The Practice of Freedom

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Anarchism, Geography, and the Spirit of Revolt

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Richard J. White, Simon Springer
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To those who bring freedom and hope into the world through their dreams, their love, their kindness, and their courage.

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Introduction

Performing Anarchism, Practising Freedom, Pursuing Revolt

Richard J. White, Simon Springer
and Marcelo Lopes de Souza

> Revolt itself and revolt alone is the creator of light. And this light can only be known by three paths: poetry, freedom, and love.
>
> —André Breton (quoted in Löwy 2009: viii)

THE FORESIGHT OF HINDSIGHT

If anarchism is a spirit, it is the spirit of revolt. For those unfamiliar with the actual content of anarchism or the enabling possibilities of revolt, this statement might appear doubly negative. Just as so much of the contemporary discourse surrounding anarchism is framed by derision and a seemingly wilful confusion of what the idea represents, so too has the idea of revolt been read through an unfavourable lens. In this book, the third and final volume in the trilogy, *Anarchism, Geography, and the Spirit of Revolt*, we ask what happens when we shatter that lens, thus allowing the light of revolt to refract in new ways that illuminate a path towards freedom? We want to create freedom in our lives, to bring the poetic joy of being in the world to each moment of breath and to fill the spaces of our existence with a deep and unshakable love for the mystery known as 'life'. To do this requires us to revolt. To bring light we must pursue a trajectory that refuses the darkness, death and dismay of the age we live in. The challenges of our time require us to rebel against the disabling faith in the idea that oppression, hierarchy and captivity are somehow the natural consequences of human evolution. Our revolt is our emancipation. It is the aperture through which the light of freedom passes, revealing a full spectrum of colour, wonder and imagination. Yet, this sentiment of revolt should not be conceived as a transcendental moment, as it is much

more accurate to envision revolution as a politics of the everyday, a product of immanence. Accordingly, because our lives are lived in the *here* of this space and the *now* of this moment (Springer 2012), it is only in the ongoing enactment of our actual daily performances that freedom itself is called into being. But these ordinary routines can't be any presentation, for performances are multiple and they can just as often be cruel as they can be compassionate. To pursue revolt, then, is to practise freedom, and it is our contention, along with the contributions compiled herein, that to practise freedom is to perform anarchism.

The Practice of Freedom can be happily read either independently of her younger 'sisters' (*The Radicalization of Pedagogy* and *Theories of Resistance*, the first and the second volumes, respectively) or as the third and final volume of the trilogy *Anarchism, Geography, and the Spirit of Revolt*. As it is the concluding volume of this body of work, the book benefits from an expectable dialogue between all volumes. In the reflection below, we would like to invite further discussion on one of the most important themes that have animated this dialogue so far: the relationship between theory and practice.

PREFIGURATION: BEYOND THE THEORY–PRACTICE DIVIDE

The ontological divide 'theory–practice' is one of the most traditional dichotomies of Western political–philosophical thought. It is deeply rooted in common sense, and as discussed in the introduction to the second volume of the trilogy (*Theories of Resistance*), even Marxism (simultaneously famous for its supposed theoretical achievements and known as 'philosophy of praxis' among the Marxists themselves) ultimately failed in convincingly and lastingly overcoming this dichotomy. Marx's initial efforts (partly interesting ones, we should concede) revealed themselves to be incomplete and insufficient at the end of the day, so much so that subsequent Marxism very often returned either to 'pure theory' (sometimes in a brilliant manner but showing decisive limits nonetheless, as in the case of the Frankfurt School) or to vulgar, anti-theoretical 'realism' (which was the role of most 'communist party intellectuals' in the twentieth century) This 'theory–practice' divide must be challenged and overcome though—and it seems that the only ones who can persuasively offer a contribution to this task (as they have actually already done for generations) are the anarchists and other left-libertarians.

In the introduction to the second volume, Cornelius Castoriadis helps us offer a key to challenge that divide (and therefore *both* bourgeois philosophy *and* Marxism) from the perspective of a radical re-conceptualization of 'theory'. Now it is time to explore the other side of the same coin by means of stressing a 'dense' approach to practice (and ultimately to *praxis*).

For Castoriadis, the 'theory–practice' divide lacks any relevance and is actually a trap, as every theorization always implies practice—even if in a not totally conscious and therefore insufficiently critical way—and every action potentially affects the space—time where 'social imaginary significations' (values, world views, utopias, myths, prejudices, etc.) are constituted. It is important to see this kind of reasoning (among other, more substantial reasons, of course!) as a direct bridge between the second and the third volumes of *Anarchism, Geography, and the Spirit of Revolt*. Additionally, it is also possible to argue that the role of pedagogy, the subject of the first volume, should also be stressed at this juncture: after all, for anarchists, emancipatory praxis always has very much to do with pedagogy in a broader *and at the same time* stronger sense.

In his seminal essay, 'Theory and Revolutionary Project' (written in 1964–1965), Castoriadis offered a merciless critique of Marxism precisely in relation to Marxism's poor and vulnerable understanding of what *praxis* is supposed to be. Let us quote one of the passages in which he explains the fundamental meaning of praxis:

> We call praxis *that making/doing in which the other or others are intended as autonomous beings and considered as the essential agents of the development of their own autonomy.* True politics, true pedagogy, true medicine, to the extent that these have ever existed, belong to praxis.
>
> In praxis there is something to be made/to be done, but what is to be made/to be done is something specific: it is precisely the development of the autonomy of the other or of others (this not being the case in relationships that are purely personal, as in friendship or love, where autonomy is recognized but its development is not posited as a separate object, for these relationships have no end outside the relationship itself). One could say that for praxis the autonomy of the other or of others is at once the end and the means; praxis is what intends the development of autonomy as its end and, for this end, uses autonomy as its means. This way of speaking is handy for it is easily comprehensible. But it is, strictly speaking, an abuse of language, and the terms 'end' and 'means' are absolutely incorrect in this context. Praxis cannot be circumscribed in a model of ends and means. The model of the end and of the means to attain this end belongs, precisely, in its proper usage, to technical activity, for the latter has to do with a real end, an end which is an end, a finished and definite end which can be posited as a necessary or probable result in view of which the choice of means amounts to a matter of more or less exact calculation. With respect to this end, the means have no internal relation, simply a relation of cause to effect.
>
> *In praxis, however, the autonomy of others is not an end; it is, all wordplay aside, a beginning, anything but an end. It is not finished; it cannot be defined in terms of a state or any particular characteristics. There is an internal relation between what is intended (the development of autonomy) and that through which it is intended (the exercise of this autonomy). These are two moments of a single*

> *process.* Finally, although it evolves within a concrete context which conditions it and has to take into consideration the complex network of causal relations crisscrossing its terrain, praxis can never reduce the choice of its manner of operating to mere calculation. (Castoriadis 1997: pp. 150–151, emphasis added)

As we see, Castoriadis included *pedagogy* as one of his examples. In fact, we can say that at its best—from a political and emancipatory viewpoint—*pedagogy is theory and praxis at the same time*.

