as image-making, is so pliable and energetic. And this quality makes these practices very fitting for examining the political potential for SWS' performance of climate justice. A political movement about an expansive movement of energies and matter, climate change.

7.2.2. Managing Materials: a brief resource guide

For readers unfamiliar with this practice, the flow of a RoD workshop may seem meandering. Fundamentally accretive, the image-making techniques of RoD take the form of group games and exercises, growing in complexity and shifting in intent. Early in the process, games take participants out of comfort zones of comportment and social expectations, and image-making is kept simple, playing with everyday, commonplace gestures such as a handshake. A trust in oneself, in others – and no less important, in the process itself – is developed through group-sanctioned vulnerability and experimentation. This part of the process can and often does consume a significant amount of workshop time, and can confound expectations around 'results' and 'getting to the point'. I suspect that this sense might be amplified when using applied theatre specifically as research, rather than for community-building or therapy, for example, where it is accepted that the act of gathering and the process of working together is integral to the endeavour, with issue-specific, documentable outcomes becoming almost secondary.

One way of avoiding this issue here (what to do with the process?) would be to describe the LCJ quite parsimoniosuly in order to then focus on the results of our one hour facilitated group discussion at the end of the day. However this would be to undercut the

entire premise of the LCJ, positioning it only as a prompt to discussion among its participants, and 9/10 of the iceberg would drift past unknown. Instead I have given significant space to documenting and interpreting the entirety of the LCJ, and in this short section I set out to provide some footholds for a reader following these events.

Raw materials

The field material consists of several types of notes, and of photographs and charcoal drawings on paper.

To begin with, I use planning notes; these are notes written weeks or days prior to the LCJ, either to myself in a planning diary, or during the course of a planning meeting, or in two instances, as email correspondence with collaborators. These notes appear in Phase one, "Gathering"; I consider them to be primary sources of data in that planning the LCJ revealed things about how this workshop, as a SWS activity, performed and enrolled climate justice.

On the day of the workshop I took 25 pages of rapidly scrawled notes as exercises took place. These were then typed immediately after the LCJ, with many annotations and further observations emerging as the transcribing process prompted both more detailed recollections and further analysis. Further reflections were added, and connections made across the notes and between different parts of the workshop, as I worked the material in the weeks following. The result was three general types of notes – immediate and unchanged, annotated and then further annotated. There are no hard and fast rules as to how they are used, and I frequently use extensive excerpts from these documents. But in all instances they are identified as "personal notes", with some indication as to the level of annotation. In general, planning notes appear almost exclusively in Phase One, and the final Phase, which focuses less on process and offers the most intensive analyses, draws on observations and reflections undertaken both during and after the workshop. As with the semi-structured interviews, LCJ participants are given pseudonyms and their comments and exchanges are frequently quoted. "Yvonne", a SWS member and close personal collaborator, was the LCJ facilitator, and her words appear especially frequently, as I consider her contribution to be deeply constitutive of not only the workshop but SWS' practice generally.

The pale green 'boxes' first employed in Chapter Four appear frequently; these are unabridged passages from my notebooks that often pose a question, or a set of alternatives, emergent from the topic at hand. These 'boxes' offer parallel narratives on the same event, and are opportunities to enter more deeply into the experiential process of the LCJ. As with the boxes in earlier chapters, they are complimentary material that may be read in any order, at any time.

The chapter also features many photographs and a handful of charcoal drawings. The photographs are very often grouped together to reflect how different images were produced in the course of a particular exercise. They fall roughly into four categories, each doing a different type of work:

- those that illustrate an image itself,
- those that illustrate relationships,
- those that illustrate iteration, flow or change,
- and those that illustrate a theme, or "code", that I am drawing attention to.

The photographs are post-event reconstructions of the images based on my extensive notes, and thus in many cases facial expressions are somewhat caricatured, flattened or inaccurate. At the time I thought that photography during the workshop would have been too intrusive, and may have made some people wary about confidentiality. In hindsight I believe the group would have been very amenable to it, but the risk remained that the act of taking photos might have altered the manner in which people felt observed, and thus how they behaved and moved. For this reason I think not taking photos was ultimately the right decision. Given this – recreated, ordered after the fact, and hardly corporeal – the photographs can only be illustrative. But in addition to showing what we did in a technical manner, they may have their own affective possibilities in making this chapter a kind of "plastic" space itself, abandoning any pretense to accurately recreating an unreplicable workshop experience. It is perhaps not coincidental that the philosopher Spinoza, a central influence on Deleuze's material semiotics, writes about the generative affects of representations in multiple forms:

> The more an image is joined with many other things, the more often it flourishes.
> The more an image is joined with many other things, the more causes there are by which it can be excited.
> (*Ethics*, Part V, Proposition XIII, Proof, in Berger, 2011, p.65)

The drawings are few, and were all done "on the spot" rather from memory. In most cases they replicate what is also presented in a photograph (e.g., Figs. 7.6 and 7.7). In all cases they are rudimentary and are simple attempts to record effort and orientation of energy ("Drawing is anyway an exercise in orientation and as such may be compared with other processes of orientation which take place in nature" [Berger, 2011, p.149]). I do not wish to put undue weight on either the photographs or drawings; but their presence as both "excitement" and "orientation" is a reminder (see Section 4.4.3.4.) that methodologically we are, in both climate justice work and this workshop, "enframing chaos" through arts, science and philosophy (Grosz, 2008, p.8).

7.2.3. Gathering the material: four phases

I have gathered the description and analysis of the workshop into four orienting phases, and with some hesitation. By naming them now I do not want to lay a meta-narrative over the workshop material, which combines both explicit interpretative moments on my part and more descriptive passages that are ideally meant to convey a rich sense of the proceedings while inviting readers to become active interpreters themselves. The four phases – Preparing, Getting Down, Building Up and Afterword – act as temporal (though somewhat blurred) and thematic groupings. They help to organise the material in three ways: 1) as a journey through a method that's likely new to many, and for which there is no map; 2) theoretically informed observations on how a group of activists with an expressed interest in climate justice engage with that concept (in all of the ways I have described when discussing image making and social theatre); and 3) they are moments when the enhanced possibilities of this type of research for engagement with climate justice activism (and by extension the phenomena of climate change) can be made particularly clear. While I attempt as much as possible to let the material have its own agency in relationship to the reader, I also conclude the first three phases with a gathering moment of analysis and reflection, while the final phase takes us into the chapter conclusion.

Chronologically, "Preparing" begins at least a month before the workshop date, and brings us up to the first interactions between participants, researcher and facilitator in the early part of the workshop. It is made clear that the workshop as a research process began well before the day itself, and attention is paid to the declarative identities and organising backgrounds of the participants. Thematically, this section draws our concern to the

connection between form and content – or relations and 'issues' – the complex interplay of which is at the heart of SWS' improvised climate justice platform. This includes the impact of the declarative identities participants brought and deployed in the space (their *self-consciousness* as discussed in Chapter Four), and the insistence that the vibrant "messiness" of the applied theatre form would be allowed its full role in guiding us participants to the question "What is climate justice?" to It also addresses the complex temporalities and practicalities of participatory research, including accounting for the planning process and outreach activities as "findings" or "data".

The second gathering phase, "Getting Down", begins around mid-morning of the workshop day and immerses us in the world of Rainbow of Desire techniques, looking intently at the dynamics of quite simple image making exercises. The sociality of participation, and the mixing of ideation, discourse, affect, emotion and corporeality are strong themes, as is the sense of "getting messy", and "breaking down" inhibitions and pat reflexive bodily habits. We were enabling Boal's aesthetic space of extreme plasticity, and one that would was going to be explicitly transsubjective and shared, a pedagogical and political "contact zone" (Askins and Pain, 2011). Themes that emerge here is the role said "plasticity", combination and iteration, the more-than-representational mutability of representations, the creative and *analytical* functions of tension, conflict, proximity, embodiment and contact, and to some degree my positionality as researcher/participant.

A notable shift in energies and participants' engagement occurs when we are asked by the facilitator to focus directly on climate justice for the remainder of the day. This third gathering of concerns, "Building Up", describes and analyses how participants applied the bodily vocabulary, techniques and impulses they had discovered through the morning – their Rainbow of Desire (RoD) practice – to creating more interactive, complex scenes that expressly respond to the question "What is climate justice?" An approach to reading the "writing" of movement is found in Freirian notions of coding, decoding, and creating a "thematic universe" that has "existential" relevance to all participants (see Freire, 1996, p.77). Here participants are collectively "storying" (Cameron, 2011, Whatmore, 2006) climate justice, and insights are gained and shared among participants about the constellations of power, ethics, vulnerability, and interdependence that emerge from their now more direct engagement with the subject.

Finally, the fourth phase, "Afterword", explores these concluding, most rehearsed scenes in detail, and presents an interpretation of the collective's performance of climate justice.

While affirming that these scenes were built through a series of iterations and entanglements and moments of fragmentary analysis over the course of the day, this phase is called "Afterword" because it owes the most to post-event analysis, a more individualised time of review, iteration and abduction where I move the material from one plastic space to another, from "the room" and the LCJ participants to the page. Here, three dimensions of how both climate justice and activist subjectivities are co-performed and appeared particularly prominent: 1) questions of agency, 2) processes of 'othering' and 3), the question of the usefulness of the term 'climate justice' itself for fostering interest in climate justice activism. Questions of scale, identity, and, crucially, imaginative and affective acts of spacing and placing climate justice emerge, in ways that I argue are made possible by the method and its activation of performativities across the social and material registers.

7.3 Phase change: preparing *(gathering)*

As planning for the Journey for Climate Justice (JCJ) ebbed through the Spring and Summer of 2010, I was increasing work with collaborator Yvonne on a co-research project called "Living for Climate Justice: A day of Popular Research using Social Theatre", eventually held at the Friends House, Glasgow, July 17, 2010. Yvonne was a fellow SWS member, and had substantial experience with social theatre methods developed by Brazilian theatre artist and politician Augusto Boal (see Boal 1985, 1992, 1995), and related techniques advanced by radical educator Paolo Freire (1996). During the workshop she was the facilitator, and I provided some introductory statements, took extensive notes, fielded the occasional question, participated in the first third of the exercises and facilitated the recorded group discussion at the end of the day.

The workshop experience as a contributing piece of research began weeks before the July day itself. During the planning process Yvonne, myself and others shared our ideas and aims in ways that mixed practical organising concerns (how do we get people to come?) with intellectual and political desires (why are we doing this?). The process of organising and promoting a workshop interrogating the meaning of climate justice for participants meant interrogating the meaning of climate justice for ourselves. A selection of relevant snapshots from field notes, meeting minutes and emails is indicative of what we hoped to achieve; the passage below explains my rationale at the time for holding the workshop, in a

way that positions me as a SWS participant who was pushing the parameters of the climate justice agenda:

> I've been trying to frame this workshop so it's a good opportunity for reflection and analysis for the DIY [former name of SWS] and pals, and also matches my research questions – how people perceive and experience climate change in big broad strokes and how that impacts on their organising and activism. I think there is really something here in the growing use of the phrase climate justice instead of or alongside climate change by the DIY. The phrase climate justice gets bandied about in DIY texts and call outs, emails etc. But we rarely if ever talk about what it actually means – and does – as a rallying point for action and analysis. Maybe the workshop focuses on shifting climate change to climate justice, the growing pains of that, that gaps and contradictions and opportunities? (personal email to Martin, June 2010)

Soon after, I emailed this to Yvonne, the workshop's lead facilitator:

> Here are two reasons [for exploring the change-justice shift]: climate change is passive and justice is active. And justice is deeply emotional while climate change can be all too easily rationalised and intellectualised. And working for justice better captures what the DIY does, no matter where its members are from. (personal email to Yvonne)

These short "raw" planning notes, written five weeks before the LCJ, typify how the nominal 'content' of the research is always a hybrid product of abstractions and pragmatics:

> We discussed a "blurb" for promotions, which became a discussion of content. Very quickly settled on "What is Climate Justice".
>
> Content as issues/content as process
>
> Issues: environmental justice, climate justice
> Process: encouraging and listening to voice, personal experience, active and embodied
>
> The blurb/content pitch was about "making climate justice accessible and meaningful"?

Climate justice is being performed or brought into focus even as we make plans to explore it; it is projected not as an ideal or aspiration, but as a tactical intervention, for which a major criterion of evaluation is its accessibility to a wide range of people. Crucially, a participatory, "personal experience" was not to be merely a good way of "getting at" climate justice methodologically, but was assumed to actually constitute what climate justice might be like. For readers here, in terms of "getting at" climate justice, as mentioned it may seem as though climate justice is absent from the workshop for long

stretches of time. While transcribing and reviewing the enormous amount of notes after the event, I at times felt the same. However, when one includes the notes, reflections and exchanges from the LCJ planning process as part of the research event, the relatively sparse use of the term "climate justice" make more sense. In a reflection on what might constitute workshop 'content', I wrote:

> These are both types of content:
>
> 1) Exploring what climate justice is looks at where we [SWS] are now – trying to entwine and graft together campaigns from different focal points such as anti-poverty, housing, local environmental justice issues and emissions/infrastructure oriented climate change, and seeing how comfortable or effectively these campaigns can work together towards (and through) climate justice. It is perhaps more about uncovering and examining our positions and what is being brought to the table as discourse and strategy.
>
> 2) Using social theatre is maybe more prefigurative. Not that the future will be theatre (playful, ludic, spectacle*)*, but that future social and material relations will be more holistic and syncretic? (planning notes, June 11, 2010)

Whatever anxiety this might provoke post-event, the workshop *process* was to be considered part of the workshop's research *content*. Moreover, "uncovering and examining our positions" on climate justice from amongst a diverse group of people requires a medium (an affective or aesthetic space) where such diversity is maintained yet can speak in a shared register. It would seem probable and desirable then that a significant amount of time was spent getting ourselves comfortable in this register (image-making), and that this part of the process is inseparable from the part where climate justice 'reappears' as the named subject of concern.

It was a small group of nine participants (although there were four other people who had registered and were expected to attend but failed to turn up).[71] While workshop attendance was disappointing, the recruiting difficulties we had, for example in choosing the most enticing imagery for the workshop (see Chapter Six), led to findings in themselves. The novel nature of the event, with its titular focus on "climate justice", "social theatre" and "research", meant that special consideration for outreach was needed. Time pressures once again played a significant role, with, as seen in other SWS activities such as the GFP and JCJ, near-opposite pressures for people with distinct organizing needs and previous experience. One young SWS member, who had been involved somewhat sporadically and

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[71] Two were core SWS members, one had worked with SWS for a limited period of time, three had shown an interest and attended at least one prior meeting or event, one was with a Glasgow city agency and was interested in social theatre, and two were activists and community organisers with different organisations who were beginning to collaborate with SWS in various ways

had other commitments to direct environmental justice activism, suggested that an optimal time to invite people was ten days before the event, otherwise the invite would becomes lost in their backlog of communications and other potential commitments. Conversely, a representative from a group working with Black and other ethnic communities gently suggested to me that they would need more time in the future to promote such events amongst their members. The creative, performance-based nature of the LCJ was inevitably as likely to have deterred as attracted some people. It is impossible to generalise about the "type" of people this might apply to. Even though SWS experienced frequent tensions between older, working class women SWS members and younger members, such as Mike, who were used to a more horizontal organizational structure and had expressed strong interest in arts-based approaches, older, working class people like Mary and Susan participated at similar "creative" events,[72] just as younger middle class university educated activists have. But the nine participants reflected an interesting mix of SWS core members, occasional collaborators, and interested 'others', and as SWS at its heart is about creating relations and resonances with such collaborators and others, the demographic was a good one.

We had come together not primarily as modellers of images, but as people interested in climate justice from a variety of disciplinary and professional – if not ethnic or gender – backgrounds (see Table 7.1). Our experiences, political practices and preoccupations became, in a limited way, known to one another through the morning's introductions, coffee and cigarette breaks, lunch and general contact throughout the day. And, as will be seen in the following sections, some participants such as Anna, Lewis, Peter and Stephen spoke more openly of their background as an element informative of their engagement with the workshop (and climate justice) than others. Rather than checking these positionalities and discourses at the door in the name of a *tabula rasa* space, our *declarative identities* became constituent parts of the exercises, both through the sociality afforded by the gathering space itself – how we "performed" with each other in Goffman's sociological, rather atomistic sense (see Chapter Three) – and the way these identities manifest in our bodies, the "body-subjects" which played the games, made the images, and decoded the scenes.

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[72] These include the GFP and several events I co-organised during the 2010-2011 UK Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC) Knowledge Exchange Small Grant: "Using Popular Education in Anti-Poverty and Environmental Justice Organizing: Bridging Constituencies, Building Movements, and Crossing Disciplines". With one exception, all of these events fell outside the timeline of my fieldwork with SWS.

Name	SWS or allied activist	Main places of activity or work	Approximate age	gender	Ethnicity
Anna	no	Afro-Caribbean Network (Glasgow)	45	female	Latin American
Duncan	yes	Theatre-maker, PhD student	25	male	White British
Gerard	yes	Friends of the Earth Scotland (Grangemouth)	38	male	White British
Lewis	no	Fundraiser for progressive movements	50	male	White British
Mike	yes	Clydebank, Glasgow, Edinburgh, London, Heathrow, Manchester, UK generally, internet	27	male	White British
Peter	no	Asylum seekers and refugees (Glasgow)	50	male	White British
Stephen	no	Culture and sport administrator; Glasgow Media Access Centre	45	male	White British
Tasha	yes (previously)	Theatre director, writer and producer	30	female	White British
Yann	yes	Food, sustainability, environment (Edinburgh)	25	male	White European
Yvonne	yes	Theatre-maker; social theatre facilitator; community development worker	32	female	White British

Table 7.1 LCJ workshop participants

What I want to reinforce here, at the end of our "Entry" phase, is that the LCJ, while structured and facilitated by an 'expert', was intended to take seriously diverse and repeated calls for the admissibility – even necessity – of "mess": in methodological structure (Law, 2004) and relationships generally,[73] and, at a level more ontologically

[73] Academic considerations of the untidiness of social relationships are too innumerable to mention here. For some pertinent examples from this thesis see Chatterton, 2006 on activist-public relations, Sites 2007and

fundamental than that, the active, contingent, messy but nonetheless agential way we "story" (Cameron, 2011, Whatmore, 2006) the "hybrid phenomemon" (Hulme, 2008) of climate change. When I wrote, a week before the LCJ."What is climate justice? Not personal story per se, but working toward collective, co-constructed 'fiction', that encourages or has access points for all." (LCJ planning journal, 7 July 2010), it was with the expectation that the 'fiction', a transsubjective cutting emerging from participants' embodied engagement,would be constitutive of climate justice materially as well as discursively, an open embrace of the proposition that "cuts are part of the phenomena they help produce" (Barad, 2007, p.145).

7.4 Phase change: getting down *(image making)*

As the basis of the workshop is the construction of images, I will detail the mechanics and emergent possibilities of the earlier exercises in particular, establishing the technical grounds in order to then spend more time on the interpreted meanings and functions of those later images focused on climate justice. In this section my "voice" is particularly strong, as I was a full participant in these early exercises. My experiences, while admittedly partial and mediated by my researcher role, provide the major source of insight into what doing this work "feels" like. Incidentally, in this phase the voice of 'climate justice' may seem particularly faint, as we were in that pleasant state of preparation when outcomes and 'issues' were subordinate to exploring the new ways we were using our bodies and sculpting images. As such I argue the phase is ethically, affectively and technically important to us in shaping the medium of relations in which "climate justice" was being performed. Literally, theoretically and politically, in this section we move from the lone subject to a dyadic relationship and beyond, which any clear understanding of both climate and justice demands.

Two important aspects to bear in mind through this section are the ways each activity transforms into the next, and the growing complexity of the whole in the range of its interpretive scope, for both the participants (and I) in "the moment", and for me as a post-event analyst. To help convey some of this transformative flow form image to image, and form image to scene, I have provided extensive photographs and some sketches.

Thrift, 2006 on sticky/messy relations that comprise particular places, Pratt and Johnston 2007 on the messiness of relations in an applied theatre project, and Askins and Pain (2011) on the messy materiality of interactive and arts-based initiatives that create "contact zones", much like the LCJ.

Figure 7.1 presents the day's events chronologically, a series of short sessions and breaks. The exercises discussed in this section in fact all come from one 'moment' from early in the program, "Pairs do handshake images" and the beginning of "Small group image work" But the process was highly cumulative, and the exercises were simultaneously independent yet inevitably nested one within the other, with the later more complex exercises always bearing traces of the simpler, earlier ones. There is a resonance here between the applied theatre method and the subject of study, activists' engagement with climate justice in the Scottish Central Belt: both are predicated ontologically on a mesh of complex relations that as a whole venture beyond "connecting the dots" between issues (although they do that too), and toward examining and potentially altering *conditions of relations* which might make climate justice functional in the SCB. And no matter what the outcome, the new form of relations and "climate justice" will always bear the traces of earlier identities, conditions and "issues".

In this stage we were creating a kind of shared vocabulary, as well as trust and a willingness to shed inhibitions. We expressly did not ask participants to focus on climate justice, or on anything else in particular for a clear methodological reason: we did not want to orient people's relationship to their own bodies, or others' bodies, through some mediating, even overdetermining, concept of climate justice. Quite the opposite: the facilitator's goal was to prepare people's bodies to be open to contact, ideas, memories, exchanges, and desires in general. Yvonne used simple games (such as "1-2-3 Substitute")[74] to relax people, get them moving and eventually pair them.

Program for day- final draft

9:30- 10:00 Welcomes, coffee, hand in tickets and receipts

10:00 – 10:15 Introductions from everyone- who you are, why you came

10:15 – 10:30 Intro from me on: SWS, popular research and social theatre, and the question what is climate justice

10:30- 10:45 Julia quick chat about format of day, working method and need to keep chat to a minimum (there will be a whole hour at the end of the day)

10:45 – 11:30 <u>Warm ups and exercises</u>

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[74] In "1-2-3 Substitute", partners face each other and count to three, each taking a number in turn, one through three, then starting again for several cycles. After a few cycles, the facilitator asks each duo to substitute a sound and a gesture for "one", and the partners again take turns counting to three with this new sound/gesture inserted in place of the number one. These cycles are repeated and eventually all three numbers are replaced with a sound and gesture, which the partners have to keep repeating 'faithfully'. Using three numbers between two people makes it inherently difficult to do with any speed, and leads to lots of mistakes and laughter. It is a simple way of working together that encourages both receptiveness and initiative.

- fruit bowl w/chairs
- set aside chairs- palm tree/Charlie's Angels/croc
- Map in the Room- birthplace and favourite place
- people/house/storm!

11:30 – 11:40 Short break if necessary

11:40 – 12:45 <u>Image Building</u>

- Stop/Go/Jump/Shout game moving into small groups and ending in pairs
- pairs play 1-2-3 Substitute
- Pairs do handshake images

Small group Image work- still images to a moving image (3 groups?) that expresses climate justice

Picking images to work with – some single images replayed, 3 are picked and given theme names

12:45 – 1:45 <u>Lunch</u> (Aaron will photocopy and continue to hand out reimbursements)

1:45 – 2:45 <u>Model making from images</u>

Very quick warm-up game, then groups together, they have quick chat, build model

2:45- 3:00 <u>"Show and Tell"</u>

3:00 – 4:00 <u>Forum-ing a Scene(s)</u> – depends on scenes; could be classic forum or R of D type work

4:00 – 4:10 Quick break

4:10 – 5:15 <u>Group discussion</u>

5:15 – 5:30 make sure everyone has signed consent form, has evaluation form; clean up

Figure 7.1 Final draft of the Living for Climate Justice: A Day of Popular Research using Social Theatre Workshop program, July 17, 2010

She then deftly blended the last of these games into the first image making exercise: shaking hands[75] – a ritualised social gesture repeated by many people daily, but one that initiates physical contact and eye contact. While Yvonne and I stood and shook hands as the first sample duo, remaining frozen in that position, she asked everyone else to speak out loud what they were looking at. The responses were: "distant"; "reaching, pulling: someone is leaving [Yvonne] and I'm pulling her"; "he is off his centre". The following is from my personal notes on being that first handshaker with Yvonne:

> [Yvonne] invited me up as the planted example! She faced me and asked me to shake her hand. I was so eager to help, to get it right, that even though I wasn't anxious *per se*...I suppose I was nervous – in the sense of being tightly wired and ready to pounce. Without shifting my footing beneath me, or my bodily orientation toward her, in the manner of making an approach or offer as one might do when engaging in the social act of a handshake (rather than the modelling of one), I flung my arm up in front of me, straight at her, like Donald Sutherland in *Invasion of the Body Snatchers*.

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[75] This exercise was essentially Boal's 'Complete the Image' (Boal, 1992, pp.130-31)

I hadn't closed the space between us at all. People described the image of the handshake...

My anxious affect (the organiser wanting things to go 'right') created tension in my body, imprinting the habitual social act of shaking hands, leading observers to comment on the distance and tension between us. The handshaking moved on; Yann stepped in and took Yvonne's place, slipping his hand into mine while I maintained the original position. He was much more relaxed than my, by now, modelled position:

> He is more relaxed and he is closer to me. He is relaxed and this gives him status, almost to the point, it is noted, of him being ready to attack me. There are humourous references to the Pope and me kissing his ring, etc. (personal notes)

Some people comment on the relative power relationship through an affect-oriented description of potential violence, some people use cultural references like me "having an audience with the Pope". All lenses of viewing and discussion, all comments are equally encouraged. I stepped out and Yann remained, hand outraised, and Yvonne explained that people entering the duo could now take any position they liked in relation to the person left standing, that we needn't shake hands anymore.

Box 7.1

Stability, movement and power

He is very relaxed and yes this does give him status. However I am surprised that someone says that, with the approval and agreement of the others, he looks like he is ready to attack me. Perhaps his status relative to mine is so strong that regardless of his feelings toward me, or declared intentions with regard to anything at all, the power relationship between us can only be one of attacker and defender, a uni-linear one bent on my erasure. And my stiffness and imbalance born out of eagerness, next to his measured and well-inhabited ease, undermines me too. Is the supplicant, or "the one who moves first", always the weakest? It seems this is a principal that contemporary systems of governance rely on in order to de-voice people, remove them from decision-making processes, and ensure that capital sets the agenda and determines how to carry it out. This is true in both Monbiot's description of summit/anti-summit politics (*The Age of Consent*) [2004, p. 84], and Ruth's description of the governance processes that have dominated the Greengairs area of North Lanarkshire [and resistance to landfills and incinerators there].

Anna moved in and adopted what I perhaps uncharitably noted as a "limp, princess-offer" (see left photo, Figure 7.2 below)
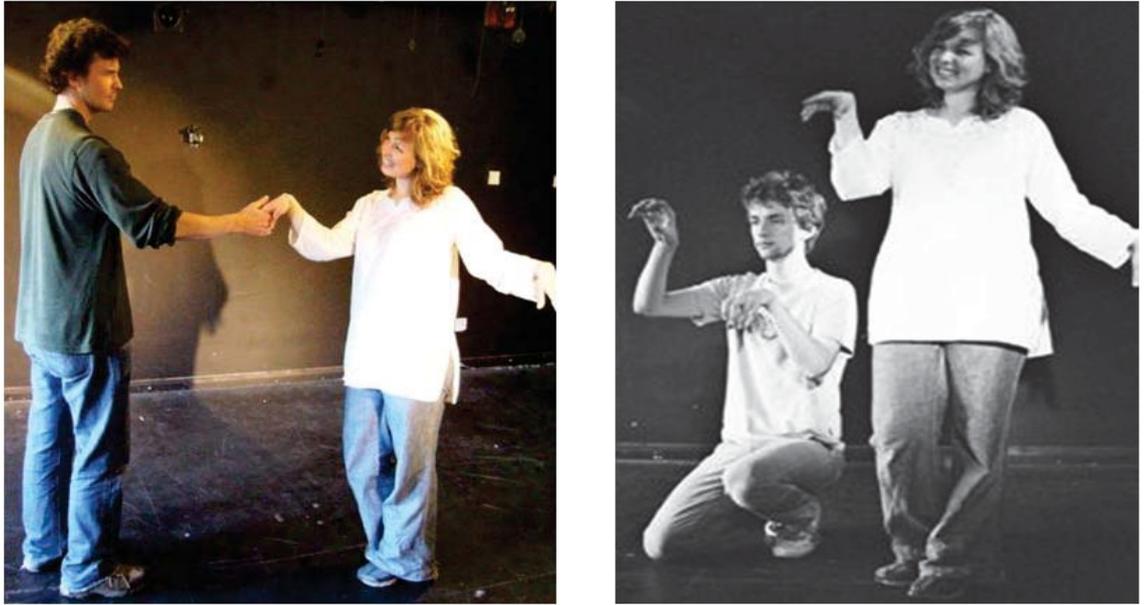
Figure 7.2 Out of the handshake – from the 'strictly' social gesture to the three dimensional.

After Anna's entrance Duncan stepped in, replacing Yann not by standing in his spot but by crouching next to Anna, creating an entirely different image based on an entirely different kind of relationship (see right photo, Fig. 7.2. This marked an important break in participants' approach to using their bodies in image-making. From this moment on participants began to make images incorporating a whole range of registers that departed from mimicking the handshake ritual; they began using three dimensions of space, differences in proximity and kinds of contact, and images that directly implied the presence of other forces, objects, and people. This shift also began to throw into question just what constituted the 'social'. Many participants responded to Duncan's 'wee rampant lion' (personal notes) with jokes and laughter, and very little comment on what the relationship between the two figures in the pair was. When Tasha replaced Anna (see Fig. 7.3) she

crouches in front of Duncan in much the same position as he, but mirrored to him. Her hands are also "reversed" – where his were pronate and clawed down, hers are supinate and put under his...She is looking directly at him, into his eyes with her face only a foot or two from his. The responses come from the others. "He's fallen, and she's helping", and rather unexpectedly and drawing some laughs, "She is a psychiatrist" (personal notes)

So after the brief appearance of the 'wee rampant lion' a social narrative has reappeared, the fallen and the helper, and there is a professional status assigned to the helper by one observer. This named, contractual relationship re-emerged out of what had been the jarring transition into animal, when observers had been reluctant or unable to comment on their relationship. When Tasha replaced Anna (Fig. 7.3 below), the visible and narratable social act came back in a moment of interaction that re-instantiated status, power, agency, care, attention and assumptions of intention.

Figure 7.3 The return of the social subject in the image

In my notes I write

> It seems that any contact demands narration and sharable explanation. Is this because we as "lay people" lack a physical language in the way that performers and dancers and artists do, and so we must always translate into idiom and social gesture? .

After everyone took a turn trying out these handshake-substitute examples, we then continued this work in pairs, where we were asked to cycle through changing images for several minutes before choosing two to then show the whole group. Even with no further instructions – we were to simply carry on as we had a as a group, but now 'privately' in pairs – it was apparent that we were now meant to be 'making things' together. This marked another subtle but important step in the progression of the exercises, moving from simply inserting ourselves into Yvonne's demonstration model of sorts, into taking on an autonomous role as "self-conscious" image-makers (see Chapter Four re: 'self-consciousness').

I worked with Lewis, and we eventually blended two of our images into a small repeated scene, a set of connected moving gestures (Fig. 7.4):

Figure 7.4 A short paired scene using moving images

> The image "moved", as in it wasn't two "stills" [as the others were], but a tiny
> movement set. Lewis and I knelt facing each other. He spread his hands out,
> symmetrically and softly, across the floor in front of him, as if he were stroking
> or spreading something; I raised both hands to my mouth, palms up, and
> touched my fingertips to my mouth, then lowered my hands back down to the
> patch of floor between us. (personal notes)

These images, my hands-to-mouth and Lewis' hand-spreading, were based on impulses
that responded to one another's bodies. I sensed that we were responding to the
combination of a physical modesty but emotional vulnerability in each other's images that
could have quickly been subsumed by other images had we not mutually recognised this
and made the choice to work with these two. Many image-pairs around the room seemed
to embody more tension (e.g., pressing each other, running from each other, one person
standing over another). Through our ten minute session we had made several other image-
pairs that had a similarly tense dynamism, but this pair of images, which we eventually
presented as a fluid set of gestures, captivated our attentions the most:

> Lewis mentioned "seeds" more than once (though we weren't meant to speak),
> and was quite emotionally moved when we did these images in our ten minute
> session. It was very clear that this was the image that spoke to us the most and
> that we were going to show the others. (personal notes)

Later in the day, an hour or two after our pairs work, Lewis discussed with the group how he had strong affinities with adivasi and peasant movements in Rajasthan, India, particularly those concerned with the destruction and displacement of communities by phosphate mining operations; he had been to Rajasthan several times, and worked with the UK end of a small British-Indian NGO. While, for me, my contribution to the image had felt like a generalised taking-in, or even 'blessing', and Lewis' image had 'read' to me as a generalised distribution or preparation (of cloth, paper, some sort of powder, maybe soil), Lewis had brought a distinct reading of an act of subsistence agriculture to our image-pair. Looking at the photo series in Fig. 7.4, the association may seem obvious in hindsight. In the process of making it, however, it required Lewis' embodied experience of visiting Rajasthan and his political understanding of that type of labour, coupled with the care and personal vulnerability engendered by an active curiosity (Clark and Stevenson, 2003, p. 242). The activity Lewis and I shared developed normative, ethical associations in its embodiment. Enacting the symbolic dimension of the gestures, which perhaps flirted with the romantic, opened up an ethical response (in me at least) which exceeded romantic symbolism and would enable, in time, a more complex set of readings and responses.

I have spent some additional time describing these simplest early exercises in order to provide many of the methodological and interpretive foundations for the specifically 'climate justice' oriented exercises that then followed, and are discussed at length in the next phases. Proximity, contact (or its absence), orientation to one another, three-dimensional movement (particularly relative height in the designated space), physical expressions of openness or vulnerability, and relations that highlighted implicit status and power emerged as key modes through which the embodiment of image-making (loosely but noticeably) emerged. Images also took shape not only through mimetic gesture but through verbal exchange and recognition of the ideas and opinions, and, to some degree, life stories (e.g. Lewis here, and also Anna, Gerard and others later) of the image-makers, the body-subjects themselves.

But these activities are not *only* preparation for the "real" work of research on participants subjective relations to climate justice, relations which we as observers hope will 'appear' once the facilitator utters the phrase "climate justice"; they might provide their own emergent findings as well. What has been described above is a microgeography of relationalities, emergent in performances, which, as noted in Chapter Three we do with our whole selves, but our whole selves are never revealed in any one performance. We can

begin to speculate about the relations through which climate justice are contested – through which it emerges in performance – too. Returning again to Barad, and the materiality of such performances which her and others' work compels us to heed, in the "plastic" space of the workshop agency and intentionality are highly visible as dispersed states which are always subject to their material context:

> Perhaps intentionality might be better understood as attributable to a complex network of human and nonhuman agents, including historically specific sets of material conditions that exceed the traditional notion of the individual. Or perhaps it is less that there is an assemblage of agents than there is an entangled state of agencies. (Barad, 2007, p.23)

In terms of activist relations and relations-making activities for climate justice, what might be drawn from examining these 'non-climate justice' exercises and images is that ideation is affective – and vice versa, and persuasion, the ability to influence flows of activity, thought or feeling by "cutting" subjects into our concerns, is an act of navigation and vulnerability, not projection of control over space. Perhaps a lesson can be drawn between what was noted as our seeming need to order embodied relations through a socially recognisable narrative, and SWS' need to order its performance linking environmental and social justice in the SCB "contact zone" (Askins and Pain, 2011) through a politically recognisable narrative such as 'climate justice'.