A supplementary, useful comment is provided by David A. Curtis in his short but brilliant 'Foreword' in *The Castoriadis Reader*:

> [As Castoriadis says,] '[t]he freedom of the private sphere, like the freedom of the agora, is a *sine qua non* condition for the freedom of the ekklesia [a famous Greek term used by Castoriadis as a metaphor for the radically autonomous decision-making in political matters] and for the becoming public of the public/public sphere.' But how can we harmonize this affirmation about '*sine qua non*' conditions for the emergence of the ekklesia with the even more weighty, prior affirmation concerning the ekklesia itself as the 'first condition' for a society in which each of these three spheres [private/private or domestic: *oikos*, public/private: *agora* and public/public: *ekklesia*] would be free and each would exist in social solidarity with the others? Why make any other efforts when the primary goal would appear to be the realization of this 'first condition', a free ekklesia? (In classical Marxist terms, the establishment of a 'dictatorship of the proletariat' becomes the be-all and end-all of all revolutionary political activity.)
>
> *To wait for the first condition to be duly and completely fulfilled before doing anything else would be equivalent to renouncing all present efforts toward encouraging reflection and self-responsibility*; all liberatory educational endeavours, whether formal or informal; any attempts by people, inspired by psychoanalytic practice or just mutual discussion and reflected experience, to engage in criticism/self-criticism and to confront lucidly their present problems or oppression as they come to define them. It would amount, in short, to an abandonment of all not explicitly political forms of *praxis, in the sense Castoriadis intends the latter term: activities that aim at the autonomy of the other and of oneself* .... Despite the fact that such renunciation seems in our day to be the prevailing 'norm', we ought to refuse to give in on this point. (Curtis 1997: pp. xii–xiii, emphasis added)

Although it is not used by David A. Curtis, or by Castoriadis himself, the expression 'prefigurative politics'—which is often how contemporary anarchist politics are framed—has everything to do with what Castoriadis meant and systematically discussed. 'To wait for the first condition to be duly and completely fulfilled before doing anything else would be equivalent to renouncing all present efforts toward encouraging reflection and self-responsibility,' wrote D. A. Curtis, reflecting Castoriadis's crucial lesson but

also mirroring something that had actually been implicit in classical anarchism since the nineteenth century.

To what extent have libertarian, horizontal and insurgent praxis helped guide and inspire critical reflections? To what extent has praxis benefitted, or could stand to benefit from specific ideas or principles or concepts or theories (without being just an attempt to 'apply' them)? To what extent have new forms of praxis contributed to renew and reshape the world in terms of both concrete actions and conceptions, as two sides of the same coin? These are the questions that can serve us as 'parameters' to appraise the situations and struggles described and discussed in this book, bringing much-needed light to our appraisals and thereby driving the spirit of revolt forward.

REFLECTIONS ON FREEDOM, AND THE LIGHT AND LIBERTY OF ANARCHISM

> Anarchism, in all its forms, asserts and champions . . . freedom, common responsibility, voluntary cooperation, reciprocal altruism, and mutual aid.
>
> —White and Williams (2014: 966)

> If people feel free and equal, the anarchist insists, order and cooperation will emerge as a natural result of that beneficence. Above all else, the anarchist is out to prove that cooperation, not competition, is the natural impulse of the human race.
>
> —Gornick (2011: 5)

Seen from a position of detachment and isolation, uncoupled from everyday social and spatial relations, it is tempting to interpret our epoch, a geological anthropocene, as a time of diminished light and increasing darkness. At once suffocating and atrophying, life under the ever-pervasive folds of this darkness increasingly turns to one of existence, struggle and survival, as society reflects Hobbesian qualities of being 'solitary, poor, nasty, brutish and short' (Hobbes 1651 [1994]: 76). To justifiy such a pessimistic narrative, attention can be drawn toward the seemingly entrenched destructive, cruel and unforgiving geographies of violence and misery that emerge from the entangled and bitter roots of economic, political, cultural and ecological crisis. From here, deeper and more critical questions begin to emerge: 'From where does this crisis originate?' 'What poisoned soils surround and nurture these roots?' This third volume, in solidarity with the previous two volumes, asserts—in contrast to Hobbes, all the many apologists of state

and capital and, indeed, other 'radical' geographies—that the fundamental, inescapable answer to this is *archy*. Thus, to destroy the roots of these malevolent geographies of crisis, it is not simply enough to seek the means of uprooting them directly. For as long as these *archist* soils persist within our world, the seeds of injustice, suffering and oppression will find nourishment and will prosper. It is important never to lose sight of this deeper truth, or the implications that come with it.

Within the wonderful diversity of anarchist praxis—as Gornick (2011:4) argued, we should always recognise that 'anarchism itself is a protean experience, as much a posture, an attitude, a frame of mind and spirit as it is a doctrine'—few have articulated the causal relationships between violence and *archy* and between freedom, liberty and *an*archy with such precision and resolve as Pierre-Joseph Proudhon and Mikhail Bakunin (Kenafick, 1990). For Proudhon (1851: n.p.), seeking to protect or extend freedom by appealing to the government is an appalling misunderstanding of the very essence of freedom and of how it can be created and sustained. To be governed, Proudhon argued, every operation and transaction must be

> noted, registered, enrolled, taxed, stamped, measured, numbered, assessed, licensed, authorized, admonished, forbidden, reformed, corrected, punished. It is, under the pretext of public utility, and in the name of the general interest, to be placed under contribution, trained, ransomed, exploited, monopolized, extorted, squeezed, mystified, robbed; then, at the slightest resistance, the first word of complaint, to be repressed, fined, despised, harassed, tracked, abused, clubbed, disarmed, choked, imprisoned, judged, condemned, shot, deported, sacrificed, sold, betrayed; and, to crown all, mocked, ridiculed, outraged, dishonored. That is government; that is its justice; that is its morality. And to think that there are democrats among us who pretend that there is any good in government; Socialists who support this ignominy, in the name of Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity; proletarians who proclaim their candidacy for the Presidency of the Republic! Hypocrisy!

Similarly, written in characteristically fierce prose, Bakunin stated:

> I am a passionate seeker after Truth and a not less passionate enemy of the malignant fictions used by the 'Party of Order', the official representatives of all turpitudes, religious, metaphysical, political, judicial, economic, and social, present and past, to brutalise and enslave the world; I am a fanatical lover of Liberty; considering it as the only medium in which can develop intelligence, dignity, and the happiness of man; not the official 'Liberty', licensed, measured and regulated by the State, a falsehood representing the privileges of a few resting on the slavery of everybody else; not the individual liberty, selfish, mean, and fictitious advanced by the school of Rousseau and all other schools of bourgeois Liberalism, which considers the rights of the individual as limited

> by the rights of the State, and therefore necessarily results in the reduction of the rights of the individual to zero. No, I mean the only liberty which is truly worthy of the name, the liberty which consists in the full development of all the material, intellectual and moral powers which are to be found as faculties latent in everybody, the liberty which recognizes no other restrictions than those which are traced for us by the laws of our own nature . . . . I mean that liberty of each individual which, far from halting as at a boundary before the liberty of others, finds there its confirmation and its extension to infinity; the illimitable liberty of each through the liberty of all, liberty by solidarity, liberty in equality; liberty triumphing over brute force and the principle of authority which was never anything but the idealized expression of that force, liberty which, after having overthrown all heavenly and earthly idols, will found and organize a new world, that of human solidarity, on the ruins of all Churches and all States. (1990: 17–18)

In this passage, Bakunin draws attention to a crucial question to which *The Practice of Freedom* invites further reflection: What is the relationship between the freedom of the individual and the freedom of the wider community?