7.5 Phase change: building up (*scene making*)

As we worked toward the final session of group scenes 'about' climate justice, the exercises in this phase developed via iterations between images created by individuals and groups images, and contested individual and group responses to these images in discussion and debate. Through these exercises, participants organised themselves into final work groups and themes of interest in a process of "fuzzy consensus", an "entangled state of agencies" (Barad, 2007, p.23) enrolling representations, affects, relationships, declarative identities and other, non-human, objects. Because this phase is relatively longer, and chronicles a process that moves between image-making, interpretation (or coding/decoding) and back to image-making, it contains three sections.

7.5.1 "Building the flow"

Discussion of the exercises in this section (those that followed the introductory image-pair work) will be briefer but well illustrated with images. From this point on participants were

working from their personal understandings of the term 'climate justice', and were given a few minutes of informal time to reflect on the term before starting. I no longer participated as an image-maker. The following passage is abridged from my workshop notes and outlines the exercises, a set I refer to as "Building the flow":

> After the break we gathered back in the meeting room. It was time now to move ahead, said Yvonne, to "try to solidify for ourselves what our notion of the term climate justice is... Let's finish our coffees and think about your relationship to this term in as much silence as possible....Work from yourself as an individual first…think of what your notion of climate justice…could be an experience, something you've witnessed, or something abstract." After a few minutes she provides these instructions:

> We work in two groups of five and four. Someone starts and moulds and places everyone in the group into an image, and places themselves in that image too. We sit in that image to sense it and feel it. Then the next person takes a turn by stepping out and doing it all over again their way. In this way each group makes a series of images, one made by each member, and each image involves everyone. In 20-25 minutes, we'll have a series of 4-5 images.

> Once this is done, each group will present their image-set, moving through every image while holding each for several seconds; brief responses to each moving image-set are encouraged.

While we had already entered the room that morning as active and ethical subjects, we had now gained enough facility with shared image-making that we could collectively orient our energised, active bodies and ethico-political positionings directly at climate justice.

Box 7.2

Work and play: exercises pre- and post- 'climate justice'

Anna says that "now is a bit more serious", this relating to our experiences of climate justice…I note this. Not sure this is a process or content related comment, if they can indeed be separated. Is she saying that before was fun and frivolous, but now we are serious, e.g. our images must convey seriousness now by looking grave, painful, agonised; or is it related more to process in that people have been reminded not to talk or laugh, e.g. silence is serious and cannot be but.

The image sequence each group created, in the manner explained by Yvonne above, is outlined below, in text, photographs and a few charcoal sketches. In this context _ recreated, ordered after the fact, and hardly corporeal – they can only be illustrative. But in addition to showing what we did in a technical manner, they may have their own affective power in making this chapter a kind of "plastic" space itself, with no pretense to accurately recreating an unreplicable workshop experience. The first group had four

participants, making four images in this order. Not all the images in the sequence is depicted in a photograph:

1) A discrete bunch or group unified in some way, one person is standing apart and has his wrist grabbed by a group person, to hold them or bring them in, as if they were trying to leave.

2) "smiling drivers" with a controller or monitor writing just off to the side. Drivers are 'sitting' in a slight squat (not on chairs), facing different directions (see Fig. 7.5)

3) the smiling drivers are being directed at a sitting person – the 'writer' is now directing the drivers

4) all four people are arm in arm in a line, with their fists solidly planted at their waists (see Fig. 7.6). (personal notes)

Figure 7.5 The drivers and the writer

Figure 7.6 Sketch of interlocked arm 'wall'

The second group had five images, which, given the challenges of watching two groups at opposite ends of the room, I had observed more carefully in their making than those of the first group (see Fig. 7.8-12):

1) a line of sorts; in front the dead and limp figure on the ground, then behind someone digging, behind them a seated typist, and behind them a standing puppet and a puppeteer standing on a chair (see Fig. 7.8).

2) a series of emotions, reactions, expressions – another line. Kneeling in front, "fear, but hands blocking scream"; then a standing person expressing concern, slightly 'offline'; then a seated driver again, then someone standing behind them expressing horror, then the last person standing on a chair with "money fingers" (see Fig. 7.9)

3) Line again – starts with a 'house' (three people shaped as a house and occupant), the person kneeling in it has hands folded in front of groin, head slightly down and solemn. Then there is a person standing linking what is before and after them, one arm tilted down reaching the kneelers, the other up and outstretched, like a banking airplane. At the back – and top – is a person on a chair with "money fingers". (see Fig. 7.10 and also 7.7)

4) Very different – three people are standing together facing the same way or around the same object, arms extended and hands working like they are manipulating or picking something. Again in a linear orientation, someone stands note-taking or writing furiously in an imaginary pad - their movement is "writing but pleading, demanding, earnest, expectant"). Someone further back in "the line" stands as if talking into a mobile phone. (see Fig. 7.11 and also 7.7)

5) another group line or wall, this time arms are around shoulders not around waists, and there are four smiles with the person in the middle looking more solemn (see Fig. 7.12). (personal notes)

Figure 7.7 Sketches of images three and four from Group Two's five-image set.

Figure 7.8 Puppet -master and burial

Figure 7.9 A line of reactions, agents and intermediaries

Figure 7.10 Connecting the 'house' and the 'money-master'

Figure 7.11 Commodity chain? Production chain?

Figure 7.12 Another 'wall'; a solemn middle and four smiles surrounding

7.5.2 Reading movement(s) with Freire: themes and coding

There were (and, in a different more static way, still are) many dimensions to each individual image, to particular combinations of individual images, and the image-sets in their entirety (each group's, and again the two group's images in further combination). And these reconstructed photographs and occasional sketches can only ever be two-dimensional stand-ins for an embodied and affective process., As an observer rather than a participant at this stage, and with the benefit of being able to draw on field notes, annotations and reflections, I am in effect de-coding both the groups' coding (building images) and de-coding (analysing, leading often to further images) process.

I drew three main observations from the images at this point. First, scalar conceptions of agency and vertical power relations emerged, enabled by the use of a chair (see Figs. 7.8-10). Second, both groups' images featured sole bodies acting 'off-to-the-side' of the main group (e.g., Figs. 7.5 and 7.11), as controllers or monitors to varying degrees. Lastly, both groups finished with images of unity, perhaps conformity, the 'walls' pictured above (see Figs. 7.6 and 12). Going forward into the final scenes, it was the first observation that proved most informative, though several participants had also noted that both groups had built "walls".

Box 7.3

Methodological uncertainties

People are, to my dismay (but I just as quickly accept it), 'moulding by demonstrating, by talking [verbally instructing]'. I am not sure if this is simply the way Yvonne works with these methods, or if she has let part of her own process slip, or if it is a judgement call based in what she sees as the needs of a particular group at a particular time.

Comments from the two groups during 'Building the flow' process reflect some debate about the need to build a narrative or not: the need to form a story from the images that respects the internal 'story' of each image, or conversely to build a flow that stems from the ability to move from one image to another, based on the physical challenge and opportunity present in each image, i.e. what makes sense from a meaning/symbolic perspective vs. what makes sense from the perspective of ease of movement from one image to another (the rearranging of bodies and relationships).

Someone says "I need to see Mike's again *to see where it fits in*." Why?

Duncan says let's "focus on which one's flow together, instead of how each mini-story builds a big story."

By this point in the process, Yvonne had introduced the idea that we were working through *Freirian coding and de-coding methods*, but hadn't foregrounded this in any way or explained it to the participants. This was something we had agreed on early in the workshop planning process, to not explain the theory behind the techniques, but to simply use them while asking people to trust that this was a process where that very trust and the willingness to participate were key.[76] The 'Building the flow' session described above was one further step in developing these codes, or what Yvonne sometimes referred to as 'themes'.[77] As a privileged researcher I am able, post-event, to individually de-code this session's images, but as the exercise was a brief accretive step in a longer coding and modelling process we did not pause to do this collectively at the time. Collective de-coding occurred during the "Show and tell" exercise and in the final creation and presentation of short, modelled scenes. But it is appropriate now to reintroduce Paolo Freire's coding (and its relationship to our Boalian image theatre work) from my Methods chapter, and further draw from Chapter Three ("Dialogics") of Freire's seminal work *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (1996) while using my individual de-coding here as a practical example.

While recognising that Freire the Marxist advocated his methods for radical education and not social science research, his basic premise holds true for the format of our workshop:

> The starting point for organising the program content...must be the present, existential, concrete situation, reflecting the aspirations of the people. Utilizing certain basic contradictions, we must pose this existential, concrete, present situation to the people as a problem which challenges them and requires a response – not just at an intellectual level, but at the level of action. (1996, p. 77)

We might ask: how can a series of undiscussed, improvised images made in response to climate justice be "concrete"? For Freire 'concreteness' is ascertained through a dialogical process; to be 'concrete' for a group of people, the situation that will become the theme or code to be analysed is "neither an arbitrary invention nor a working hypothesis to be proved" (p.78). 'Concreteness' is more than substantiveness or relevance, it is also 'existential', which in Freire's usage is politicised, normative and "implies a deeper

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[76] Regarding the theory of the methodology, anyone wanting more information, including reading material, was encouraged to contact me.

[77] In *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* Freire also refers frequently to themes, particularly as a precursor to the conscious introduction of a 'code' to a group of co-learners. A particular theme is a constituent part of a people's broader thematic universe, analogous in some respects to Habermas' 'lifeworld'. A code is a specific image or object that should be emergent from and connected to a theme that is 'concrete', in the Freirian sense, for those involved in the co-learning. As a social theatre practitioner not centrally preoccupied with adhering to Freirian terminology, Yvonne used themes and codes more or less interchangeably in the workshop.

involvement in the process of 'becoming'" (p.79). A theme developed from a sufficiently concrete situation will be a "generative" one for those people engaging with it. In fact, in order to co-produce an ultimately concrete *and* generative theme,

> it is indispensible to proceed with the investigation by means of *abstraction*. This method does not involve reducing the concrete to the abstract (which would signify the negation of its dialectical nature), but rather maintaining both elements as opposites which interrelate dialectically in the act of reflection. (p.86, emphasis added)

Making abstractions is the initial means by which people might critically approach and transform reality perceived as "dense, impenetrable and enveloping" (ibid). In this sense the participants are performing research in much the same manner as a social scientist – ordering, refining, abstracting, further ordering, refining, and concretising. The conceptual and experiential are not at odds[78], and cultural and epistemological ways of ordering and sense-making iterate indivisibly with embodied, lived experiences:

> it is a mistake to presuppose...that themes exist, in their original objective purity, outside people – as if themes were things. Actually, *themes exist in people in their relations with the world*, with reference to concrete facts. The same objective fact could evoke different complexes of generative themes...There is, therefore, a relation between the given objective fact, the perception women and men have of this fact, and the generative theme. (p.87, emphasis added)

The fundamental action of iteration in the generation of themes, codes and images generally can be read across every aspect of the LCJ workshop. Iteration between states of being, people and objects was simultaneously ideational, embodied and also technical, in the sense that iterating was instantiated through consciously chosen practice. There were iterations between:

- the concrete and abstract,
- individuals and the group,
- movement and speech,
- affect and discourse, and
- geographical sites and scales.

These iterative processes of course played out unevenly for participants; one could add the iteration between personal expectations and submission to democratic group process to the list above. For example, while commenting on the puppet and puppeteer image (that

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[78] As, for example, in building this thesis, where affective personal experiences and intellectual curiosities (while challenged and influenced by other researchers, PhD supervisors and social movement members) led to further orderings of material through reading, then autoethnographic and ethnographic fieldwork (see Crang, 2003, p.133)

generated great interest for most people), Lewis said that it wasn't very subtle, adding "We don't want to create images that we already know". Peter countered that the images need to be "recognisable, at least". From a social theatre practitioner's viewpoint, both concerns are valid, and from my position as a researcher I tended to share Lewis' desire for subtlety and nuance, assuming such images would be richer and evocative of wider and perhaps pleasantly unexpected analysis or 'de-codings'.[79] This ambiguity about the need for specificity and clarity has parallels in SWS' activist practice, reflected in Mike's views when asked about the appropriateness of using the term 'climate justice' to describe SWS' work at the time:

> I think that's OK, 'coz it's good to bring a concept and be a vanguard and bring it to the forefront and open that space for further discussion. I think that's important. *But* you've also go to recognise that…you're…possibly more talking to yourself than others...But there's that, there's that debate, isn't it? How much do you want to push it, open up the debate and drag people with you? It's just about like, it's a bit like the tortoise and the hare, isn't it...It's like, for example, by calling it climate justice, you *are* moving the goalposts. But less people come with you in a hurry because they're too busy dealing with other aspects of environmental justice. But if you talked about it like environmental justice, it may capture more of the popular imagination straightaway. It's less talking about the all-encompassing problem of climate change. It's a bit – you saw, they both have their pros and cons. Does that make sense?

> Me: Yeah, yeah, very much so

> Mike: Never thought of it like that before. (interview, 2010)

Approaching Freire's inherently iterative coding framework through even more extensively iterative image-making created a process wherein images functioned as mini-codes which were then immediately de-coded, and through a simple voting process it was then determined which (partially) de-coded images were concrete or 'existential' enough to be carried over into the creation of further combinative codes (see Table 7.2). This crude voting process was part of the "Show and tell" exercise.

7.5.3 "Show and tell": choosing codes for further modelling

After our two groups presented their "Building the flow" image sets to each other, Yvonne asked for volunteers to step forward and demonstrate which image they thought had appeared the most often, or, more importantly, spoke to them the most, an exercise I called

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[79] Interestingly, this runs counter to my perspective during the earliest interviews I conducted, where I anxiously pushed at times for direct, concrete views on climate change.

"show and tell". Table 7.2 below lists the images that had appeared up to and including this point.

Exercise	Selected Images	Images carried over?
Warm up games	- person in a house	yes
Handshake pairs	- "Pope"	No
	- "Wee rampant lion"	No
	- "Psychiatrist"	No
	- Indirectly, attention to hand positioning	Yes
Paired image work	- Pushing with hands, "tai chi"	No
	-Running	No
	- Kneeling with hands on floor	Yes
	- Cowering on floor	Yes
	- Standing over person	Yes
N.B. Instruction to reflect on climate justice and incorporate this in following exercises		
Building the flow	- Grabbing wrist	No
	- Driving	Yes
	- Monitoring, writing/noting	No
	- "walls" of people	No
	- puppet and puppeteer	Yes
Show and tell	- "limp princess pose"	No
		Yes
	- puppet and puppeteer	No
	- "feeding a dog"/Tease	Yes
	- Kneeling with hands on floor	Yes
	- Cowering on floor	
Modelled scenes	*Group One*	*Final exercise*
	- Driving (motorcycle)	
	- Puppet and puppeteer	
	- Cowering on floor	

	Group Two - Kneeling with hands on floor	

Table 7.2 Progression of exercises and images through LCJ workshop

We did this five times and were asked for quick group responses – did we agree that this was an image we personally recognised from the image sets? "Recognition" referred to resonance rather than representational accuracy (another iteration); the demonstrated image did not have to be an exact freeze frame from the image sets, it could be something inferred or suggestive, a related prompt. If the image did not seem sufficiently "concrete" to them, they were asked to choose other images that were, rather than only rejecting the offered image. In this way five images (see Table 7.2, "Show and Tell") were presented, discussed and critiqued, and three were chosen to build on for the next iteration. Then, eliciting further discussion, the whole group collectively decided on a name or identity for the three images, and people were then asked to choose which image they'd like to model their climate justice 'scene' on and divide into small groups accordingly. These were the three images chosen:

Puppet and puppeteer
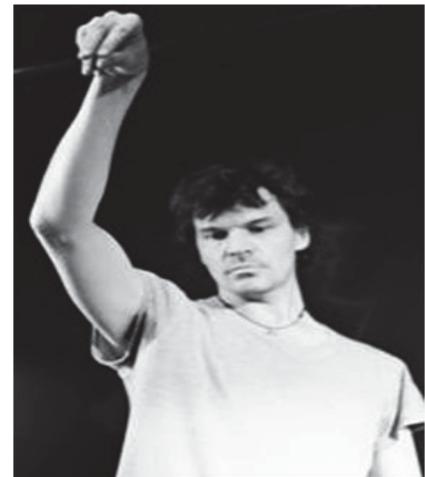
Tease hand ("feeding dog")

Prone "cowerer"

Figure 7.13. The three images selected from "Show and tell"

Each of these images prompted lively debate and discussion, understood as "concrete" but in different ways for each person. Such discussion was part of making an image "existential" for the group. Here I recall one such discussion about the Prone "cowerer" image, taken directly from my field notes as an example of group "on the spot" coding/decoding:

Much passionate discussion on the shape of the man on his back, arms in front of him, apparently shielding himself from, or pleading with, some assailant or persecutor above him.[80] These were some of the words that immediately came from the observers:

Suffering, surrender, oppression, begging, poverty, powerless

The difference came down to this: is he *struggling* or not? Some said no, he is not. Others said yes, he is, desperately.

"I see fear and suffering, not struggle."
The group eventually settled themselves on the terms of this dichotomous discussion (not quite a debate really). The question, it was quickly but still gradually ascertained, through a shaggy process of de facto consensus building, was "*powerless, or struggle*?"

Then there was an attempt at reconciliation of the two that seemed to intrigue if not exactly unite everyone: "The struggle of the powerless!"

But for some it was neither about action (struggle) or relative advantage (power), but purely an emotional and physical condition, a fact of being: "*fear and suffering*."

Suffering in particular was seen as distinct from powerlessness – how? Because you can be in pain, suffering, but not powerless. You can then, it stands to reason, have some ability to exert your will or change the circumstances, even though you are debilitated through suffering.

But Anna insisted that he has no power, he is powerless. He was suffering and afraid only, and had no power.

Despite Anna's disagreement, her abstention on the point as the conversation moved on, most of the group continued on in this pattern of seeking shaggy consensus.

Then spoke a compromise phrase, rather than a word

"Struggle of the Oppressed"

Duncan said loudly "too huge!"

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[80] Unlike the "cowerer" image shown in Fig. 13, in the image as originally presented there was no second figure standing over the prone person.

> Yvonne added, as facilitator, that it *was* huge, "but we know we're looking at it through the lens of climate justice." (field notes, LCJ)

This complex triangulation between Power/powerlessness – Struggle/action – Suffering is evident in SWS' spacing and placing of climate justice through its event planning and execution. Earlier I discussed Journey for Climate Justice (JCJ) planning debates on bus routing and bus stop locations in the context of a site's perceived levels of iconicity. The debate as I frame it was largely between a site's iconic, representational power and a site's "authenticity" as a "frontline community". But both a site's iconicity and its status as a frontline community, the latter nominally based on residents' lived experiences of environmental injustice, are relational achievements that iterate between, in Freirian terms, "the given objective fact, the perception women and men have of this fact, and the generative theme" (Friere, 1996, p.87). For example, the Shell offices in Glasgow were mooted as an icon of Shell's involvement with destructive and murderous oil extraction in Nigeria. Shell's offices in Glasgow and the company's activities in Glasgow were objective facts, and the broad generative theme of SWS's early practice was climate justice. But the site's successful enrolment as an icon of climate injustice for the aborted JCJ was further dependent on the existence of the Afro-Caribbean Network (ACN) in Glasgow, SWS' nascent relations with them, and presumably, ACN attitudes toward their enrolment in this "icon-isation", and what status the Shell offices had in their lived experience of racial injustice in the UK and beyond. This distinction is important; one may be able to 'space' the self-evident 'facts' of Shell and Nigeria, but in order to enrol these facts concretely into something "existential", to 'place' them for the whole there must be a process by which the embodied, experienced facts of suffering and actionable power are grasped and enrolled as well.

Box 7.4

Small vital gestures: The story of the change from money hand to teasing feeding hand.

During the earlier sets of images, based on people sculpting their group, the image of the hand was a supinate one, where the fingers looked like the classic cash-in-hand sign. There was a sense of luring with the cash. In the new reiteration of this gesture, the standing person with extended arm doing a particular gesture with the fingers, the hand flipped, and the fingers now directed down while still lightly together in the rubbing motion. The sense, especially when there is a figure on the floor below, is one of teasing rather than luring.

Someone's response to Dog – "I'm fascinated, but I'm not sure where it fits". A concern with fitting into a narrative, rather than remaining open to a montage or collage of images and reactions to them? Anna says of the feeding Dog image "I'd fight for it to stay"

Hand: Debate on the Nature of Giving

This image was the hand down one.

Comments included:

Sprinkling seed. This was from Lewis who had the quite personal and emotional reaction to the image he and I created, of the kneeling people spreading and perhaps blessing seeds on the ground.

Sprinkling salt.

The tease theme re-emerged quickly – "a carrot to a donkey"

A single word – "Beg!"

Some titles were constructed: "Seeds of Destruction", "Teasing Hand of Charity" and "Trickle Down Economics"

Teasing predominated, and the object being offered quickly became Money. Money itself was seen as a tease in and of itself, perhaps speaking to the group's general desire for a non-capitalist, postconsumer politics, and reflecting the general material comfort level of the group?

Due to our small numbers we decided to divide into two modelling or scene-building groups rather than three; as we had three images that garnered substantial interest we agreed to combine these into three image-pairs from which we would further explore two (see Figure 7.14). Yvonne reinforced that we were "not throwing out concepts, but merging" them. Tasha suggested that, rather than discussing which images might work best together, we *see* the images together and evaluate that way, creating another iteration, another moment of 'fuzzy consensus'. Anna refused to work with the Tease image at all, and I can only speculate that perhaps she felt that it did not embody a solid enough figure of oppressive power for her, relative to the Puppet/puppeteer and the Prone cowerer. In the earlier debate on the nature of suffering, agency and power, Anna had also been the most insistent that the Prone figure had no power or agency at all, that suffering was the only way to interpret that image. Interestingly Anna, originally from Nicaragua, had earlier told

the group she was "a daughter of the revolution", and one can speculate that this life experience expressed as a declarative identity was informing her position on the oppressor/oppressed dyadic relationship. The juxtaposition of the Tease and Puppet/puppeteer was quickly deemed the weakest, the least concrete of the three and even in a reconstructed photograph one can see far less obvious dynamism and conflict than in the other two pairings (Fig. 7.14). The Tease hand and Cowerer (which became Group A) and Puppet/puppeteer and Cowerer (Group B) combinations were selected, and people formed groups around the image pairing that resonated with them most.
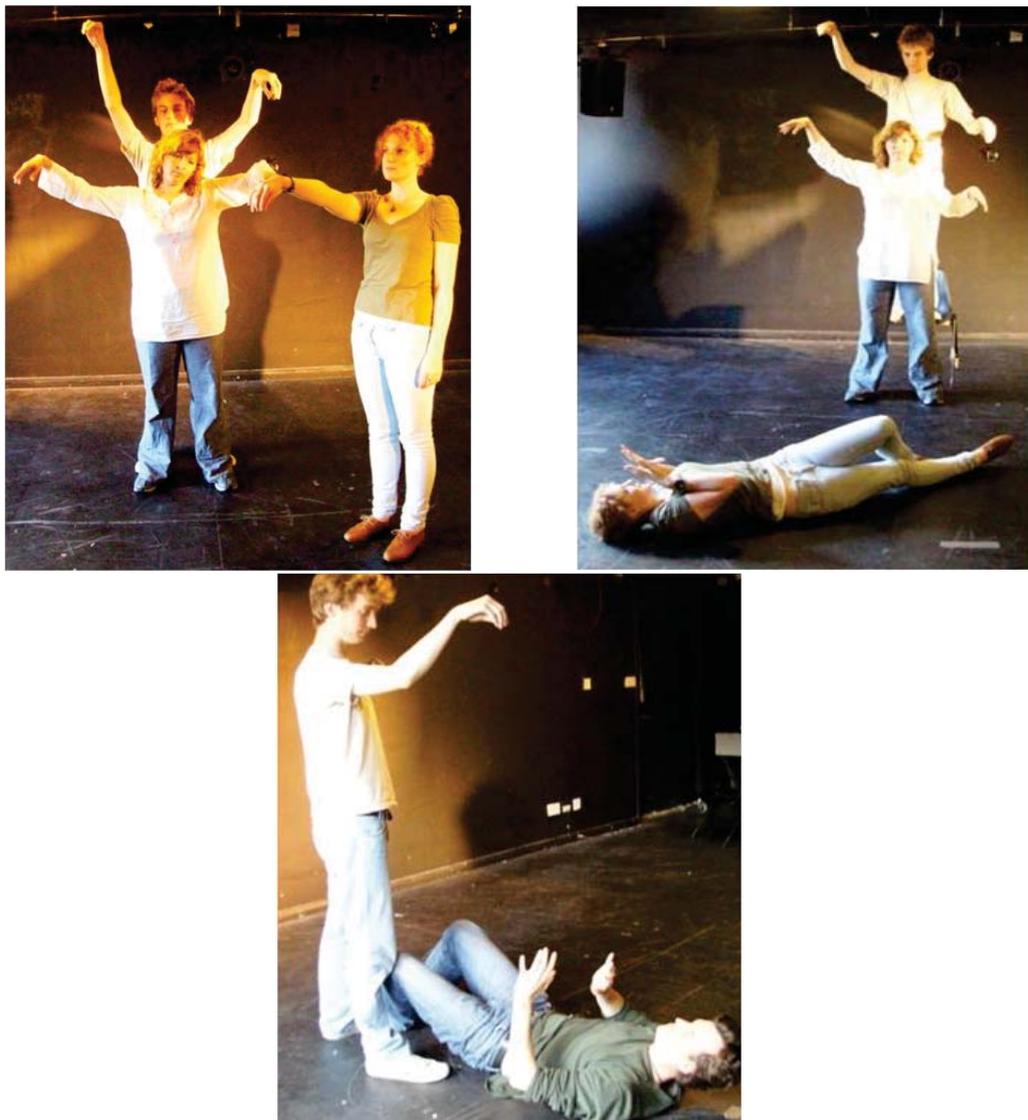

Figure 7.14. The three combinations of the "Show and tell" images

This phase saw the conjunction of Boal's image-making and Freirian group analysis (coding), two forms of praxis-oriented research and pedagogy that put into practice SWS' stated commitment to popular education in pursuing climate justice. It also saw the

addition of the phrase "climate justice" into the affective, corporeal, "plastic" and aesthetic practice of active and ethical subjects, a new element in the medium of relations. Methodologically, as a kind of abductive knowledge-making the workshop is orienting us to the intimacy (Pratt and Rosner, 2006) of SWS' relations-making in promulgating a local climate justice platform, rather than the small footprint, or limited coverage that "local" can also imply. It is an immanent climate justice below the statecraft and technology transfers of Holyrood, and the "sea of scientists, negotiators and lobbyists from around the world" (Roberts and Parks, 2007, p.2) that has been the dominant spatial frame of climate justice in its hegemonic form.

While this particular phase was in part preparation for the final scenes, there were findings in their own right here as well, and specific echoes of SWS' spacing and placing of climate justice in the SCB. In the iterative, messy process of creating "generative", "concrete" themes, we witnessed conflicting demands that climate justice be visibly recognisable in the images, and that the images be "subtle" (Lewis) or ambiguous enough to accommodate many ideas and affects of climate justice. As we saw in group decoding of the image Prone cowerer (Fig 7.13), the allocation of agency in political struggle was highly contested, as were the scalar frames attached to the particular struggle for climate justice. And, by applying Freire's imperative of iterating between the concrete and abstract, and "people in their relations with the world, with reference to concrete facts" (1996, p.87), we gained insight into SWS' difficulties in negotiating the blend of the lived and the iconic in activities outside the LCJ workshop, such as the Journey for Climate Justice Bus Tour (JCJ)

7.6 Phase change: Afterword (Agency and 'Othering')

In this final phase, after quickly presenting the basic "plot" of each scene, I move to more detailed description and interpretation of the creative process I noted as groups formed their scenes, the scenes as they were performed, and participants' reactions to each other's scenes. This phase de-codes the cumulative material on climate justice: partly a straight conveyance of the groups' own de-codings of the models, and partly "my" own de-coding of the whole scenario, inclusive of the models and other's de-codings. My de-coding falls into the themes of *agency* and *"othering"*.

Picking up in the workshop where Phase three left off, after a brief lunch groups were asked to reconvene and share with one another what it was that drew them to that image

set; they then had an hour to create a scene that could be, in Yvonne's words, "abstract, a series of images, natural, a soundscape, anything...something that represents the 'group's collective relationship to that theme'".[81] She said the short scene or "model" could be based on a personal story, but that we should respect any personal information that comes out – "we're all adults here". While encouraging people to be open about the form, she strongly emphasised that the model could be abstract, exploring the idea of a "hidden controller" for example, something/someone unseen in the image of the puppet/puppeteer. She stressed that the code isn't a template or blueprint, it's a provocation or question. She asked people "not to worry that an abstract scene is too difficult to model, we have the tools to work with that", adding that Boal's Rainbow of Desire techniques address "less concrete" forms of oppression, asking "what are our 'cops in the head'? What's stopping us from moving things forward?"

As stated people formed groups around the image pairings that resonated with them most (see Fig. 7.14), which were Tease hand and Cowerer (which became Group A) and Puppet/puppeteer and Cowerer (Group B).. These images were the codes we had iteratively co-constructed, concrete and existential springboards to build (moving from Freire's to Boal's practice and terminology) a "model" from. The model is a mini-scene, which is the code further interpreted and animated. It contains the remains of, and dialectical counterpoints to, all the iterative processual exercises listed earlier. The two models emerged through rather different processes, with the Tease/Cowerer Group A adopting a much more "on your feet and try it out" approach, while the Puppet/Cowerer Group B first sat and discussed poverty and environmental justice, the composition of their scene and who the characters would be before getting up and enacting their model.

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Group A Scene: Tease-Cowerer

Duncan is kneeling with hands on the floor, sweeping the surface (as in Lewis' early image, see Fig. 7.4) in the foreground. Tasha is on "Chair Mountain" (see Figure 7.15)[82] "upstage" at the back of the space, Lewis is off to the side.

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[81] Yvonne added it "obviously should have an oppressor and an oppressed" – this rankled me a little, as it seemed too directive. But that was a feeling based on my position as a researcher, interested in seeing what people would do with as little direction as possible. Clearly as the facilitator, she made this comment based on the tenor of discussion and comment throughout the group to that point.

[82] From my field notes: "They have turned a bunch of chairs into a pile I call "chair mountain". It is a mountain, and also I associate these mass produced meeting room chairs with the inevitability of people sitting around in meeting rooms to solve problems; I'm having the same response to the mass of chairs as I did to a scene [at a social theatre workshop] in February that featured *archaeology* PhD students – sitting silently in a room typing away on computers at separate desks." (LCJ field notes, emphasis added later)

Tasha comes down and takes Duncan's jumper, her head down, her manner implacable and direct. She circles back to Chair Mountain.

Lewis comes and kneels next to him, shakes his hand, smiles brightly, circles him and moves off.

Tasha comes back and takes more clothes, leaves again.

Duncan drinks water from a bottle.

Lewis moves upstage to chair mountain and begs Tasha for something.

Lewis returns to Duncan with a tiny morsel.

Tasha returns to Duncan, takes his water bottle from him back to Chair Mountain and guzzles it dry, gives a supplicant and weeping Lewis the empty bottle.

Lewis gives the empty bottle to Duncan.

Duncan is still kneeling, stroking the earth in front of him, but weaker.

Tasha comes back and kicks Duncan over into the prone cowerer position.

Lewis is crying, upset, he shrugs in disbelief. He sprinkles a morsel over Duncan with the hand down sprinkle gesture.[83]

Whereas Group A first presented their scene without speaking, Group B's scene below featured spoken dialogue right from the first presentation:

Group B Scene: Puppet/puppeteer-Cowerer (see Figure 7.16)

Yann pulls up to a petrol station on a motorcycle, asks the cowering and prone Peter "What are you doing on the ground?"

Peter gets up onto one knee from his prone position and says "I am Ogoni [from the Niger Delta, Nigeria], and a Native American from Alberta, and I'm also a bird covered in oil from their filthy business".

Yann asks the Puppet "Is this true?"

The Puppet (Stephen), while being "operated" by the Puppeteer, "Oh I don't think so. I drive a big truck in the Tar Sands, and make good money to feed my wife and kids."

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[83] A derivative of the Tease image, but reverted to the context Lewis had considered it earlier, as sprinkling seed or salt, rather than teasing.

The Puppeteer (Gerard) then speaks as the Puppet goes limp: "Look to the future! Think of your pension! Some poor people get hurt, but think of your future!"

Yann finishes filling up his bike's tank, remounts, and says "Ok, thanks for the chat! Just have to go see my girlfriend, but thanks."
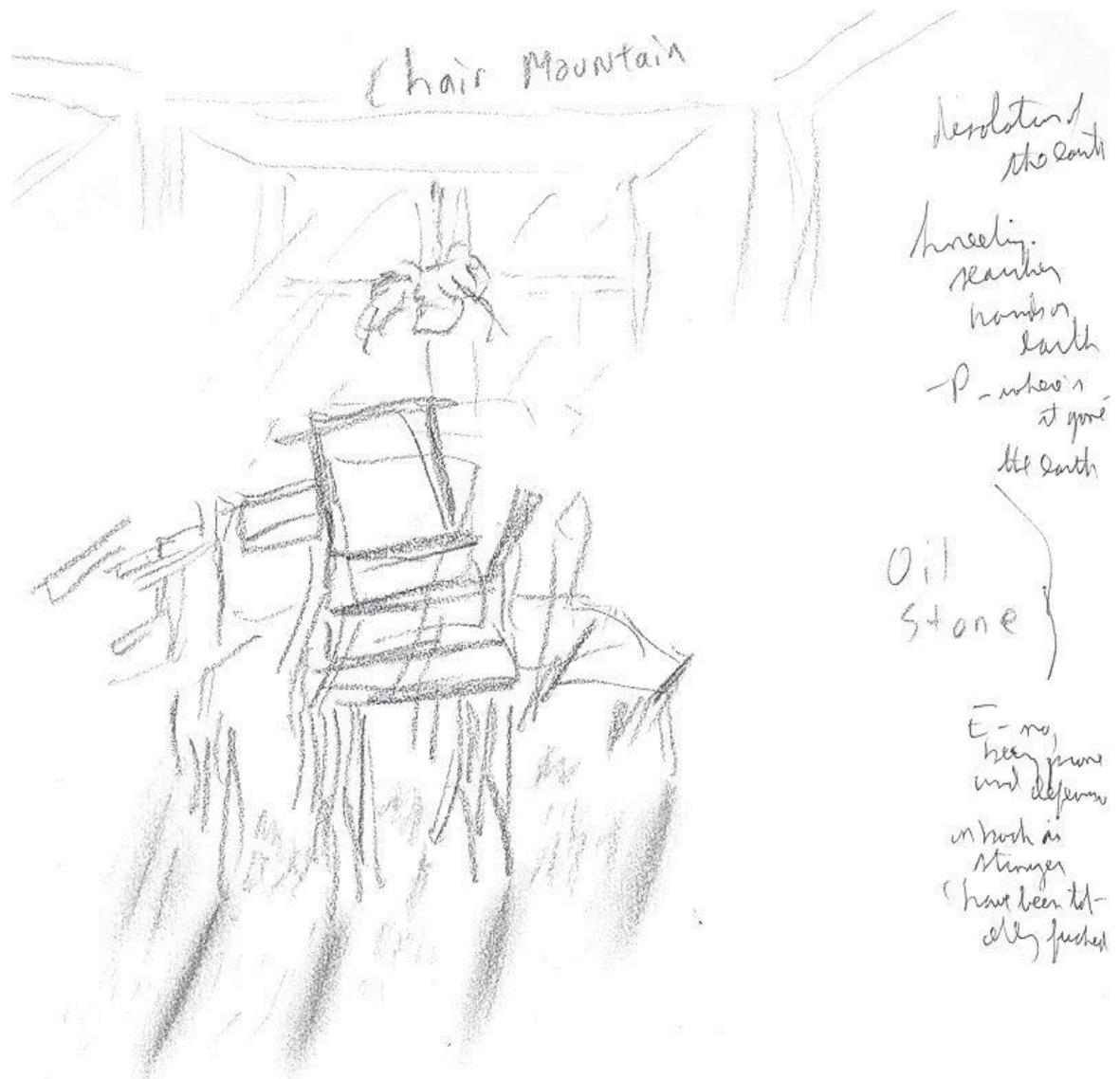
Figure 7.15 The Tease/Prone group's "Chair Mountain", with field notes

1.　　　　　　　　　　2.