Here, a nuanced reading of freedom(s), whereby the relationship between both individual and communal freedoms are seen as co-constructive and mutually reinforcing, is encouraged: they are differences in degree, not in kind. This understanding comes through strongly time and again within anarchist praxis generally, and anarchist geographies in particular. This was certainly true of the brilliant anarchist geographer Peter Kropotkin. As Rovna (2013: 60) notes, 'The core of Kropotkin's teaching was based on the following conviction: "Free the individuals, because without a free individual there is no free society . . . people, be free and trust in the nature of a free man. His biggest vices come from the power he has over others, or the power he is subjected to."' In this way, appeals to freedom—and the praxis of freedom—must acknowledge both the'individual' and (their) 'society'. Whatever differences exist between individuals, we do not exist in some splendid isolation (nor as *social* animals do we desire to). Rather, our lives are intimately and intrinsically connected with the lives—and freedoms—of others, a claim that bears out through a geographical understanding of relationality and solidarity (Ehrlich, 1994; Massey, 2005; Gordon, 2010; Verter, 2010). As Cohen (2007: 123, emphasis added) argues, 'To *be*, indeed, is to *be "grouped"*.' In the same way, this re-conceptualization of 'the limits' of individual and group freedoms are transcended in radical and fundamental ways within anarchist praxis.

It is of little surprise for those familiar with anarchist praxis to note that anarchists have consistently been the most outspoken of all social justice advocates for 'simultaneous freedom and equality, individuality and community' (Heckert 2013: 514): a commitment strongly emphasized through the central narratives and arguments captured in this volume. Within the performance of anarchism, there are renewed calls to recognize the intersectionality of violence and

oppression within the praxis of solidarity and freedom. For Williams (2007: 312), this is demonstrative of 'the anarchist metaphysic', wherein 'anarchism can no longer be regarded as singular, let alone monolithic'. The point is that anarchism is best understood—and approached—as a plural movement of movements, constantly shifting and transforming as it is prefigured, performed, pursued and practised in response to the shifting shadows of domination. There is no single nexus of oppression, which itself flows through the enactment of mutable and protean social relations, making any practice, theory, or pedagogy of liberation necessarily multifaceted and open-ended. Indeed, while not considered explicitly here, important intersections that transgress species boundaries are encouraged as a means of extending a deeper and richer sense of freedom to take hold within anarchist geographies (White and Cudworth, 2014; Pellow, 2015; White and Springer, forthcoming). Unfortunately, many so-called "radical" approaches to freedom only draw attention to the human animal, and offer only silence for other animals. Yet, anarchists, from Élisée Reclus's (1901 [1996]) *On Vegetarianism* and *The Great Kinship of Humans and Fauna* to the recent turn towards critical animal geographies (White 2015), have stressed the importance of embracing an intersectional framework of violence and oppression (and, conversely, liberty and freedom). Within this appeal to total liberation is a simple but profound recognition, that all liberation is relationally connected, where animal liberation is one and the same as human liberation. Giovanni Baldelli (1971: 17) captured this essence in arguing that anarchism is a purity of rebellion, where the act of revolt

> inspires either deep sympathy and identification with the rebelling creature, or a stiffening of the heart and an activation of aggressive-defensive mechanisms to silence an accusing truth. *This truth is that each living being is an end in itself; that nothing gives a being the right to make another a mere instrument of his purposes*.

It is a conscious ability to struggle, one may say the *choice* to struggle (or not), towards freedom that we invest so much hope and expectation.

Anarchists insist on taking on this radical prospect of freedom: that *we* should demand, and insist on having the responsibility to engage praxis *directly*, to build meaning and identity through our direct interventions in the everyday (Christopher et al 1970/1995; Bey, 2003). The freedom of anarchism cannot overcome the existential limits of being human, yet how we respond to the conditions that are placed upon our mortal longing for immortality and unknowable search for knowledge is precisely what sets us free (Kropotkin, 1905). As Marshall (1989: 141) argues, 'It is our consciousness that sets us free. Because consciousness is intentional, we can become aware of and understand the influences at work on us. We can then choose which influences we want to check or develop, which motives we wish to act upon. Between ourselves and the world, there is a gap in which we can say "no". We are

not foregone conclusions: we can refuse to be the type that our mentors and leaders would like us to be.' Thus, if an individual's freedom has its own predetermined (human) limits (of time and space), the freedom that is bound up in 'the collective' has a *spirit* that transgresses both. In this way, the spirit of anarchism is one that both reflects the unique needs of our own times *and* is historically indebted to those brave enough to challenge and rebel against the darkness of achy, by creating new anarchist illuminations of freedom and hope.

EXTENDING SPHERES OF FREEDOM

> It is this [challenge] that humanity faces in the coming years if the legacy of domination is permitted to unfold at the expense of the legacy of freedom. If we are to avoid this fate and fulfill instead the legacy of freedom's potentiality, we must transcend the ideological limitations of a mystical proletariat, a battle between undefined class interests, and the simplistic aims that bind us to a world long gone. More than ever, we need a clearer vision of humanity's capacity to *think* as well as to act, to confront reality not only as it is but as it should be if we are to survive this, the greatest turning point in history.
>
> —Bookchin (2005: 12)

> A free society cannot be the substitution of a 'new order' for the old order; it is the extension of sphere of free action until they make up most of social life.
>
> —Paul Goodman

How to practise freedom and extend spheres of freedom in everyday life? One one level we must recognise extending spheres of freedom and moving away for the darkness of archy can be encouraged through expressions of cooperation, volunteerism and solidarity with others. Indeed, when one takes a careful, conscious and critical look at organization at the human scale, many forms of anarchist praxis comes readily into view: all of these bringing with them the promise of freedom in the here and now. Colin Ward (1982: 16), for example, repeatedly emphasised the importance of 'seeing differently' and the fundamental transformation that come with it:

> But once you begin to look at human society from an anarchist point of view you discover that the alternatives are already there, in the interstices of the dominant power structure. If you want to build a free society, the parts are all at hand.

This new or heightened awareness also reinforces the constitutive radical praxis articulated here: one that is equally concerned with challenging our

imaginary (what is possible and desirable?) and our action (what is practical and enactable?). Unsurprisingly therefore, this book places strong emphasis on the need for prefigurative politics and expression of direct action. Equally, the need for on-going experimentation and critical reflection in (anarchists) learning to transcend archy is called for. The latter is an important point, illustrated here by Malatesta (1897: n.p.):

> If it is true that organization creates leaders; if it is true that anarchists are unable to come together and arrive at an agreement without submitting themselves to an authority, this means that they are not yet very good anarchists, and before thinking of establishing an anarchist society within the world they must think of making themselves able to live anarchistically. The remedy does not lie in the abolition of organization but in the growing consciousness of each individual member.

In the final reckoning, darkness can be understood both relationally, as something lacking the basic quality of light, and dialectically, as something whose presence is dependent on the absence of light. Bringing light to the world, a light that can nurture, heal, forgive and bring peace, love, joy and hope, is a wonderful thing. But it is not enough. It must also be a light that can burn—a white hot ball of fire—with an intensity and heat capable of scorching all these soils of archy into dust: an infertile wasteland. In short, what is needed here—and as this book strongly asserts—is a spirit of revolt which promises to bring forth a beautiful *anarchist* light of liberty and freedom.