3.　　　　　　　　　　4.
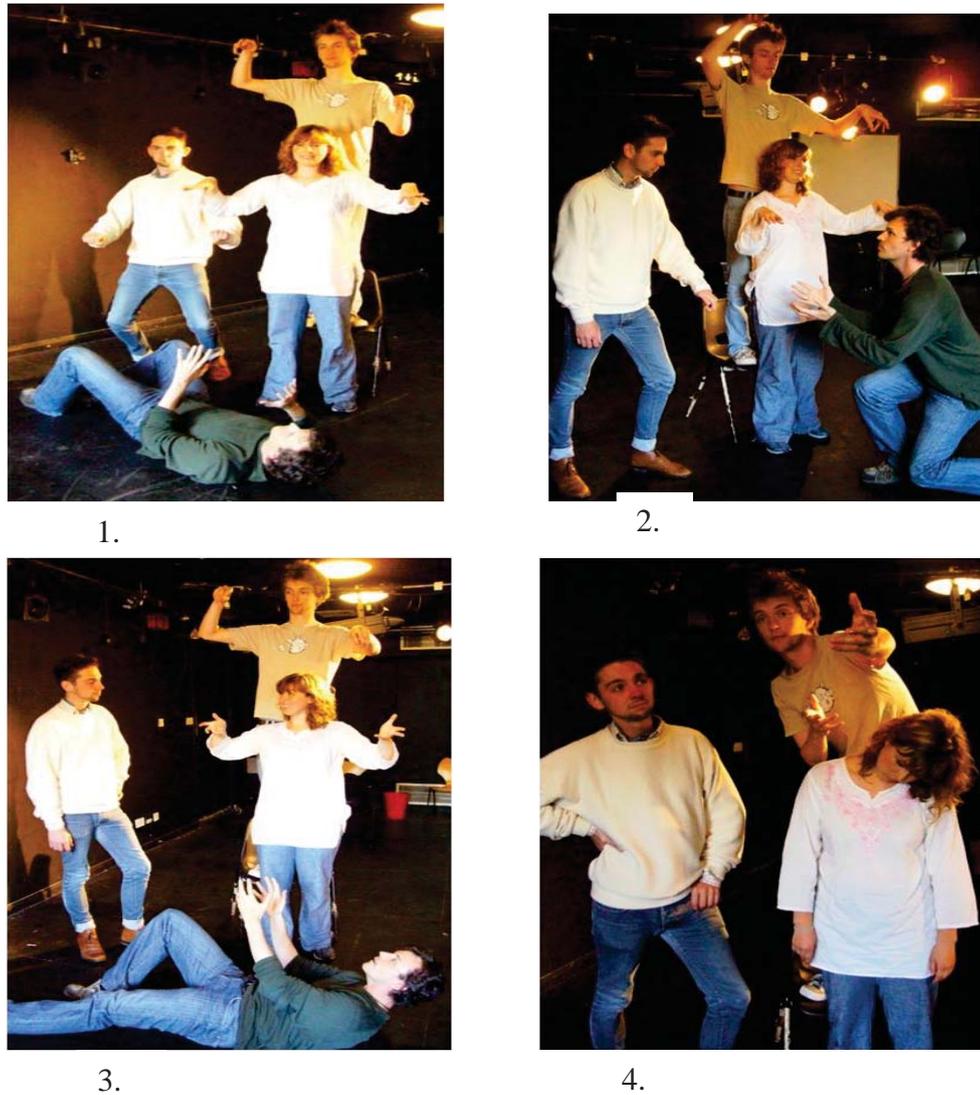
Figure 7.16 Group B Puppet/puppeteer-Cowerer scene

In making both scenes a central dramaturgical[84] concern for participants was the identification of an oppressed subject, and this concern lies at the heart of both the question of agency and the process of "othering". While one might argue that the story-telling form itself encouraged such a subjectification, the identification of oppression, with its dual dimension of suffering and possible agency in LCJ workshop climate justice images and models, was also central to how SWS' 'spaced' and 'placed' climate justice in its other Scottish activities through 2009-2010. I posit that these differing organisational forms – an applied theatre workshop and a public activism event – share an important function in developing SWS' climate justice platform: both produce political narratives, albeit with

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[84] In theatre, dramaturgy is the craft of performance text construction and cohesion. Further, "Dramaturgy is a comprehensive exploration of the context in which the play resides. The dramaturg is the resident expert on the physical, social, political, and economic milieus in which the action takes place, the psychological underpinnings of the characters, the various metaphorical expressions in the play of thematic concerns; as well as on the technical consideration of the play as a piece of writing: structure, rhythm, flow, even individual word choices." (McCabe, 2001, p.61)

different tools. Alongside the LCJ, SWS was also constructing a climate justice narrative through spacing and placing salient SM relations and frontline communities during the Linnvale gathering and the JCJ Bus Tour planning. It may be possible then to draw lessons across both processes, about the micro-, meso- and macro- means and consequences of relations-making, and shaping the conditions in which the most meaningful relations might take place.

As stated, the two models developed in slightly different ways, one with a movement starting point, the other initiated in discussion. While not wishing to overstate this, it is notable that there was one member within each group, Lewis and Gerard, who, through the course of introducing themselves, casual conversation and the end of day discussion, were distinctive in their vocal associations with what SWS would call 'frontline communities'. For Lewis and Gerard, these were in Rajasthan and Grangemouth, Scotland respectively. As an organiser for Friends of the Earth (Scotland) in the refinery town of Grangemouth, Gerard was particularly sensitive to petrochemical workers' – and their families' – complex relationship to the fossil fuels industry and environmental justice.

7.6.1. Agency: personal responsibility for climate change and 'the System'

> "If we all stood up, we'd be in a line, but one is on stilts [a chair] and the other is on the floor" (LCJ participant from Group B, personal notes)

One of the main ways in which relative agency was represented was through the variations in height used in the models. In both models, the designated oppressed or victim of climate injustice lay or knelt on the ground. In Group A, the victim went from kneeling to lying prone on their back in the Cowerer position; in Group B the victim began and ended in this position, bracketing a moment where they were able to briefly rise as far as one knee (see second image, Fig. 7.16). Similarly the oppressor, the agent/image with the greatest relative power in both scenes, either remained elevated above the others the entire time (as in Group B, on a chair), or began from and always returned to a position above the others (Group A's "chair mountain").

Is this trite? High means more power, low means less; the physically higher the subject/image, the more status they must enjoy – this seems natural, a reflexive response, self-evident. But when we experience the dynamics of the models in action, and see in this the code of climate justice to be de-coded, it is more complex than this. First, there was

nothing inevitable about the choice to lay the victim out on the ground, to "ground" them literally as well as figuratively. In both models the victim is in part a direct embodiment of the Earth, a piece of land and the substrate beneath it in Alberta or Rajasthan, of the sea(bird), of a socio-natural territory demarcated by its ecology. Not only are they low status, they are practically geologically *terran* or geographically *terrain*. This precise feature of victim-status was emphatically present in the iterative movement-discussion-movement-discussion process used by Group A to create their model.

Group A (Tasha, Lewis and Duncan) began by remaking the Tease hand/Cowerer image, then sat for a discussion. Right away Lewis said "the oppressed is the Earth, not a person or group of people. Doing your bit is a guilt release valve". The group saw the "hand down" as a "hollow gesture of help", more of a "lure or temptation" than meeting a need.[85] For reasons not immediately clear, they also felt it would be difficult to create a scene with three people where the oppressed was "the Earth". To the outside eye, any number of embodied images seemed possible, and I can only speculate that three body-subjects complicate a latent oppressor/oppressed binary narrative. Views on the subjectivity of the Oppressed and the Earth itself were shared; it was postulated that the Oppressed indeed *was* the Earth, "not a person or group of people", but this led in turn led to an important collective question: The Earth doesn't hold human characteristics or a changing personality…or does it? To explore the question, let's take it back to the question of climate justice and ask what is the subjectivity, the agency, of the Earth, of the multi-fold systemic exchanges that comprise it? Rather than a body-subject, the "Earth-subject" was linked through the modelling process with climate justice as a changing system with a changing character. Expansive but penetrable...or simply too dense to gain purchase on? In Freirian terms, was this situation with a central Earth-subject "existential" or not?

The group chose to negotiate this question of the Earth's agency and subjectivity by re-anthropomorphising the Earth-subject in a process that saw Lewis offer a personal story to explore the model with:

> In Rajasthan, phosphate mining has taken the land from the adivasi for mining and destroyed the water and soil- dust is the result. Lewis has a relationship with two people from a local Indian civil society agency who have come to Britain as part of their activism, they like it and want to come back, learning about UK NGOs, funding opportunities, etc. But they are "very rooted locally"

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[85] Lewis had earlier referred to the 'hand down' possibly sprinkling seed, or salt. Perhaps he was now going with the 'tease' view because he now agreed with that, or because it was the reference common to more people – more concrete for them, or some combination of those positions.

he adds. He highlights the tension in culture, the problematic of travel, the politics of funding and the pitfalls of NGO politics.[86] (LCJ field notes)

From this story, the trio seeks to try out a model. The dynamics of a group of three, they now feel, can help build the scene, in contrast to the initial feeling that three is a difficult number to work with if the oppressed was the Earth. The reinsertion of people-subjects as the oppressed rather than the Earth system/Climate system made this way of working possible, a dialectical process: people, Earth system, people.

When watching Group A play out their scene wordlessly, in near-silence, observers identified almost unanimously with Lewis' figure, widely interpreted to be an aid worker of some kind. This identification was double-edged, as Lewis' position was also universally seen to be well-meaning but ineffective, and ultimately "pathetic" according to Peter. Lewis was unambiguously an intermediary between Duncan's subsistence farmer, who knelt moving his hands over the earth until he was finally kicked over onto his back into Prone position (similar to Figure 7.17), and Tasha's nameless agent of power, who descended regularly from the top of Chair Mountain to seize another possession from Duncan, including actual clothing and his bottle of water. Here the victim was static, rooted to the Earth through the victim subjectification process in the model's creation, just as the agency of a subsistence farmer is somewhat problematically presumed to be rooted entirely to his own patch of earth. Tasha moved up and down a vertical plane at will, unimpeded by Lewis' agent of aid. Lewis himself cyclically walked the flat plane of the scene in reaction to the movements of Tasha.

Figure 7.17 Oppressor figure kicking over the kneeling oppressed

[86] I added later, "A very critical take would verge on blaming the victim for their desire to experience the resources and organising capacities that 'western' activists and organisations have."

Group B also featured a "vertical slope of agency", with the figures (two in this case) that most participants identified with also appearing in the middle of the slope. Again this may not seem surprising; perhaps we as participants and viewers (Boal's "Spect-actors") instinctively project ourselves into the middle as protagonists compelled to choose, to face several directions at once. But the details of this arrangement are again revealing, with the construction and role of the top and bottom of the slope central to de-coding the modelling of salient relations for climate justice in this context.

Because this group began building their model in discussion, it is important to note this part of the process and the way opinion and ideas directed the shape of the model from the outset. This discussion lasted several minutes (while I was observing the other group), and in an aside to me Yvonne commented that they'd "been derailed by poverty a bit".[87] When I returned to the group I noted that their conversation centred on two themes: the global financial/economic system, and people's ongoing ability to justify their actions within this system. Interestingly, given the importance attached to the role of stories in the social sciences generally and about climate change specifically,[88] it was agreed that people construct narratives that enable them to justify their actions, which in the context of the group focused on the First World consumer's unsustainable lifestyles (Stephen declared that "people in Scotland use fifteen planets worth of resources to support ourselves"). It was felt that people's critical capacities were blunted, caught in a "story people tell themselves, to give them the ability to live in their conditions" (personal notes). Both of these strands of conversation informed a core part of their discussion of model-making. When they discussed "the nature of the oppressor", in stark contrast to Group A's debate about the Earth they decided it "could be a banker, a politician, a worker", or as Yann suggested, "just an ordinary citizen". The field of climate justice was socio-economic, filtered through life as a carbon consumer in the UK, and they interrogated the possibilities for justice along the lines of responsibility and active citizenship.

Agency appeared to be circulated quite differently in this model. Whereas Scene A embodied acts of violence and dispossession, Scene B was a brief morality tale but without

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[87] Of course, confronting poverty is not in itself a derailment when considering the meaning and uses of the term 'climate justice', but as facilitator I believe Yvonne was concerned that their process was overly discursive and ideational rather than embodied.

[88] See Barad, 2007; Boykoff, 2008; Hulme, 2008; Law, 2004; Lewis, 2011; Mol, 2002; Moser and Dilling, 2007; O'Neil and Hulme, 2009; Swyngedouw, 2010, and Yusoff, 2010 for a range of views and uses of narrativisation and story-telling, from ontological 'first-principles' on the role of narrative to the media's role in framing climate change.

the potential for change or learning for our protagonist, a mini-journey where Yann's motorcyclist going about his daily business, has brief encounters with the embodied figures of oppression (the Puppet/puppeteer duo) and the oppressed (Peter's prone indigenous person/seabird) while filling his petrol tank. The same slope of power is present in Group B as Group A, with the Puppet standing and the Puppeteer on a chair at the same apex as Tasha's marauding figure on Chair Mountain. Peter lays on the earth, largely motionless, just as Duncan had knelt with his hands on the ground. Critically, both models are constructed so protagonists Lewis and Yann can 'move', but the quality and scope of their movement, as reflects the span of their relative agency, is circumscribed by the anchors – top and bottom – of the 'slope of agency'. Where Lewis was widely seen as a compassionate but ultimately "pathetic" symbol of Western aid, Yann was framed by observers as the apathetic "Everyman" consumer, whose ability to empathise and relate to Peter's abjection and despoliation was blocked by his own material self-interest, represented by the well-paid worker and the financial executive behind (and above) him.

Yvonne and I stood to the side and drew parallels between the models as we saw them rehearsed:

> We see strong parallels between the models the two groups are constructing. We're [her and I, and all the participants also] not the guy on the floor, we're not the victim, we're the middle man. I add we're the ethically confused middle man. (personal notes)

During transcription I added to my notes:

> *N.B.* In both models the central figure is the middle man...The victim makes appeals in the petrol station scene, but although they are embodied and for all intents and purposes of having potential agency as beings in the scene, "real", they do not act in their own defence or challenge the consumer, the exec or the lorry driver. Most of us, at least verbally and publically, identified with the middle man (or men in the case of the lorry driver/consumer), and seemed to not position ourselves [either] as victims or as having power, which is vertically above and to some degree distant and even masked.

Box 7.5

Puppet 'Show and Tell' – Debate on the Nature of Control

We saw a smiling puppet with a sneering puppeteer

Questions came right away. 1) Whose puppet? 2) Who controls who?

There seemed to be a reimagining of power and agency, inspired by the spectacle of the puppet and puppeteer…

…but perhaps not rooted in the precise image that was presented before them. It seemed too that the second question in particular was the result of a reflection on the nature of control and the ability to imagine a puppet that controlled its puppeteer.

As Yann said, he doesn't see the question, the power is clear in the image. There seems to be no physical way that the relationship presented in the image, the puppeteer behind the puppet, manipulating it, could be any other way in terms of power and control.

N.B. But maybe something happens if we distinguish power from literal control. If we see the puppeteer as bound to the puppet, as much as the puppet is bound to the puppeteer, and we see that the puppeteer, because of this bond, has no choice but to manipulate the puppet, then maybe the puppet then exercises some power over the puppeteer too, almost as parasite, or costly extension that expends something to be wielded. So the puppeteer literally, physically that is, in terms of the movement required, controls the puppet, but the puppet as an agent also has power, and that power goes back on the puppeteer to some degree.

In spite of Yann's literalist view, others applied a story, of power behind power, of unrepresented power even behind them both, controlling the puppeteer.

I write in red next to this section "image on face vs. narration". Narration seems to win generally.

7.6.2. "Othering":[89] personal injustice projected or deflected

I think many artists/activists are stuck wearing something I call the "mask of solidarity".
- Salverson, 1994, p.158

I consider processes of "othering" to be distinct from the embodied spatial orderings that place different figures and subjects along a scale of relative agency and power. While

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[89] I considered using the terms "difference" and "distancing". While "othering" may be a potentially complicating term, carrying as it does a whole set of recent theoretical resonances which are not fully dealt with here, I feel it best captures both the subjective and literal dimensions of separation.

clearly related to agency, "othering" is also intimately entwined with the meeting of declared identity and lived experience. In the context of SWS' climate justice platform, "connecting the dots" in Mike's terms (and making relations and conditions of relations in my expansion of that idea) is at least partly predicated on identifying and grappling with embodied socio-political relations which result in the ethical distancing, or "othering" of individuals or groups. While very much a productive part of their process, in my decoding Group A's iterations between people/Earth/people risks a sort of "othering" of the subject of climate justice, where the subject becomes reified as Earth, before being dramaturgically reconsolidated into a human subject of oppression again.

Similarly, in my decoding, Group B – the motorcyclist approaching the vertically composed scene of the abject victim on the floor and the Puppet/puppeteer above them – risks much the same "othering". Peter and the group conflated the Ogoni people of Nigeria, "Native Americans" from Northern Alberta, and sea birds into a generalised victim who appeared to reside literally in and under the Earth's surface, in the petrol reservoir in a petrol station forecourt. While they rehearsed their scene, Peter spoke some lines to Yann's motorcyclist petrol customer, as his victim character rises from the ground of the petrol station: "I am a Native American from…where is it? Alberta?...where the tar sands are killing everything…" At the risk of sounding uncharitable, it would appear that the Cree and Dene people of Northern Alberta have not achieved the same iconic status in the global activist imaginary as the Ogoni people, who of course have suffered extreme violence from the Nigerian government, and the public murder and exile of several of their leaders and spokespeople. In this model, unlike Group A where all the figures interacted, the Puppet/puppeteer and cowerer figures only "came to life" and interacted with Yann when he approached them, a micro-version of the theatrical "Everyman" or "Pilgrim" figure, visited along his life-journey by various apparitions and agents who only exist to inform or influence him.[90] Peter's victim subject rose to one knee once to proclaim his indigenous-sea bird identity and say he was suffering "from their filthy business". Accepting that arguably too close a reading of a single image risks overloading it with importance, both the prostrate farmer and prone Ogoni figures display a certain "aesthetics of injury" (Salverson, 2001), functioning as what Lewis had earlier referred to as a "release valve" for our guilty feelings towards the Earth (and not towards other people).