The Structure and Content of the Practice of Freedom

> Perfection, or some sort of utopian life, is not expected. But freedom from an oppressive capitalist state and the various forms of oppression fostered therein is a reasonable expectation.
>
> —Alessio (2015: 5)

> When Reclus looks at the vast scope of human history, he sees certain slowly developing but pervasive changes in society that are moving it toward a future in which it realizes its own good—that is, the attainment of freedom and justice in its institutions and practices.
>
> —Clark (2013a: 36)

The fact is that, without questioning the importance of anarchist socio-spatial experiments of the past, the last two decades have seen a kind of rebirth of

libertarian practices and principles (horizontality, self-management, decentralization and so on), which are not necessarily connected to the anarchist tradition in a strict sense. This is strongly reinforced in several chapters included in this book, as is the fact that many contemporary social movements and forms of protest (and certainly most of those that are particularly creative and innovative) present a clear anarchist 'soul'. Examples of such practices of freedom abound, and a Western-based readership will no doubt be more familiar with some of those situated in Europe and the Americas. Yet, there are *many* other important anarchist geographies across other continents, which, regrettably, are less visible and well known. In recognition of this, in addition to a commitment to capture outstanding examples of anarchist praxis in the Global North (a praxis which has re-energized and reanimated the struggles for freedom across many major cities), this book draws attention to historical and contemporary intersectional anarchist praxis familiar within other continents, particularly East Asia.

The Practice of Freedom—articulated in the contested nature of both urban and rural spaces—captures the reality that emancipatory praxis is becoming increasingly synonymous with direct action, horizontal decision-making and autonomy and not with political parties and a 'taking-state power' mentality. More than ever before, Marxist—especially Leninist—methods and strategies have been placed under considerable suspicion. These developments create a range of important questions to consider, including: To what extent spatial practices have been consistently compatible with left-libertarian principles? To what extent can we say that anarchism and anarchists (or rather neo-anarchists, as well as libertarian autonomists) animate these movements, waves of protest and forms of resistance? What activities have been developed by these activists (in the realms of self-defence, production, culture, etc.)? Initial responses to some of these questions, and raising many more besides them, are to be found in the pages that follow.

It is also important to mention that while the chapters are clearly rooted in radical geography, they all share a broad interdisciplinary reach, as well as a fierce commitment to being of interest and relevance for both scholarly and activist communities. It is hoped that engaging with *The Practices of Freedom* will provide both an opportunity and a challenge *vis-à-vis* our own relationship with freedom. For example, through offering new insight and understanding, the chapters transgress existing frontiers of knowledge and offer the reader 'the increased freedom that results from an accurate understanding of the nature of things' Clark (2013a: 18). This is an important point that we would be careful not to overlook, namely the importance of *critical* pedagogy(ies) through writing, teaching and reading—and the broad dissemination of such knowledge—as key forms of direct action. Such knowledge too brings with it new responsibilities. Rejecting the 'purity'

of concrete praxis, the question then becomes one of asking just how can the ethical–political–cultural soils upon which this praxis is grounded be expanded, through reinvention and reappropriation (not merely imported or adapted), across contexts and places more familiar to the reader. How can the reader position themselves—in thought and deed—and meaningfully to offer support and solidarity, in a way that can swell the spirit of revolt against the types of oppression and archy identified? Unquestionably, though, the practical problems posed in this third volume of the trilogy (indeed throughout this trilogy, *Anarchism, Geography, and the Spirit of Revolt*) cannot be adequately understood or handled without a proper grasp of spatiality. It is hoped that this book will play an important part in helping the reader gain a deeper and more nuanced understanding of anarchist geographies and in encouraging greater awareness of their relevance—*and our place*—in the struggle for freedom and the spirit of revolt. For if it is true that 'as humanity becomes more aware of its agency, it can develop a meaningful conception of its collective self-liberation' (Clark 2013a: 4), and that the 'the essence of human progress consists of the discovery of the totality of interests and wills common to all peoples; it is identical to solidarity' (ibid), then, in the final analysis, not only is freedom about all of us, geography is also about all of us too.

In chapter 1, 'Anarchist Geographies in the Rural Global South', the authors Navé Wald and Doug Hill begin by capturing both a historical–spatial perspective of the early rich and important geographies of anarchism in Argentina, as well as the current geographies of crisis, rupture and struggle the country faces. The main aim of their chapter is to draw critical attention towards less visible and well-known *rural*-based experiences of resistance and dissent. To this end, the chapter focuses on groups who, while not self-identifying as anarchists, have nevertheless created their own autonomous, egalitarian and multi-scalar spaces and forms of direct democracy, horizontal organization and prefigurative practice in line with anarchist ideals. Such a diversity of tactics and strategies are seen as a deliberate move intended to better challenge the limits of representative democracy and neo-liberal capitalism. A range of important themes regarding the rural geographies of prefigurative politics within the transnational peasant movement, La Vía Campesina (a network of over 160 grassroots organizations), are brought to our attention. In this context, critical attention is paid towards the role of space and the experiences of La Vía Campesina. This includes reflections on how a multi-scalar structure operates—from the grassroots/local level through to regional, national and global scales. In this context, the chapter considers how 'shared' ideals are being successfully interpreted and enacted within particular—and changing—sociopolitical and sociocultural contexts.

Yael Allweil is the author of chapter 2, 'Anarchist City? Geddes's 1925 Anarchist Housing-Based Plan for Tel Aviv and the 2011 Housing Protests'.

At the heart of this chapter lies a particularly interesting question: Can anarchism be consciously planned for? Moreover, if it is possible to consciously conceive, create and construct an autonomous egalitarian and anarchist city, then (how) does such a city 'retain' its anarchist form and spirit over time? In this context, Allweil develops a rich and engaging discussion focused on the highly contested relationships between anarchism, capitalism and urban planning in Tel Aviv. Seeing Patrick Geddes as an influential figure, a man who inhabited the intellectual space between city planning and anarchism, Allweil draws attention towards Geddes's 1920s' housing-based city projects. Thinking beyond 'the state' and 'capital' to provide basic needs (e.g., housing), Allweil argues that the cutting-edge debates around emancipatory praxis are those that are increasingly rejecting a 'taking-state power' mentality and 'utopian' ideals. Instead, the radical praxis draws on anarchist critiques (especially direct action and prefigurative praxis), to create desirable alternatives in the here and now. The chapter also emphasizes the importance of maintaining consistency between the 'means' and the 'ends' of anarchism, with Allweil noting that the Geddes plan in Tel Aviv was realized by the 'sweat' equity actions of its working class. Focusing on the present day, and the increasing neo-liberalization of the Israeli housing market since the 1990s, the chapter reflects on the 2011 eruption of mass social unrest in Israel. Here the roots of the 'anarchist' city are seen through the tent camps ('emancipatory spatial units') of the anarchist archipelagos and in the renewed call for a new alternative polity on housing and non-hierarchical alternative urbanism. A call which Allweil confidently asserts can be traced directly back to Geddes's anarchist plan for Tel Aviv.

In chapter 3, 'Contesting Imperial Geography: Reading Élisée Reclus in 1930s' Hokkaido', Nadine Willems brings to our attention a wonderful, fascinating and highly improbable encounter between Japan and Reclusian Geography. Willems begins by drawing attention to the northern Japanese island of Hokkaido, an experimental ground for the implementation of Western techniques of agricultural and land management after the Meiji Restoration of 1868. Importantly, Hokkaido became the first step in the country's path towards territorial expansion, in which academic geography was used to serve the functions of mapping and organizing the empire. However, via a remarkable intricate web of transnational connections, Willems tells us how the writings of Élisée Reclus—particularly *L'homme et la Terre* (Man and the Earth)—made their way to an unlikely and unconventional community of poet farmers in the eastern part of the island. There are many valuable insights to take from the chapter, of course, but what comes through very strongly is the fantastic creative power and resonance that *one* text can have, and how this text never loses its dissident qualities, despite being repeatedly invested with multiple interpretations, meanings and resonance that come through trangressing space, time and,

indeed, culture. *Man and the Earth* in this sense is identified as the perfect example of a 'travelling text'. Moreover, for those reading Reclus's work in 1930s' Japan, Willems shows how this informed their praxis to 'claim space' from the geography of imperialism and colonial order and to fight for a geography of freedom, humaneness and emancipation. As a radical praxis, Willems notes, the spirit of Reclusian philosophy, and its appeal to the interconnected nature of life and mutual aid, also proved to be an important bulwark against the craze for Marxism which 'sprouts everywhere'.

Chapter 4, 'Organizing the APOCalypse: Ethnographic Reflections on an Anarchist People of Colour Convergence in New Orleans, Louisiana', written by Patrick Huff, makes several timely interventions, not least in encouraging us all to be acutely aware of the existing limits of anarchist praxis. In particular, Huff invites the reader to reflect on the fact that anarchism in North America (and across Europe more generally, we can add) appears to be/ is a predominantly white movement. In problematizing anarchism's white privilege, Huff offers an important question: What is the relevance and meaning of anarchism for people of colour? The chapter develops a range of persuasive arguments in response, many drawing on detailed interviews and on Huff's ethnographic research working with a nationwide network of anarchists of colour. In particular, Huff draws on his experiences of (i) helping organize the third anarchist people of colour (APOC) conference in 2012 and (ii) facilitating a session here titled *Anarchy 101: a Beginner's Guide*. Reinforcing the consistency between anarchist 'means' and 'ends', Huff argues that the radical spaces that emerged within the convergence were highly valued as a way of encouraging meaningful engagement, dialogue, debate and collective intellectual experimentation. More importantly, they were highly inclusive, forming a place where participants could share ideas on a whole range of topics. Importantly, these discussions were never abstract; they were always intended to help increase the individual and collective capacities for racial struggle and survival around multiple forms of oppression and violence. Here, Huff makes a particularly strong case for developing an intersectional and strategic conception of solidarity that takes the reality of difference as a starting point, (and is fundamentally removed from the classical, and inadequate, Marxist formulation of solidarity grounded in commonality). This, in turn, draws attention toward the need to think of ways to best articulate and develop bonds of solidarity across these differences (for the APOC movement, anarchists and the radical left more generally). Arguably one of the most important and original contributions that the chapter makes is the way in which it 'moves intersectionality from a relational analysis of oppressions to a relational praxis', a praxis which Huff sees as 'a creative doing in the world capable of constituting solidary intersubjectivity from diverse subjectivities'.

Chapter 5, written by Diogo Duarte, is titled 'Anarchism, Social Order and the City in Portugal between the End of the Nineteenth Century and the First Decades of the Twentieth Century'. Complementing Allweil's earlier contribution, this chapter draws critical attention towards key configurations of struggle and protest, for example that emerge between the state and capital; anti-state and anti-capitalist protesters; and between so -called 'elite' and 'popular classes' within society. For Duarte, these struggles, past and present, can be found etched in the very bricks and mortar of the city. There is a great deal to be appreciated in this chapter certainly, but particularly in the way Duarte pays close attention to the importance of those informal, everyday streets and social spaces (with a rich reflection on the importance of taverns) that foster informal conviviality and communitarian spirit. These are the overlooked and hidden arteries within the city which, Duarte argues, deserve to be unpacked and explored much further to reveal their dissident geographies. In drawing close attention to Portugal, Duarte finds these places—from the taverns to the planned housing projects—rich in anarchist influence, emancipatory ideals and a true sense of solidarity and freedom. The ruling-class responses to this terrifying vision of the 'proletarian city' (in contrast to that of the elite liberal city, defined as 'the city of work and commodities') and the general fear invoked by 'moral panics' and urban (dis)order are, for Duarte, fundamental to understanding the contested anarchic history of Portugal. Importantly, attention is given to education and cultural training—as well as to demand for better material conditions—in the creation of new possibilities, the forms of solidarity and the promise of achieving liberation. In addition to providing a fascinating account of anarchism in Portugal, the chapter also presents many important connections between anarchist praxis and space, all inviting further comparative analysis (both historical and contemporary) with other cities, with the intention of revealing important emancipatory stories, perspectives and possibilities of freedom and equality.

In chapter 6, 'The Global *Hiroba*: Transnational Spaces in Tokyo's Anti-Nuclear Movement' Alexander Brown and Catherine Tsukasa Bender draw on their individual and collective experiences as activists and intellectuals within Japan, Australia and the United States. Tracing lines of solidarity and inspiration from the Arab Spring, the European Anti-austerity and Occupy movements, the chapter explores how the transnational circulation of bodies, practices and knowledge grounded in the contested public spaces of Tokyo comes together in ways that create a transnational space, a global *hiroba* (plaza). As Willems does in chapter 3, by bringing greater awareness and understanding of anarchist praxis embedded in other continents beyond Europe and the Americas, this chapter addresses a significant gap in contemporary knowledge. Another key contribution of the chapter is

the way in which the authors take into full consideration their emotional geographies: geographies which are always present when engaging with anarchist praxis, or questions of transnational space and social movements more generally. Throughout the chapter, a nuanced and critical reading of space—and the recognition of that space (and alternative spatial imaginaries) as an important, contested dimension of struggle—is repeatedly made. Likewise, in focusing on activism and on the creation and extension of anarchist commons, a strong emphasis is placed on the anarchist principles of collective autonomy, self-determination and so on and on how this praxis can (potentially) inform a multiplicity of movement and geopolitical contexts. In the final analysis, the authors make a convincing argument for recognizing the ways in which 'the insurgent practice of the *global hiroba* dares to provoke and enact an alternative [anarcho-] relationship to existing spaces, demonstrating symbolically and practically that a different story can be made and told'.

In chapter 7, 'The Battle for the Common Space, from the Neo-Liberal Creative City to the Rebel City and Vice Versa: The Cases of Athens, Istanbul, Thessaloniki and Izmir', the authors Matina Kapsali and Charalampos Tsavdaroglou draw close attention to the highly contested, dynamic, unpredictable and paradoxical nature(s) of cities. Throughout the chapter, the authors stress the importance of embracing nuance and complexity when seeking to understand the contested geographies of the city. This is particularly important given that cities are central to the struggles between neoliberal experimentation and related urban policy (gentrification, privatization, securitization and so on) and more emancipatory soical justice movements, to be fought for through acts of resistance, rebellion and revolt. Increasingly, these expressions of resistance, Kapsali and Tsavdaroglou argue, draw on intersectional anarchist praxis (e.g. demonstrated through their willingness to embrace horizontality, self-management and mutual aid). Here, the chapter directs the readers' attention towards Turkish cities of Istanbul and Izmir and the Greek cities of Athens and Thessaloniki and uses the (contrasting) experiences to inform a number of highly critical and persuasive arguments. In particular, the authors are keen to reject the classic 'structure' versus 'agency' approach to space and to embrace a *relational* approach instead. This entails recognizing common space for what it is: 'a complex social system where culture, class, gender, race etc. are interacting, intersecting and produce contradictory and unpredictable spaces'. Importantly, these ideas come at a time of current global crisis, and in giving new insight into the battles between 'the neo-liberal city' and 'the rebel city', they are intended to inform and encourage new, emerging geographical imaginaries. It is this crucial opening up of perspectives and possibilities that, Kapsali and Tsavdaroglou hope, can inspire additional insight, praxis and intervention in future.