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[90] In early deliberations on how to make the model, Stephen had suggested that the petrol station customer could be visited by three ghosts, like Scrooge in Charles Dickens' *A Christmas Carol*, and have his views changed by images of the past present and future.

In making this assessment, I must be clear that this process is not intentional, and emerges from the complex iteration between "holding on" and "going further". Drawing attention to the dimension of "holding on" as a somewhat defensive or self-affirming posture here is necessarily an important part of critiquing the foundations and efficacy of an emergent politics of climate justice. If generative themes of agentic grading or sloping, or acts of victim- or, as we shall see, *self*-othering appear as obstacles to relations-making, I do not consider this a "reactionary" political tendency on the part of the participants. Rather, my de-coding is aimed at finding and presenting the threads that were most predominant and salient for SWS' practice of spacing and placing climate justice, be it within geographically located "frontline communities" or within the conceptual, experiential frames through which current and potential SWS collaborators (the LCJ participants) order their worlds. Both Lewis' "pathetic" aid worker, and Yann's girlfriend-visiting motorcyclist, identified through "shaggy" consensus as each model's central protagonist, came to represent the suspended, ineffectual position of the participants in their own existential situation. That these figures were frequently referred to as "they" rather than "we" is no small point however. While discussing how they would make their model, Group B focused on the behaviour of others and the obstacles to modifying it:

> Yann said people will agree with you, but won't act.
>
> Stephen or Gerard: If you take away the belief that things can change, no one will act. If you don't believe, not showing up to a meeting is realistic, not apathetic. (personal notes)

The themes of agentic sloping and "othering" do not only present as external hurdles to SM organising; they are opportunities for reflection and change. During the "Show and Tell" stage of the image-making process, before the perhaps more pressured imperative to make models, Peter as the Cowerer on the floor commented: "He [the puppet] looks really threatening, *not* manipulated from above". From the "victim's" perspective, in the immediacy of their position it doesn't matter where their oppressor's agency resides, or whether or not they are an unwitting middleman in a larger chain. This is literally a "view from below" – ethically and epistemologically – and in a sense Boal's and Freire's early work assumed this view from below was coherent and shared amongst their target constituents. As an observer, I noted Peter's comment as a powerful observation on his part, a moment of insight which he shared with us. Of this "view from below" from a contemporary activist perspective, applied theatre practitioner and researcher Julie Salverson writes

> Inside many white middle class activist/artists is an avoided place, the place of our own experience of being violated. How do activists tend to avoid? Perhaps by staying in "thinking/doing" territory where they are comfortable and can somewhat control what they are investigating. (1994, p.166)

The heart of the RoD method and its Freirian component is in the constructing of concrete, existential codes which are iteratively developed between abstractions outside of the 'affective space' and the present social and material relations in the room. It follows then that the agentic placing and "othering" apparent in the outwardly manifest sculptures can be read inwardly as well. Might we in fact be "Othered" from ourselves in terms of the ethics, political relations and ontology of climate justice? Or at least from significant dimensions from ourselves? Perhaps, in the Marxian tradition, we are alienated not by the phenomenon of climate change itself but by the extraction-exploitation nexus that marks capitalism's "ultimate" symptom, climate injustice. More likely, particularly as SWS' ambition is to make the connection between the two real and politically operable, the answer is both. As pointed out in Chapter Three, it is difficult to order and trace the emergence of a self-consciousness that enables us to see ourselves as both victims of a system and agents capable of our own transformation (Bondi, 1993, p.90). Boal himself has been accused of the same irresolution of Marxian structuralism and humanism (Nicholson, 2005, pp.115-119).

"Othering" relations reflect LCJ participants' presumptions of significant difference between themselves and the component images of their models, and between the component images themselves. This is spatially expressed through both the situated abjection (Scene B) and destruction (Scene A) of the victim figures in the models themselves, and through the further placement of these figures "offshore" in Nigeria and India. As Yvonne the facilitator commented in the closing discussion:

> I found it really interesting...in the models in particular, what came out was the issue of the sufferings placed really firmly in "the Third World", which I thought was really interesting and invariably the protagonists in both were you know us, middle class white Westerners, which I'm not necessarily surprised...about that being...what could be recognizable as a protagonist. But I did find it quite interesting, especially with a representative from Grangemouth in particular, that that's where we *place* the suffering, this real strong notion that its happening across the sea,...when maybe there's a lot to be done at home...about the suffering that's going on on these shores as well. Does that make sense? This kind of perception of us being somewhat removed from it. (LCJ group discussion)

Addressing human geography's recent contributions to the study of environmental change, O'Brien writes

> Perhaps the biggest 'space' that remains to be addressed in global change research is the subjective space between 'us' and 'the other', which pervades the geography of identities. Jon Barnett (2001: 21) notes that '[i]f the individual and social groups can appreciate the multiple forms of affiliation that are available to them, this might serve as a positive source of identity creation which embraces the global community and breaks down the distinction between Us and Other'. (2010, p.545)

Stepping away from the reductive notion of a pure "geography of identities", the connectivities engendered during the LCJ, the "medium" out of which salient climate justice relations might come to be, are clearly fraught with the risk of increasing rather than closing "the subjective space between 'us' and 'the other'". Those SWS members organising practical initiatives such as the GFP and the JCJ must take care to see that their earnest attempts at relations-making do not work to undermine the conditions of relations required to make them enduring and expansive.

7.7. Conclusions: climate justice and the method

Why did we do this – what can applied theatre tell us about climate justice?

In the introduction to this chapter, I shared a personal note from the LCJ planning process on the dual nature of the workshop's content:

> 1) Exploring what climate justice is looks at where we [SWS] are now – trying to entwine and graft together campaigns from different focal points such as anti-poverty, housing, local environmental justice issues and emissions/infrastructure oriented climate change, and seeing how comfortable or effectively these campaigns can work together towards (and through) climate justice. It is perhaps more about uncovering and examining our positions and what is being brought to the table as discourse and strategy.

> 2) Using social theatre is maybe more prefigurative. Not that the future will be theatre (playful, ludic, spectacle*),* but that future social and material relations will be more holistic and syncretic? (annotated meeting notes, June 11, 2010)

Note number two directs us to a specific reason for using applied theatre that was discussed in Chapter Four, that this method may provide, in the developing traditions of Marxian social-nature, ecology, feminist and posthumanist studies, tools to better situate and examine human subjectivity and agency in its 'full-spectrum' ontological embeddedness in the material register. In this light, the Living for Climate Justice

workshop was a direct response to calls from geographers and social scientists to actively push the frontiers of what it means to research, think and write about environmental change, perhaps especially climate change, into equally social, cultural, economic, political and ecological territory (see Brace and Geoghegan, 2010; Hulme, 2008; Morton, 2010; O'Brien, 2010; Parks and Roberts, 2010, Swyngedouw, 2010). While I have talked about the body-subject and embodiment at length, working through and with materials was not limited to bodies alone. Both groups used the chairs in the room for their models, one to stand on and one to pile into Chair Mountain. The simplicity of the available tools led to image-making that was both direct and complex. This was particularly true of Group A, who, through both discussion and physical trials and re-workings, explored the concurrent symbolic meaning and material use-value of objects like clothing (nudity was contemplated), notebooks and water bottles. The latter became a powerful hinge between the socio-economic (this is a possession of Duncan's peasant for Tasha's western capitalist to steal), the ecological (Tasha is despoiling the life-giving properties of the Earth) and the embodied experience of the participant (she has torn my water bottle from my hand and is guzzling it in front of me). This dimension was only possible by working with material participation in the messiness of interaction (Askins and Pain, 2011).

Arguably, the LCJ goes beyond calls such as Hulme's to embrace climate change as a hybrid of the social and natural. The performative and performed method of the LCJ cuts climate justice together more pervasively than the grafting of formally discrete entities (like the environment, economy, and society) that hybridity connotes. A valuable consequence of such a method is that we can better entertain and navigate the "molten" (Whatmore, 2006), excessive qualities of life with climate change, and therefore better recast climate justice as more than a "chilly virtue" (Dobson, 1998, p.229) that requires "general submission to the concern for the future" (Bataille, 1993, p.379), with its "sorry consequences for our daily enjoyment of life" (Clark and Stevenson, 2003, p.238).

Because the LCJ was a performance of the performativities of climate justice (see Heddon, 2002), we could observe agency expressed by individuals but ultimately shared in practice. Our plastic workshop space exposed an "entangled state of agencies" (Barad, 2007, p.23) that both put the lie to a "traditional notion of the individual" and hence the paucity of potential such a notion of the subject has for a future climate justice.

Our applied theatre/pop ed method allowed us to still find traction in thinking climate politics in scalar terms without being denied by its disciplining and boundary-making

tendencies. Strong, even privileged, considerations of intimacy and corporeality as key registers through which the political operates are clearly admissible as "emotional geopolitics" (Pain, 2008) – there is no compulsion to deny the relative importance or "size" of climate justice cut in this way. Boal reminds us that the aesthetic space, while filled with co-present bodies, is also constituted by multiple times and spaces (1995, p.22). It is not hermetic, it is available to other paces and times. Considerations of the affects of encounter and relations considered through embodiment also apply beyond physical co-presence, as such affects and relations may transpire across times and spaces mediated by images and technology (see Simonsen, 2012).

Similarly, as a "performance of performativities", like climate change politics the LCJ came to life in the tension between the iconic and the lived, the concrete and the abstract, a productive tension that becomes apparent when we promote this performative relationship through Freire's practical, pedagogical framework.

It is also important not to forget what the participants themselves thought about the methods usefulness in relation to climate justice. In the group discussion at the end of the day, I asked people what they thought about using the methods they had just experienced to ask questions about climate justice. In general people acknowledged the compressed time frame we worked under, seeing that as a strong limitation to how far climate justice could be explored. Unsurprisingly everyone felt that the workshop was only a starting point, and in anonymous feedback forms several people made suggestions for how the workshop could be reordered to "get to" climate justice more quickly. But these responses were also folded into a remarkably open sense that the parameters of the form, such as an advancement from one exercise to the next under time constraints, the inevitable compromises and negotiations resulting in shaggy consensus, and the imaginative and experiential specificity of one's own personal understanding of climate justice strengthened the possibilities for using the method in a wide range of communities and contexts. Two participants, Lewis and Tasha, approvingly referred to the images and models as "caricatures"; in Freirian terms, themes that had sufficient concreteness and impact to be "existential":

> Lewis: I find it very interesting and useful, because what we did today was...we did a caricature. And…both different [models] had…the same three layers... and this morning the two groups all had the solidarity thing at the end that we came up with separately [the "walls" of linked arms]. It becomes a caricature and I find that useful because you know it's a way in to.... you know you can

make it more specific for the situation that you're in. It's so useful because it gets people talking, it gives people a focus, or lots of different focuses to talk around. If you just say "Climate justice. Let's talk about it." you get a load of people that won't even bother opening their mouths and nipping away and not coming back and so on. And this is so...it keeps people interested. I mean we're all self-selected being here, but hopefully that's what you get in any situation. But it's very very useful to have the sort of general caricature idea in order to be able to take it to Grangemouth or somewhere and say "alright, these are the specifics. Let's go and do it. Let's do a two day workshop with people there. And we won't bring in tar sands, or we won't bring in that, we'll bring in what's happening with Mrs. Smith down the road and the fact that that's changing and this is closing and etc. etc.

Tasha: I think on the caricature thing its really, this work is brilliant because if we sit around and talk about something we're already interested in, we've already got our prepared personal theses to give to other people and see how they respond to it. Whereas if your body is put up there you get surprised by yourself. So I'm surprised that I came out with a caricature, but it shows the power of the caricature…like, inside a caricature there is loads of subtlety. We've created them as human beings, you know, the power of cliché... all these things that we shouldn't disregard, but instead recognize that they come out of us and they came – yes, we all put poverty in the Third World here. And I'm going to go away and that's going to stay with me and I'm going to really think about why we did that, or what this really means and why its an archetype ... not quite, but along the lines of being an archetypal symbol for me. And it's so useful because my head works in images so much more than words, and sometimes I get bored by my own words because I've usually prepared them in some subconscious way, whereas my body surprises me a lot quicker. And that's why I like it.

It is also happily apparent that whatever judgments and critique I have applied to participants' models and their responses to them, participants are self-aware, self-reflexive and "think, act and talk about climate justice" (Duncan) independently of my perceptions and documentation.

7.7.1. Further conclusions: climate justice and SWS

Where is the climate change? What are the important relations in this relational SM space?

Echoing Freire's "dense, impenetrable and enveloping" description of a theme, evoking seemingly indecipherable and intractable problems, SWS member Cassie ascribed the distinctiveness of SWS' approach to its being "zoomed into this whole overall umbrella threat of climate change": attempting at least to penetrate and render open what seems 'existentially' both inaccessibly dense and diffusely all-encompassing, "all these issues that are feeding into the fact that we're in a system which is…which is not going to save us

from climate change if it continues the way it is". In the spring of 2009 SWS made an overtly tactical commitment to organising around the theme of climate justice (see Chapter Five). Climate justice was to function specifically as an ordering focus that would enable groups and individuals with disparate interests and positions within the extraction-exploitation nexus to better "connect the dots" between nominally environmental and socio-economic concerns in different geographical locales and communities of interest. My decoding of the LCJ prompts a question for SWS: is climate justice in fact an "existential situation" for many people, after Freire's process of 'decoding' (1996, p.86)? Climate justice itself may not be. Or the overarching generative theme may in fact be the "theme of silence", which "suggests a structure of mutism in [the] face of the overwhelming force of the limit-situations" (p.87). But participants were not mute, in either body or voice.

The tools we use to analyse – and to 'place' and 'space' – climate change/justice are the same epistemological, political or embodied tools we have at our disposal when approaching other injustices and crises. There is no sea change enhancement of an individual's or SM's means that accompanies the need to limit the planet's mean temperature rise now and in the coming decades. What Freire calls our "thematic universe" (1996, p.82) does not appear (as yet) to have the capacity to accommodate climate change as a concrete 'existential' theme *in and of itself*. As a learning tool for SWS and relations-making for climate justice activism, I have offered a critical narrative of how we arrived at the themes of vertical agency and "othering". These are themselves generative themes: participants' experience of climate justice involved a great deal of agentic fixing and subjective distancing. The LCJ offered not resolutions but lessons, which, as Tasha said and as was expressed differently by others, are "going to stay with me and I'm going to really think about why we did that, or what this really means". By engaging with the iterative LCJ format, and embracing the resultant multiplying logic of "coding, all the way down", it may be possible to bring the topology of the prevalent totalising, "muting", narrative of climate change into more productive alignment with the topological narrative of the extraction-exploitation nexus as we live and experience it (see Dewsbury, 2012). Had the LCJ been two days long (as a few people suggested it should have been), the recurring themes of agency-sloping and othering might have been taken on more fully and intentfully, resulting in a new basis to build further images and models from, subject then to further – and more collective – decoding.

The LCJ form also showed productive parallels between the workshop gathering, with its own ecologies dependent on multifaceted socio-material iterations (see Franks, 2012; Nicholson, 2012), and SWS' practical and idealised attempts to alter conditions of relations and make transformative relations across a range of 'frontline communities'. SWS activities real (the GFP) and planned only (the JCJ) themselves iterated between declarative identity claims and the contingencies and mess of lived practice, as attempts were made to 'forge' relations with people in Clydebank and people from several communities across the Scottish Central Belt. As an observer-participant of SWS, in bringing the lessons of the LCJ to our planning meetings, it follows that the essentialisation of identities as they contribute to "body-subjects" is rendered increasingly problematic as an SWS strategy. Therefore a location's iconic status, while not to be ignored, must be subsumed to the practical need to engage far more actively with community members understandings of their own "existential themes", to avoid erasing them by presuming what a broad-based SWS climate justice platform might like to be.

Writing about basic speech, Dessalles writes:

> Human individuals must cognitively disturb each other to form and maintain social relationships...When human individuals are unable to elicit cognitive dissonance in each other's minds, they remain silent. (2011, p.117)

Supported by the frames of an actively relational SM space-making and the emergence of the climate justice platform in its performance, in the concluding chapter I speculate on ways in which SWS' ambitious vision and expansive remit generated the requisite "dissonance" in identities, ideas and practice to create relations that could foster their vision of climate justice. While recognising that SWS' improvisation was more about process than success or failure, it must be accepted that in its collective acts of holding on and going further, SWS' broad and ambitious remit also kept it from actively "disturbing" existing conditions of relations in the SCB enough. Between the two, I offer concluding insights into SM organising, the force of climate change and research methodology.

8. Drawing conclusions

The value of So We Stand's work is not in producing numbers, but in producing relationships.
- Chimezie Umeh (Glasgow Afro-Caribbean Network), SWS endorsement, 2011

It hardly needs noting that for a new ethical-political orientation to be at once popular and decisive, voluntary and far-reaching is a tall order...
- Clark and Stevenson, 2003, p.236

In introducing SWS in Chapter One, I called it an experiment in *relations-making*. The primary objective of this process in the Scottish Central Belt (SCB) was to share and activate local and subjective knowledges of our shared existence in what I call the extraction-exploitation nexus characteristic of our fossil fuel-based economy. 'Climate justice' was chosen as the socio-political rallying point around which transformative relations, which keep the ongoing exploitation of both people and the environment visible and central to the struggle, could be made. In "zooming into the umbrella" (Cassie, interview, 2010) of climate change to "join the dots" for a "multi-issue movement" (Mike, interview, 2010) in Scotland, I argue that SWS was entering and making largely unexplored territory, marked with many opportunities and challenges. Over its short lifespan SWS has collectively improvised its own provocative and generative cuts (Bell, 2011, p.117) – its geographical, ideational and affective 'spacing' and 'placing' of climate justice are experiments in invitation and nascent engagement with diverse others. The intentions and agencies of individual members are not subsumed by the collective, but challenged (at times frustrated), charged and ultimately reconfigured by SWS' practical (and imagined) engagements and interventions in the SCB. To further echo Bell (and Barad), has SWS "cut well" in "inviting the concern of others"?