In chapter 8, 'Spatial Anarchy in Gezi Park Protests: Urban Public Space as Instrument of Power and Resistance towards an Alternative Social Order', the author Murat Cetin explores the (crypto-)anarchist geographies that were evident within the Gezi Park protests that first emerged in May–June 2013. For Cetin, the transformative events that emerged here, and which resonated across in Istanbul and beyond, once again demonstrated how social identity and power struggles are explicitly narrated and conducted through public spaces. The chapter draws attention to the dynamic of socio-spatial change, particularly showing how multiple identities, expressions of solidarity and the occupation of space(s) emerge as a direct response to the state-backed repression and violence that was seen by the police. Whereas identity is closely aligned with territory, Cetin also focuses on how activists make vital (empowered) links between the physicality of space, on the one hand, and the virtual geographies of the Internet (particularly through social media like Twitter and Facebook) on the other, with the intention of building new expressions of solidarity and understanding. In particular, the chapter responds to two key questions: To what extent do anarchism and anarchists influence these movements, waves of protest and, particularly, spatial forms of resistance? What types of praxis have been evident in the realms of self-defence and in the micro-spatial alternative and emancipatory production of space? Cetin uses the second question to advance a series of original concepts and expressions to help 'capture' the complex interrelationships evident in the Gezi Protests and, more broadly, involving 'public' and 'elites' battles to exert control within the city space. Among these are original and extended deliberations around the concepts of 'anarchy-tecture' and 'resist-space'. Both are central to Cetin interpretation of the events that effectively, for him, saw Gezi Park transformed into an anarchist micro-city. There is much to be appreciated here, not least in light of the ongoing political turmoil in Turkey, but also in how these insights may encourage new expressions of resistance and solidarity to emerge here, and elsewhere.

Chapter 9 is written by James Ellison and is titled 'Banging on the Walls of Fortress Europe: Tactical Media, Anarchist Politics and Border Thinking'. A persuasive range of critical and nuanced conclusions are captured here, as Ellison carefully weaves his central themes and arguments within a rich and compelling narrative. The chapter is structured around a number of important discussions and questions, which include: Aesthetico-political dissent and thinking from the border, 'the art of subversion and the subversion of art', 'Tactics versus strategy, a false dichotomy', 'Decolonial aesthetics and tactical media', and the question, 'Are we all "undesirables"?: re-examining solidarity and transnational aesthetico-political dissent'. Ellision is particularly concerned to explore more fully the use of decolonial art and anarchist praxis as a tactic (and a strategy).For example, how are these employed within tactical media projects aimed as a radical opposition(s) to European frontier

restrictions, or—to quote Ellison's memorable expression—as part of the struggle against Fortress Europe? capture Ellison's memorable expression: a struggle against *Fortress Europe*. In this context, important attention is drawn to the *No One Is Illegal* campaign and the work of Heath Bunting (*BorderXing Guide, Status Project*) and Tanja Ostojić (*Sans Papiers* 2004), among others. There is much to be appreciated and taken here, in particular, the omnipresent theme of borders: what it is to think, to experience, to subvert and, ultimately (perhaps), to transgress borders—and indeed frontiers—which make for compelling and convincing reading. Ultimately there is a great liberatory intention here, namely to challenge and critique as a means of exposing hitherto hidden cracks and weaknesses in hitherto 'solid' frontiers of *archy*. In this way, as Ellison argues: 'Through a recognition of pluriversality and an understanding of this difference, one not noticeable in "homogenous" regimes of European state citizenship or political philosophy, *it is possible to identify the limits of power and attempt to subvert them*' (italics added).

The final chapter, chapter 10, 'Democracy, Agency and Radical Children's Geographies', is written by Toby Rollo, who brings our discussion to full circle by making important connections to the first volume, *The Radicalization of Pedagogy*. Reflecting on the enduring structures of empire, settler colonialism, hetero-patriarchy, white supremacy and neo-liberal capitalism, Rollo argues that efforts at radical democracy have faltered because they have been insufficiently grounded in relations of equality and mutual aid among children and adults. Rollo questions the historical absence of the figure of the child in critical activism and scholarship, arguing that the exclusion of children as political equals limits emancipatory struggles. Even more profound though is Rollo's recognition that the seeds of all forms of domination appear to be rooted in notions of a naturalized superiority of adult over child. The hierarchies of gender, class and race are first sown in the privileging of adults, where the denial of children's agency becomes the yardstick of all other forms of oppression. Such a view connects with Springer's (2016a) pedagogic approach of unschooling identified in the first volume as a refusal of the student and teacher and child and adult binary imagination. Indeed, Rollo is an unschooling parent himself, a practice of freedom his family engages to unsettle adultarchy. To disrupt the privileging of adult capacities, Rollo offers an introduction to the idea of radical children's geographies, which acknowledges children's primary mode of agency as non-representational and enactive. Recognizing enactive agency as agency is an important first step in redressing the adultcentric world, but it is also critical that we place it on equal standing with voice, so as not to devalue it as an inferior mode of human engagement. If the spirit of revolt aims to foster a creative, direct, decentralized, voluntary, horizontal, self-managed, reciprocal and sustainable form of collective life, then we must begin at the beginning, by embodying, prefiguratively, the inclusion of children as equal partners in the performance of anarchism.

FOR THE LOVE OF FREEDOM, AND THE FREEDOM OF LOVE

> Hope is born in their hearts, and let us remember that if exasperation often drives men to revolt, it is always hope, the hope of victory, which makes revolutions.
>
> —Peter Kropotkin (1880)

> You can impose authority but you cannot impose freedom.
>
> —Colin Ward (1982: 135)

The thread that we have woven through this introductory chapter is one of light. We are convinced that anarchism can lead us out of the darkness of the age we live in. It can enable us to feel the sun's warmth on our faces, to realize the heat of our passions and to sense the energy that comes from our connections not only to each other, but to everything that exists. There is an integral sense of community at the heart of anarchism (Springer 2016b), where any justification for exploitation or legitimization of domination is always and inevitably mounted through a sense of separation (Clark 2013b). The simple joy of being alive and inherently knowing that we belong, owing to the plain fact that we are of the world, *is* the practice of freedom. Immanence is a politics that encapsulates the beautiful possibilities that are called into existence when we demonstrate our willingness to revolt against the oppression, persecution, hierarchy, domination, repression, coercion, tyranny, harassment, subjugation and cruelty that litter the landscapes of this age of ruin that we call the present (Springer 2014). To revolt is a performance of the hope we feel as the machinery of the existing order begins to rust. It is to prefigure something new, to embrace our own power and to refuse to wait for a saviour to drop from the sky. 'Do not go to the offices of bureaucrats, or the noisy chambers of parliaments, in the vain hope for the words of freedom', Élisée Reclus (1885: n.p.) proclaimed, 'Listen rather to the voices which come from below.' We are our own liberators, and as Erlich (1994: 140) once argued, 'If there is an underlying principle of action it is that we need to cultivate the habits of freedom so that we constantly experience it in our everyday lives.' The pivot of history turns around our action in the *here* and *now*, and if we are to ever be free, we only need to start acting as though we are.

The citadel of despotism stands tall, casting a long, black shadow across the planet, and yet even with the knowledge of this threat we aren't obliged to forever cower in its darkened gloom. We built the walls of this fortress ourselves, using the logic of the state as bricks and sealing it together with the mortar of capitalism. Precisely because we are the creators of this bastion of brutality, so too can we topple it. There is nothing preordained or inevitable about the current state of crisis that grips

the planet. As the architects of our lives, the world we experience is ours to create. As Emma Goldman (1996: 73) once argued, 'Freedom, expansion, opportunity, and above all, peace and repose, alone can teach us the real dominant factors of human nature and all its wonderful possibilities'. We have to start believing in ourselves and in the possibilities we can produce and stop reserving our fidelity for the monstrosities that demean our fellow travellers and us as debris. Prejudice, discrimination and bigotry, products of our institutions and outcomes of the separation that is fostered by the divisive politics of hierarchy, often mark the journey of being alive. Yet, we are able, adept and apt to take action beyond these condemnations of our connection to each other. The word 'freedom' finds its etymological origin in the Old English *frēo*, which comes from an Indo-European root meaning 'to love'. Thus, through the very *practice of freedom*, the insistence on its enactment and performance in our everyday existence, and in the moment-to-moment resolve of its pursuit, we can see calamity give way to conviviality, turmoil diminished as togetherness is embraced, and Leviathan recede as love becomes the locus of our lives. Just as love cannot be confined to a personal pursuit or ancestral offering, so too must freedom be perceived as a measure of our oneness with each other and all the inhabitants who share this amazing planet we call home. None of this can be imposed, only awakened to. It is a faith, but certainly not a blind one. The anarchist geography of Kropotkin (1902) and Reclus (1894) has demonstrated through rigorous empirical studies that cooperation and interdependence are incontrovertible facets of life on earth. In moments of stillness, we know connection to be true. We can feel its energy resonating in every aspect of our being. So, in the *spirit of revolt*, let us open our eyes to the practice of freedom, read poetry from the book of life, feel its vibrations in our bodies and look upon the love that we share as the creator of our light.

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Chapter 1

Anarchist Geographies in the Rural Global South

Navé Wald and Doug Hill

> Anarchy as a social philosophy has never meant 'chaos'—in fact, anarchists have typically believed in a highly organized society, just one that's organized democratically from below.
>
> Noam Chomsky (2013: 28)

This edited volume seeks to bring to light different forms of anarchist geographies where alternative socio-spatial constellations are being constructed along ideals of horizontality, freedom and mutual aid. For Springer (2012: 1607), anarchist geographies are 'kaleidoscopic spatialities that allow for multiple, non-hierarchical, and protean connections between autonomous entities, wherein solidarities, bonds, and affinities are voluntarily assembled in opposition to and free from the presence of sovereign violence, predetermined norms, and assigned categories of belonging'. The renewed impetus to the relationship between anarchism and geography is due in part to the historical contributions of Peter Kropotkin (1842–1921) and Élisée Reclus (1830–1905) around the turn of the twentieth century and to current radical geographers wishing to emphasize and study dissenting spaces where new forms of affinity and egalitarian social relations emerge, flourish and struggle.

Rural geographies that can be analysed as reflecting anarchist theoretical ideals and praxes are found across the world, many of which are related to the transnational peasant movement La Vía Campesina. Following Brincat and Aylward (2010) and Wald (2015a, 2015c), we contend that this movement, or confederation, along with its member organizations and key concept of food sovereignty, embodies a number of anarchist principles such as participatory horizontal politics and abolishing domination.

In this chapter, we depict and analyse the multi-scalar structure of a confederative organization linking together horizontal spaces of geographically and culturally diverse struggles and aspirations of rural communities and groups worldwide. Rather than focusing on a particular scale, we are interested in how such a multi-scalar structure operates from the grassroots to the level of the global organization. Importantly, the practice of horizontal spaces and their scales are always situated in time and place. The examples provided here are contextualized by historical and current geographies of rapture and struggle in Argentina, a country with a rich history of anarchism, political and economic unrest. In so doing, we scrutinize the continuities from past anarchist experiences, mainly but not exclusively in the urban realm, and current anarchist-inspired practices in the countryside.

RURAL PREFIGURATIVE SPACES AND CONFEDERATIVE NETWORKS

Different theoretical propositions and actions were labelled 'anarchist' across space and time. These have sometimes encompassed conflicting tendencies, and thus it has been difficult to formulate precisely an anarchist theory of society and social change (Chomsky 2013). Thus, unlike some other political doctrines, anarchism has tended to be more heretical and diverse. Embracing these kaleidoscopic anarchic spatialities as a body of thought, anarchism converges particularly around the core principals of anti-authoritarianism and egalitarianism (Newman 2010). In fact, anarchism is usually wary of formulating grand theories and is best characterized by its methods and principles, such as autonomy, self-organization, mutual aid and direct democracy (Graeber 2004).

Within this diversity, a notably influential type of anarchism has been that of anarcho-syndicalism. This doctrine refers to a radical form of trade unionism that calls for workers' organization along anarchist principles such as self-management, autonomy and direct action. Anarcho-syndicalists were critical of other, including socialist, labour unions and saw them as mere reformists within the capitalist system, the same system anarcho-syndicalists wished to abolish. Herein, anarcho-syndicalists believed in workers' direct control over the means of production and in an organizational model based on a free and solidaric federation of syndicates (Rocker 1989 [1938]; Wilson and Kinna 2012).

For the anarchist philosopher and geographer Peter Kropotkin (1910: 914), anarchism is

> the name given to a principle or theory of life and conduct under which society is conceived without government—harmony in such a society being obtained,

> not by submission to law, or by obedience to any authority, but by free agreements concluded between the various groups, territorial and professional, freely constituted for the sake of production and consumption, as also for the satisfaction of the infinite variety of needs and aspirations of a civilized being. In a society developed on these lines, the voluntary associations . . . would take a still greater extension so as to substitute themselves for the state in all its functions. They would represent an interwoven network, composed of an infinite variety of groups and federations of all sizes and degrees, local, regional, national and international—temporary or more or less permanent—for all possible purposes: production, consumption and exchange, communications, sanitary arrangements, education, mutual protection, defence of the territory, and so on.

This overarching definition of anarchism, written by Kropotkin for the eleventh edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, includes a multi-scalar vision of a free and federative society that is organized by networks of voluntary associations. A confederation of free associations was also a pivotal feature in the anarchist thoughts of Pierre-Joseph Proudhon (1809–1865) and Mikhail Bakunin (1814–1876), who saw this organizational form as a mechanism through which one's freedom does not restrict another's (Rocker 1989 [1938]). Similar ideas are also found in the more recent writings of Murray Bookchin (1989, 1991) on confederalism and libertarian municipalism.