I gather an answer here across two related but distinct concerns. First, I address the implications of SWS' practice and climate justice platform in terms of SM relations and SM practice generally. If relational space is constituted by embodied labours (Massey, 2005, p.9), and the work of SMs is to in effect make relational spaces visible ("because they are the (covert) medium and (disguised) expression of asymmetrical relations of power" [Keith and Pile, 1993c, p.220]), what are the salient relations and under what conditions are they best made? In this section I pay particular attention to the "post-political" and SM form and structure – including what I have often dubbed SWS' "failed" relations. Emerging from this, and bearing in mind that SWS has never been a 'climate change movement', I turn our attention to the place, literally and figuratively, of climate change here – "Where is the climate change?" – and what SWS' rather chaotic

improvisation might ultimately have to say about it. I conclude the chapter with a summation of the most significant contribution this thesis has made to academic knowledge generally.

8.1. Implications for social movements in a "post-political" age

As is perhaps obvious, I am less concerned about the organisational *shape* of SWS than its function in *shaping* the spatialities of climate justice in the Scottish Central Belt through relations-making practices. While SWS exhibits some of the characteristics (and the limits and promise) of a network form, is it in fact a network? I would argue it is a plateau (after Chesters and Welsh, 2005) or relational field (see Fig. 5.4, "Foundations", "Field" and "Connective tissues"), but as per Leitner *et al* (2008), any label is an exercise that has limited practical meaning to SWS; it does not necessarily reflect the group's function. If it has any purchase, 'network' may better reflect aspects of how SWS formed rather than what it became and promised to further become. While the network aspect of SWS settled (and possibly stagnated) relatively quickly, consequently a more intimate ideational and affective shaping of climate justice in one region of Scotland was promoted. Allowing for SWS' small numbers and limited resources, it animated climate change as a political question and challenged the 'post-political' enrolment, addressed in Chapter Six, of environmental politics and climate change in particular into deepening biopolitical pathways of capitalist governance (Swyngedouw, 2007, 2010).

One of the central critiques of the 'post-political' proffered by Swyngedouw (enrolling Chantal Mouffe, Jacques Rancière and others) is that it erases the terms of engagement for properly agonistic, processual political struggle; in other words, it actively purges away the very name of any would-be site of contention. The critique is generally aimed at contemporary liberal democratic theory; as Mouffe states

> Many liberal theorists refuse to acknowledge the antagonistic dimension of politics and the role of affects in the construction of political identities because they believe it would endanger the realization of consensus, which they see as the aim of democracy. (2009, p.77)

In this hegemony there is neither an ideational, strategic organising point, nor an affective rallying language, for particular subjects with particular concerns. For Swyngedouw (2007) the current 'preoccupation' with would-be universalist environmental politics, manifest most strongly in climate change, exemplifies this erasure. Further, he maintains that the current politically disabling discourses framing climate change (as discussed in

Chapter Six) are sustained by the anodyne 'liberal cosmopolitical 'inclusive' politics" typified by Ulrich Beck, Anthony Giddens and others. Giddens' "life politics is about the challenges that face collective humanity" (1994, p.10 in Swyngedouw, 2007, p.31). Inclusivity (and any functionally political 'collective' social forms, such as SMs) becomes a photo negative of itself by forfeiting the constitutive boundaries and differences from which it must by definition emerge – it forgets or wills away the "necessarily embedded material practices which have to be carried out" (Massey, 2005, p.9). In this formulation of the 'post-political', not only are political flashpoints made nameless, but the figure to which a resistant politics can be addressed is made nameless as well; what has been identified by Beck as our prevailing 'risk society' "is missing an authority that can symbolise what goes wrong. Risk is...the danger that cannot be symbolised" (Diken and Laustsen, 2004, p.11, in Swyngedouw, 2007, p.29). Where the dangers of climate change are commonly symbolised, I have maintained that they appear as distanced and 'othered' forms: polar bears (Slocum, 2004; O'Neil and Hulme, 2009) flooded Bangladeshi villages (Amy, interview, 2010), the Ogoni and Cree peoples planted in the Earth (the LCJ, 2010).

SWS' spacing and placing of climate justice in SCB, through improvised acts of relations-making, worked to (re)politicise both the discourse and material 'facts' of climate change by naming the points of political contestation in a local context. By attempting to *place* climate justice simultaneously in a) the regional SCB infrastructure of the carbon extraction-exploitation nexus, b) specific communities of place and interest, and c) the very 'body-subjects' of concerned community members, SWS sought to, in Freire's terms, make 'concrete' and 'existential' the space of climate change as immediate and *already known*. The "horrors of the Welfare Reform Bill", the black spots on Clydebank residents' washing (see Fig. 6.1), stand on their own as flashpoints of the political, but are also enrolled by SWS (however effectively) as 'codes' for climate change. In this sense, climate change is, as discussed in Chapter Six, a temporal 'heightening' agent, inviting reinvigorated attentions to the social and environmental injustice marginalised communities in the SCB already experience. SWS' placing of climate justice in Clydebank at the GFP and attempts to place it along the JCJ route worked, in Callum's terms, to "expose the violence in the system" (interview, 2010), the violent ideology of the extraction-exploitation nexus. Again following the Freirian "cut" pursued in Chapter Seven, this process 'de-codes' the Apocalypse consensus of "ecological modernisation", which "can masquerade worldwide as an ideology-free zone only for so long as it can succeed in naturalizing the modernisation process to protect it from deeper questioning and social unrest" (Eckersely, 2004, p.74, in Smith, 2009, pp.102-103). In showing up the

"masquerade" of the managerial ecological governance evident in the UNHRC and Scottish Government's Copenhagen-position on climate justice, SWS unmasks the de-voicing and de-naming inherent in that hegemony. However, it is also clear in Chapter Seven that in iterating between known currently 'lived' concrete codes of exploitation and environmental justice, placed by SWS in "frontline communities", and "getting lost in the words" of the affective and discursive space of climate justice (Tasha, LCJ, 2010), SWS' ability to make climate justice into a truly generative theme for action-reflection was partial and incomplete. And ultimately, as major SWS activities like the aborted JCJ remained incompletely realised, action-reflection-action for climate justice was often a more intensive performance of political subjectivity than an extensive communicative one.

8.1.1. Implications for social movements: size, shape and "strength"

In many respects, throughout the performance of the research and the writing of the narratives here, SMs got 'smaller' and climate change got 'bigger'. Smaller in that the view became more "intimate" (Pratt and Rosner, 2006), and "bigger" in the sense that climate change clearly became about more than a changing climate, or even resultant effects. Both 'reshapings' are a consequence of SWS and I "holding on" and "going further" (see Crouch, 2003, 2010a, 2010b) in various ways, the result of

> multiple tensions at work in living. These prompt particular aspects of doing, feeling and thinking through which our worlds are encountered and realised in and across sites, their spaces, practices and times. (2010a, p.63)

In Chapter Four I proposed that SWS' "structure of feeling [Williams, 1977]" as an SM, "resting upon collective experiences and interpretations" (Routledge, 1996, p.404) was a striving for connections (*communion*). If one wished to return to the affect-emotion 'debate' (see Henderson, 2008) of Chapter Three, this desire might be read as a generative affect, more active than Anderson's 'hope' (2006), and a requisite catalyst for creating the conditions of relations for productive ethical and political encounters. As we saw in Chapter Six, through imaginative and practical performances of spacing and placing, these desires were reconfigured in the space between declared identities and the contingencies of lived practice. When actions such as the JCJ failed to fully materialise, the space in effect was that between that between desires to connect and the practical plan – map even (see Fig. 6.3) – against which such desires were plotted, and in their placing, tested (see Table 6.1).

In Chapter Five I explored the stories behind some of these connective desires, grouping them into popular education and creative practice. These desires were expressed quite differently by different members. Mike, trained and experienced as a direct action activist, often used quite instrumental language, "skill-sharing" in order to "join the dots" in a "multi-issue campaign". As evidenced in the earliest SWS (then DIY) meetings between himself, Marion, Amy and others, early members both held onto and went beyond their vocabulary of activist practice, for example abandoning plans for a multi-community 'teach-in' on environmental justice (see Chapter Five, p.11) as too proscriptive, but maintaining that "popular education skill sharing" of "knowledge or skills in those areas [environmental justice]" was still central to SWS form and practice (Marion, interview, 2010). I argued that in employing but going beyond this vocabulary, SWS was improvising a novel type of relations-making that, while sparked by the pragmatic drive to "join the dots" between 'issues', drew from the less-foreseen attractors of popular education and creative practice that gathered energy, care and attention to inter- or transsubjective processes as much as strategic alliance building.

SWS' relations-making practices emerged from and enabled a coalescence of activity in the SCB that was undoubtedly brief. "Cut" or framed differently it would be arguable that many of the outcomes envisioned from the early planning stage of 2008 did not come to light as intended and in effect failed. Where SWS was more successful, and where the traces of its presence in the SCB remain, is in the space for reflexivity and curiosity it engendered within its members. This also includes a diffuse "next layer" of those who came into contact with SWS during this time, including but not limited to participants at the LCJ who were not 'core' SWS members (e.g. Anna, Lewis, Peter and Stephen [see Table 7.1]). I argue that ultimately the successes engendered by this reflexive space are those of learning more about how to live in the time of climate change, a sentiment well-reflected by applied theatre practitioner, theorist and activist Julie Salverson:

> We are discovering the limits of dualistic thinking, but with these discoveries our understanding of identity is shaken. Resulting curiosities about who we are...and to which communities we are responsible, effect our ability to move beyond our most comfortable territories and incorporate new ideas. (1994, p. 157)

Any 'real' actions materialising from these "resulting curiosities" are harder to quantify. As stated in Chapter Five, SWS' creative and popular education practices were intended by some members as a means to the specific end of empowering "frontline communities" to

take direct action. In commenting on SWS development through to May 2010, Mike spoke of popular education as a practical training ground (echoing Boal's view of theatre as a "rehearsal for the revolution" [see Nicholson, 2005, p. 115]) rather than a generative space in itself: "one day we will do actions, but at the moment we're just building the framework, building the infrastructure" (interview, 2010). During the time of my fieldwork with SWS, this day never came. Arguably, without a very specific attention to a single "frontline community", the very time-intensive, affective and relation-building nature of Freirian popular education and Boalian applied theatre worked against the possibility of self-led direct action being planned and undertaken over the course of those fifteen months between August 2009 and November 2010. The 'core' activities of SWS existed mainly as collective and embodied blueprints for possible action. As a relatively small node of highly active people, SWS might be considered a "fissiparous" structure (North, 2011) – a field of intense activity and encounter from which individuals and smaller sub-groupings of members continued to carry initially unforeseen 'versions' of the originally intended program.

In the sense that SWS exhibits a high degree of self-reflexivity (with all of the resultant tensions and opportunities), it bears similarities to other semi-autonomous, highly network*ed* (if not themselves a network) movements, such as the UK Camp for Climate Action (see North, 2011; Saunders and Price, 2009) and the various clusters of the Occupy movement (see Juris and Razsa, 2012). The central similarity is a commitment to democratic and participatory self-organising as a form of prefigurative activism (see North, 2011) and a direct challenge to the erosion of democratic representation. As Juris and Razsa state

> ...the contributions of Occupy are not exclusively, or even primarily, to be assessed in terms of their intervention in public discourse. The Occupy movements are also a response to a fundamental crisis of representative politics embodied in an embrace of more radical, directly democratic practices and forms. (2012, unpaginated webtext)

However such similarities begin to wane when considering the relational space SWS sought to make visible and the conditions of relations it has sought to alter. For all of SWS' failures to get events such as the JCJ 'off the ground', the attempt was made through a strong initial intention to "intervene in public discourse". Ideations, creative and affective impulses ("Like, boom, this is your space. Do something with it and see you there." [Cassie, interview, 2010]) and practical plans (see Figs. 6.2 and 6.3) were oriented strongly to creating an extensive communicative public performance; after the fact it is the intensive subject-constituting dimension of the performance we are left to reflect on.

Somewhat reductively, the "intervention" space of SWS is almost a spatial 'folding' of Occupy's, where both forms scramble notions of a political inside or outside. Occupy claims highly visible public space (e.g., Zuccotti Park, New York City) in order to perform intensive "radical, directly democratic practices", thus leading and teaching through the example of their own group display. "Gathering along the topological fold of its own interior and exterior contexts" (Bell, 2012, p.188, in Franks, 2012, p.46), SWS used intimate, intensive-oriented and performative gathering spaces (the GFT, LCJ and the many planning spaces of the JCJ) as a laboratory of sorts, an "aesthetic space" (Boal, 1995, p.20) from which extensive public performance might later emerge through affective encounters of "holding on" and "going further".

How much "going further" occurred? I have pointed out several ways in which SWS challenged the post political consensus around climate change, and how their adherence (however uneven in its results) to a creative, openly performative approach provided engaged individuals with a transsubjective plastic space to explore their climate justice politics But I have also referred often to SWS' "failures" – in what ways were these productive?

In contrast to radical or activist geography's recurring emphasis on 'strong relations' for normative and analytical purchase – the language, and perhaps cutting, of "binding" and "forging" (see Featherstone et al, 2007; Featherstone, 2010; Routledge, 2009) – this study differs in that it attempts to look at pre and during relationship impulses, needs, desires, ideations, opportunities, and how even tentative or under resourced or conceptualised relations making efforts can be politically generative, expand our knowledege of what climate justice is and might be.

In one sense, the ambition of the project perhaps planted the seeds of its own "failure". SWS succeeded in the sense that its declared view of climate change as ultimately the most endemic symptom of late capitalism's extraction-exploitation nexus, has been validated. The difficulties SWS faced in relations-making and altering conditions of relations in the SCB throw this into relief. The varied attempts, and the conditions of relations which made these attempts challenging, are revealing in themselves:

- in the tension manifest between the iconic and the lived,

- in the 'othering' and the allocation of agency that surfaced in the performance of climate justice

- in the tension between traditional hierarchical political organizing and more recent "horizontal", consensus based processes.

"Failed" or "weak" relations function then as a sort of diagnostic tool, allowing us to better appreciate the fine grain of the work ultimately required to alter conditions of relations that might better facilitate transformative relations. At a macro- level, such relations highlight a deeply consequential choice for climate justice: between a processual agonism that humbly admits the energetic, the excessive and the dispersal of agencies, or a status quo where the only modifications are "resetting" the climate change clock (adding years), or turning up the volume on the alarm.

8.2. Implications for climate change: time and the "safe world"

I think the results of this round of [climate] simulations will be quite similar...We're not getting any free lunch from additional understanding of the climate system.
- William Collins, climate scientist, Lawrence Berkeley National Laboratory[91]

Of all the SWS members interviewed, and among the participants of the LCJ, only one person, Amy (who left SWS after only a few months), expressed the opinion that the cause, however understood, was hopeless. For SWS member Cassie, the "kind of urgency" of a "five year time clock ticking overhead" (interview, 2010) was highly motivating. Gerard, a long time environmental justice activist and LCJ participant, felt that "climate justice takes environmental justice to a more radical time scale", and that "'climate justice *now*' is a sort of phrase, but it's the reality" (LCJ workshop, 2010).

But over the four year period of this PhD there has been little progress in holding the Earth's mean temperature rise by 2050 to "2^0C, and the 450 parts/million [of CO_2e[92] in the atmosphere], above which we will not have a *safe world*". (Robinson, Human Rights and Climate Change conference address, 2009, emphasis mine). It is easily arguable that, in spite of increasing public awareness of the magnitude of the situation, there has been no progress, barring a very minor drop in aggregate global emissions of greenhouse gasses

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[91] U.S. climatologist Collins was quoted in Bill McKibben's article "Global Warming's Terrifying New Math", first published in *Rolling Stone* magazine and reproduced at *ZNet* (http://www.zcommunications.org/global-warmings-terrifying-new-math-by-bill-mckibben); accessed 12/08/12)

[92] As there are several known greenhouse gases (GHG), each inducing greenhouse effects at different rates, CO_2 is used as the baseline GHG, with "CO_2e" referring to carbon dioxide *equivalent*.

(GHG) in 2009 at the height of the most recent financial crisis (McKibben, 2012).[93] Even in 2008, a year before COP-15 at Copenhagen (and Mary Robinson's address) there was substantial and growing evidence that "we are now in the process of going beyond what we have traditionally called dangerous climate change" (Anderson, 2011, see also Anderson and Bows, 2008). At this time Anderson and Bows concluded that

> in the absence of an unprecedented step change in the global economic model and the rapid deployment of successful CO_2 scrubbing technologies, 450 ppmv is no longer a viable stabilization concentration....The framing of climate change policy is typically informed by the 2˚C threshold; however, even stabilizing at 450 ppmv CO_2e offers only a 46 per cent chance of not exceeding 2˚C (Meinshausen 2006). As a consequence, any further delay in global society beginning down a pathway towards 450 ppmv leaves 2˚C as an inappropriate and dangerously misleading mitigation and adaptation target. (2008, p.3877)

They offer little hope of this "pathway" being taken up, adding

> Given the reluctance, at virtually all levels, to openly engage with the unprecedented scale of both current emissions and their associated growth rates, even an optimistic interpretation of the current framing of climate change implies that stabilization much below 650 ppmv CO_2e is improbable.[94]...it is difficult to envisage anything other than a planned economic recession being compatible with stabilization at or below 650 ppmv CO_2e. Ultimately, the latest scientific understanding of climate change allied with current emission trends and a commitment to 'limiting average global temperature increases to below 4˚C above pre-industrial levels', demands a radical reframing of both the climate change agenda, and the economic characterization of contemporary society. (p.3880)

Four years later in 2012, the impossibility of achieving the emissions levels and the parts per million ("ppmv") of GHG needed to curb the mean temperature rise of 2˚C espoused by the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) (see McKibben, 2012) seems complete. The chief economist of the International Energy Agency (IEA) has stated "...new data provide[s] further evidence that the door to a two-degree trajectory is about to close...When I look at this data, the trend is perfectly in line with a temperature increase of about six degrees." (McKibben, 2012, unpaginated webtext). Just prior to addressing the Third Clean Energy Ministerial conference in London in April 2012, the IEA's executive director wrote

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[93] [Sir Nicholas] Stern (2006, pp. 231) drew attention to historical precedents of reductions in carbon emissions, concluding that annual reductions of greater than 1 per cent have 'been associated only with economic recession or upheaval'. (Anderson and Bows, 2008, p.3878)

[94] Of the 650 ppmv threshold Anderson and Bows add "Meinshausen (2006) estimates the mid-range probability of exceeding 4˚C at approximately 34per cent for 600 ppmv and 40 per cent for 650 ppmv. " (2008, p.3880)

The world's energy system is being pushed to breaking point. Our addiction to fossil fuels grows stronger each year....Energy-related CO_2 emissions are at historic highs, and under *current policies*, we estimate that energy use and CO_2 emissions would increase by a third by 2020, and almost double by 2050. This would be likely to send global temperatures at least 6˚C higher within this century. (van der Hoeven, 2012, emphasis mine)

"Current policies" are not acceptable, but as Anderson and Bows (2008) note, there is no historical precedent for prosperous nations to voluntarily restrict and decrease economic growth. Perhaps even more alarmingly, the corporations entrenched in the extraction-exploitation nexus are entirely reliant on *as yet unburned fossil fuels* for their share value; in other words, these major hubs of the global fossil fuel economy have already claimed, extracted and burned these future fuels as part of their current assets, a balance sheet they are determined to maintain with every tool possible (McKibben, 2012). The implications for meeting emissions and ppmv targets are enormous:

...if [U.S. oil firm] Exxon burns its current reserves, it would use up more than seven percent of the available atmospheric space between us and the risk of two degrees. BP is just behind, followed by the Russian firm Gazprom, then Chevron, ConocoPhillips and Shell, each of which would fill between three and four percent. Taken together, just these six firms...would use up more than a quarter of the remaining two-degree budget. (McKibben, 2012, unpaginated webtext)

What relationship does SWS' climate *justice* platform, improvised over such a brief time and small geographical area, bear to what is becoming more likely an inevitable 4˚ to 6˚ climate change by the end of 2100? Robinson's "safe world" is almost certainly unachievable now. And, while in no way discounting the deep and lethal disruptions climate change effects are co-creating in the Global South, there is some evidence that the Global North, at least in terms of extreme weather, will not remain largely insulated from the worst effects for the near to mid-future. The distancing of climate change mitigation and adaptation as foreign aid (see Chapter Six, section 6.2) may soon seem quite deluded:

The melting [of Arctic summer sea ice] disperses another belief: that the temperate parts of the world – where most of the rich nations are located – will be hit last and least, while the poorer nations will be hit first and worst. New knowledge of the way in which the destruction of the Arctic sea ice affects northern Europe and North America suggests that this is no longer true. A paper published earlier this year[95]...shows that Arctic warming is likely to be responsible for the extremes now hammering the once-temperate nations. (Monbiot, 2012, unpaginated webtext)

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[95] Jennifer A. Francis and Stephen J. Vavrus, 2012. Evidence linking Arctic amplification to extreme weather in mid-latitudes. Geophysical Research Letters, Vol. 39, L06801, doi:10.1029/2012GL051000.

SWS' members' responses to the temporal imperatives of climate change (Chapter Six) varied widely, from "we're fucked" (Amy, 2010, interview) to an expression of wonderment that activists had been motivated to be so active prior to climate change at all (Cassie, 2010, interview). I had referred to such affective and ideational responses as a "welter of undiscussed and obliquely expressed desires and imaginings"; in the final analysis, no clear synthesis of a singular SWS climate justice position comes into being by laying such ideas and feelings together in a row. This was also apparent throughout the LCJ explored in Chapter Seven. It may however be possible to articulate a more general, but nonetheless productive, emergent set of 'terms and conditions' – conditions of relations – which SWS functionally improvised and acted to instantiate beyond its immediate membership.

In certain respects SWS functions as though, in (post?) ecological theorist Timothy Morton's words, "the end of the world has already happened":

> Environmentalism is often apocalyptic. It warns of, and wards off, the end of the world...But things aren't like that: the end of the world has already happened. We sprayed the DDT. We exploded the nuclear bombs. We changed the climate. This is what it looks like after the end of the world. Today is not the end of history. We're living at the beginning of history. The ecological thought thinks forward. It knows that we have only just begun, like someone waking up from a dream. (2010, p.98)

We have already seen how SWS attracted members to working toward climate justice not on the basis of its "environmentalism", which SWS warily holds in "critical friendship" (see Footnote 52, Chapter Five). In our interview, Susan, an SWS member and long time anti-poverty and housing activist, also spoke of waking up from a dream, or "vision":

> I spent the day in the garden, Saturday, plantin' mair seeds and playin' wi ma grandson. And I am totally convinced that my grandson is among the first generation to be denied a future. *That's* my whole experience, *that's* how I feel, that's how *desperate* I feel...Right, because the earth as you know, the planet will always be here, long after the fuckin' lights are switched aff. But what scares me sometimes, right, I don't talk about this to many people but, it's just becomin' mair and mair in ma heid flashin' all the time, d'ya know what I mean? That was ma vision. Thas wha happened to me the day I wanted to go to sleep and never wake up again. When I, ah, ah, I really did become mair afraid of livin' then I ever did about fuckin' dyin', I tell you…So it's connectin' people I think ta love again and their children. You know, a [indecipherable] of the world for children in, well, this is what you need to do,

or fuck. Just needae, sort of a, make demands. Because…the weans [children]
are dyin' away anyway aint' they? (A: yeah)

Communities such as Susan's in Easterhouse, Glasgow, what SWS would call a "frontline
community", have already suffered the disaster of the extraction-exploitation nexus. The
same is true, in SWS's ideational views, declarations of intent and lived practice, of
Clydebank, as well as communities such as Greengairs which SWS attempted to link on
the JCJ Bus.   From Callum's perspective, the members of these communities who were
involved with SWS are aware of "the violence in the system" all too well. Climate change
as another iteration of the "end of the world" in fact "looks forward"; it is a continuation of
a process, and the latest largest symptom of the extraction-exploitation nexus. Susan's
expression of desperation asks for both "connectin' people...ta love again and their
children" as well as "make demands". The impression is that we must make demands
because the situation is dire, but also that the situation has been so for a long time, and in
multiple ways. SWS improvised spacing and emplacing of climate justice in the Scottish
Central Belt revealed that, like Morton's claim that "our idea of what we were living in
died" (Morton, 2010b), Mary Robinson's "safe world" – at 2˚C or otherwise – is already
dead. As such, SWS' climate justice lacks the "chilly virtue" (Dobson, 1998, p.229) of a
distributive justice that "dreams of 'equal and harmonious forces', and in this way 'exists
by marking itself off from an outside to which it is hostile'" ([Diprose, 2002, p.33] Clark,
2010, p.45). In SWS' space of encounters between declared identities and lived practice, it
has attempted to positively enrol both the failure of the past and current extraction
exploitation nexus, and the frightening (and for some liberating) excess (Yusoff, 2009) of a
radically uncertain future.

The urgency of climate change, better thought of as the imperative of climate change,
makes an agonistic/antagonistic process even more viable. But such a process must
operate with a broader accounting of subjectivity, agency and vulnerability. The
imperative of climate change demands new cuts, that can admit to intimacy, excessive
energies and an "entangled state of agencies" (Barad, 2007, p.23) rather than networks of
agents. Such cuts can be produced through the "performative ontological politics" of
stories (Gibson-Graham, 2008, in Cameron, 2012, p.580) that reorient our social, political
and ecological economies to the intensity of energy rather than linear causal modality of
time and time pressure; "time is always folded" (Latour, 2005, p.201), and the laws of
thermodynamics tell us that energy can neither be created or destroyed. Stories that speak
to our increasingly "molten climate" (Whatmore, 2006). The urge to designate activist

extended engagements within communities as 'slow', and the phenomenon of climate change as 'fast' blinds us to the extent of our obligations as active and ethical subjects.

8.2.1. Cutting well? Further implications for climate justice research

> The boundaries we articulate and the exclusions that we thereby perform are simultaneously ones about relevance and about ethics; since many different possibilities for (intra-)acting exist at every moment, Barad argues, 'these changing possibilities entail an ethical obligation to intra-act responsibly in the world's becoming' (2007: 178). (Bell, 2011, p.117)

> The curious are always in some danger
> - Salverson, 1994, p.157

One function of my work, in Guattari's sense of the practical action of the project rather than its declared meaning, has been to find a way through debates between "identity politics" (see Monbiot, 2008) and structuralist, historicist accounts of socio-environmental struggles. This has occurred in three ways: through explicating the materiality of what we broadly call relational space, and the centrality of the "body-subject" (Thrift, 1997, p.142) in performances of all kinds, in sorting through the genealogical strands of certain disciplinary frames which support this explication (largely Chapters Two and Three), and in openly offering and narrating ontological "cuts" (primarily Chapters Four through Seven) that have moulded an analysis of SWS climate justice improvisation (see Fig. 8.1). I have sought a path that would *en*fold a variety of agents and forces and *re*fold declarative identity and lived practice in a manner consistent with the temporal, ecological, spatial and political imperatives of climate change, acknowledging that this path is uncharted and may lead in many directions (see Wainwright and Mann, 2012). My project has built a minor theory (see Katz, 1996) and minor methodology that speaks to the presence of both structures and subjects, and acknowledges both the rapidly evolving contingencies associated with climate change and our own "sedimentation" (see Barnett and Scott, 2007) in the extraction-exploitation nexus.

"joining the dots"	**SM theory/studies** Political Opportunity Resource Mobilization Social movement 'culture'	Spacing and placing
"zooming into an umbrella" (of climate change)		Temporality of climate change
Creative practice	Declarative identity Lived practice 'holding on' and 'going further'	*Conditions* and *medium* of relation
Popular education	**Performance/relational space**	*Making* relations

| SWS prompts	Disciplinary Frames	Performance and telling
and attractors	and Active Cuts	of SWS climate justice

Figure 8.1 An overview of cuts, frames and narration

By presenting this thesis as the telling of a collective performance, I of course reserve for myself an enormous amount of power. Undoubtedly Mike, Susan, Cassie, Duncan, Yvonne, Russell and many others would tell very different stories; they would use different language, different frames of reference, make different assumptions. Where it has been impossible to remain faithful to the dozens of voices that have contributed to this research, I maintain that there is a general faith in the multiplicity of these voices and in the combinative generative power of their being brought together. There emerges a paradoxical relationship that demands that we account for more by looking at less: we look at intimate relationships together but don't subsume them into a generality. From an ecological perspective Morton writes:

> What we're examining...is that scary thing, 'totality.' Recent thinkers have been shy of totality. They fear totality means totalitarianism. Totality may be difficult and frightening. But the current global crisis requires that we wake up and smell the total coffee. It's strictly impossible to equate this total interconnectedness...with something beyond or larger than us....and we're not talking about large things as opposed to small ones...'Totality' doesn't mean something predetermined and fixed; it has no goal.

> Very large finitude is harder to deal with than abstract, ideal finitude...Actuality presents us with disturbingly large finitudes. Quantity humiliates. The other appears in this world, not beyond it. Face it we must...Think big, then bigger still – beyond containment, beyond the panoramic spectacle that dissolves everything within itself. (2010, p.90)

As a social science researcher who works with 'others', and for whom the "ecological thought" (Morton, 2010) is but one among a multitude of emergent relational and performative perspectives, I take inspiration from the growing attention to the global and the intimate (Pratt and Rosner, 2006) and the micro-geopolitical (Pain, 2009). This is instantiated in the field through collaborating across difference (Pratt, 2002) in the material mess of mediated interaction (Askins and Pain, 2011), where we learn and collectively trial epistemological and socio-emotional tools to work with others in this world. If space becomes "as the product of interrelations; as constituted through interactions, from the immensity of the global to the intimately tiny" (Massey, 2005, p.9), we must refrain from seeing the intimate as "tiny", no matter how much we then claim to value it.

8.3. Final cut. (Contributions to knowledge)

I would like to conclude with a summation of what I believe to be this thesis' most pertinent contributions to academic knowledge. Empirical insights and contributions to our understanding of socio-political responses to climate change and climate justice have already been noted in this concluding chapter, and in the conclusions of each prior chapter. But more importantly there has been a significant epistemological and methodological contribution to the ways in which knowledge about these matters of concern are produced.

I believe this work has consequences for how we "cut" what constitutes political subjectification and imminent political action,[96] and for how our disciplines restrain and enable the cutting and doing of politics in what has been contestably branded the era of the "Anthropocene" (Crutzen, 2002; J.Lorimer, 2012), but what undoubtedly is the beginning of great human-induced "global heating" (Monbiot, 2006). This thesis has explored the creative performance of SWS' improvised climate justice, a politics markedly different from the Scottish governments engagements with that discourse, as well as the intergovernmental, hemispheric relations with which it is often associated (see Parks and Roberts, 2010; Roberts and Parks, 2007). The thesis' contribution to knowledge has come from looking at the constitutive elements of that performance and analyzing some of its diffuse outcomes while intentionally giving similar weight to both. I was able to 'still' or 'settle' such "messy" processes and diffuse outcomes (to "enframe chaos" in Grosz' evocative phrasing [2008]) through careful attention to how my methodological cuts

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[96] See Connolly, 2011

(qualitiative, subjective, performative) actually helped compose the object of study (climate justice) (see Barad, 2007). The effects of the cuts were not random, but nor were they solely by design. My contribution has been in demonstrating how the methods I used in this case were not only generative of the research subject, but particularly suited, ethically, politically and scientifically, to navigating its contours and densities. Cutting well is the first responsibility of responsible research, which is what I have aspired to.

Academic knowledge production, such as this thesis and the mesh of institutional and social relations which engendered it, is not quarantined from worldly, "practical" considerations; it is inextricably part of pervasive "ecologies of concern" (Bell, 2012). Discussing cultural geography's latest "materialist return" (a series of disciplinary churnings that have greatly influenced this thesis), Whatmore states that such a (re)turn

> is generated as much by the *technologically and politically molten climate* that informs cultural geographers' intellectual investments and *worldly involvements* as by any academic repositioning. (2006, p. 601, emphasis added)

In this thesis I have assembled a working 'minor' theory (Katz, 1996) of relationality and political (body-) subject formation, generated in response to the new, and not so new, contingencies and imperatives of climate change, which SWS sought to enframe as climate justice. I agree that the current climate is technologically and politically molten; where I think appropriate and useful innovation lies is in seeing that this climate is not novel or exceptional.

So the most significant contribution of this thesis is in the productive and functional linkages made between often quite distinct and siloed epistemological traditions of performance and performance studies, social movement studies, material semiotics, ethnography and spatial theory. In particular innovative links were achieved between "the material, emergent, ontological, affective, non-representational, and nonhuman" (Cameron, 2011, p.57) and "radical" or Marxian SM work that for epistemological and ethical reasons will not eschew an agential, intact human subject. The practical hinge was found in applied theatre, invested with Freirian performative analyses. These differing frames were "cut" together in ways that allowed for the strengths of both to recombine into something innovative in its application to our "molten climate", while still recognisable in schools and community halls around the world.

In a sense, we have power and skill in confronting this situation, because we already know what is going on. We need to honour what we already know. Morton, in an esoteric way,

implies this. Through our fine grained attentions to the intimate, what I more schematically call conditions of relations and the medium of relations, we are told this. The relations aren't really hidden, the vastness isn't really inaccessible, the causalities and consequences aren't abstract, and the "Apocalypse" may seem strangely familiar, while being more destructive than we'd experienced. This is not to be confused with hubris, managerialism, or human-dominion. It is though a kind of power. A story of truth and good guidance. As Morton enjoins, "think big, and then think even bigger" (2010, p.90). Because the stage is set, and the view is becoming clearer, not more opaque, *though not simpler*.

This is the challenge that the thesis reveals, in trying to shift the grounds of current academic approaches to climate change and by mindful extension, approaches to human-nature relations, or socio-natures, or ecologies as a whole – which include our ideational and affective engagements – if you wish. The responsibility in cutting and *inviting our concern* then is to make the case for a widening, not narrowing (as a positivistic scientific method would ask) what the subject of inquiry and the field around it encompasses. I feel this thesis makes that case in inviting our concern toward climate change.

I say "reveals" rather than achieves because a stance of "passionate modesty" insists that while the case for inviting concern toward climate change in this way is justified, these are insecure achievements: A social movement and a research relationship moving through but also exceeding dialogue in both the liberal democratic sense and Freire's pedagogical sense, toward an entangled state of agencies that requires consideration more for its affective potency rather than the metric of its measurable causal 'effects' (see Thompson, 2009). To look at these activities with a kind of humility, to see them in the full light of their function, a means of enframing chaos, holding on and going further, and cutting in ways that direct our concerns ethically in an excessive and molten climate of climate change. Whether in an activists' planning meeting, in conversation or in a theatre space, we perform with our whole self, but our whole selves are not performed as a unity in any one performance. This fact is an opportunity, requiring an ethos and methodology of *relations-making*, and wilful, sustained attention to *conditions of relations*. In co-creating both the performance and story of SWS' relations-making experiment in the Central Belt of Scotland, I offer this thesis as an intervention that pierces the totalising and depoliticising narratives that have framed climate change, and remains faithful to the labours of those who resist the same.

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