The anarchist rural geographies in Argentina discussed below are part of broader multi-scalar geographies of radical forms of organization, constituting a confederation that stretches from the nuclear community level, through to the regional, national and global scale. The social space in which these geographies are produced and reproduced is the transnational movement La Vía Campesina, which brings together over 160 organizations of peasants, small-to medium-sized farmers, landless workers, rural women and indigenous people from around the world. Consolidated in 1993, La Vía Campesina forms part of a struggle against the neo-liberal restructuring of agricultural policies that impose a direct threat on rural livelihoods around the world (Desmarais 2007). La Vía Campesina is today a large network of grassroots organizations with affinity to other global dissenting spaces such as the World Social Forum and the alter-globalization movement (Martínez-Torres and Rosset 2010). As such, La Vía Campesina has become a '"space of encounter" among different rural and peasant cultures, different epistemologies and hermeneutics, whether East and West, North and South, landed and landless, farmer, pastoralist and farm worker, indigenous and non-indigenous, women, men, elders and youth, and Hindu, Muslim, Buddhist, Animist, Mayan, Christian and Atheist' (Martínez-Torres and Rosset 2014: 979).

Within this pluralistic space of encounter, however, there are groups and individuals of diverse ideological inclinations, including variants of neo-populism, Marxism, radical environmentalism, feminism and anarchism.

Some may have, of course, overlapping ideological orientations, while others may not have any notable ideological leaning at all (Borras 2008). This vision of a federated and democratic society, therefore, also finds purchase within other leftist ideologies, such as autonomist Marxism. The nexus between these doctrines are important and interesting, particularly the one between anarchism and Marxism, which has been a source of ongoing contention among leftist circles. Both political philosophies have had a long history of rivalry and collaboration since the time of Marx and Bakunin in the First International (1864–1876), but in spite of having capitalism as a shared ideological adversary, many thinkers and activists on the political left are still very much occupied with this dispute. This may be more obvious among those trying to advocate for anarchism by pointing out Marxism's weaknesses (e.g., Graeber 2004; Springer 2012, 2014a, 2014b), but similar counterarguments have also been made (Choat 2013; Mann 2014), as well as comparative studies that are more sympathetic to both (Day 2005; Franks 2012; Gautney 2009). While comparing and contrasting anarchism vis-à-vis Marxism may be useful for a number of reasons, and while their joint history warrants such examination, we agree with Chomsky's (2013: 14) view that 'in fact, radical Marxism merges with anarchist currents'. Consequently, we shall avoid debating whether a concept or an action is inherently anarchist or Marxist, as it could indeed be both.

In addition to ideological diversity, within La Vía Campesina there are sociocultural differences (predominantly relating to language, religion and ethnicity) that are bridged over using imagery and symbols (such as seeds, soil and water). This strategy is successful in creating and maintaining a common peasant identity, which serves as the movement's main cultural 'glue' (Martínez-Torres and Rosset 2010). Indeed, the peasant identity, problematic as it may be (Bernstein 2014), is neither narrowing the struggle into solely a class struggle, nor is it the only uniting mechanism in place. The organizational structure of La Vía Campesina is designed, *inter alia*, for accommodating this multifaceted diversity within the constituency of the movement, as well as for its extensive geographic coverage. It is worthwhile to depict, ever so briefly, this organizational structure in some detail. Doing so would enable us to reflect on the set of politics underlying this structure and its relation to anarchist political philosophy.

At the global level, the movement comprises nine regions, each of which with its own coordinating secretariat. The highest decision-making forum in the movement is the International Conference, held every three to four years. In this forum, delegates from member organizations get together to discuss and debate policies, strategies, problems and the internal running of the movement. Delegations to the International Conference from the nine

regions should be equally comprised of women and men, with a third being youth.[1] Decisions in this forum are reached by consensus with no veto rights. If consensus cannot be reached, the matter returns for further consultation with the regional delegations and the outcome is used for drafting a new proposal. The conference also dedicates a space for a women's assembly and a youth assembly, two groups identified by the movement as deserving additional focus and autonomy (La Vía Campesina 2014).

At the movement's trans-regional level are the International Coordinating Committee (ICC), the International Operative Secretariat (IOS) and the International Working Commissions (IWCs). The ICC meets twice yearly and examines the implementation of the Conference agreements in each of the regions. This body also follows and analyses developments relating to global agriculture issues and defines plans for action. It consists of two democratically elected delegates (a woman and a man) from each of the nine regions. The IOS is the movement's coordinating body, in charge of implementing the decisions of the Conference and the ICC. This body currently sits in Harare, Zimbabwe, and rotates between the regions every few years. The IWCs carry out and coordinate the movement's work on different issues. There are a number of such IWCs covering the main issues tackled by La Vía Campesina. These include agrarian reform, food sovereignty and trade, human rights, women and gender parity, youth, education and training, and more (Martínez-Torres and Rosset 2010).

This organizational structure reflects the anarchist vision of a society that is organized democratically from the bottom up (Chomsky 2013). It is designed so that authority does not lie with the global echelons of the movement; different forms of domination are contested (gender and age, for instance); decisions are made through consensus following genuine debate and consultation; and a dialogue between a diversity of views, ideological inclinations, struggles and social and cultural identities is made possible. The movement's structure and politics epitomize the anarchist 'desire [for] a federation of free communities which shall be bound to one another by their common economic and social interests and shall arrange their affairs by mutual agreement and free contract' (Rocker 1989 [1938]: 9–10).

Here we wish to focus on the trajectory of the anarchist principles that can be found in the forms of mobilization and organization of member organizations of La Vía Campesina within the more specific context of Argentina. Argentina makes for an interesting case for its rich history of anarchist organization, as well as for its more recent and current prefigurative organizations. Employing an extended temporal lens for examining the trajectory of anarchist principles in social mobilization, we contend, is a useful tool for analysing current anarchist rural geographies.

EARLY GEOGRAPHIES OF ANARCHISM IN ARGENTINA

The golden age of anarchism in Argentina lasted from about 1890 until 1910, after which its decline began to be notable. However, the legacy of this period is believed to have endured till today, influencing popular mobilization and dissent in Argentina ever since. From a historical–spatial perspective, the trajectory of anarchism or left-libertarian experiences in Argentina has been bloody, fragmented and predominantly urban. The history of anarchism in Argentina is strongly associated with the emergence of the labour movement in the late nineteenth century (Oved 1997), but preceding this were earlier instances of autonomous organization of wage workers and artisans who had established mutual-aid societies in Buenos Aires during the 1850s. This development was closely linked to the expansion of the working class, mainly due to the mass arrival of migrants from Europe, but also due to concurrent and gradual industrialization to the country's pre-capitalist economy (Munck, Falcón and Galitelli 1987).

Immigration from Europe was important not only for its dramatic demographic effect on the local population but also for bringing revolutionary libertarian, syndicalist and socialist ideas across the Atlantic Ocean. These ideas were brought and propagated predominantly by migrants from Italy and Spain, and, to a lesser extent, Russia and France (Munck, Falcón and Galitelli 1987). Among those migrants were those who left Europe in search of a better life, as well as militants who fled political persecution and brought with them experiences of working-class organization. Among those militants were some with direct connection to the Paris Commune of 1871 and the First International (Molyneux 1986; Oved 1978; Suriano 2010).[2]

The anarchist movement in Argentina was very heterogeneous in terms of its members' ideological inclinations, but Kropotkin's anarcho-communism was particularly influential within many anarchist circles (Suriano 2010). Thompson (1984) goes as far as to suggest that anarchist labour organizations often demonstrated inconsistencies between their actions and anarchist ideology. Oved (1997) somewhat concurs, but he seems more sympathetic towards what he sees as a syncretist anarchist movement that meshed together 'imported' theories and local practical experiences. This author highlights the ability of the anarchist movement in Argentina to maintain this coexistence of different ideological groups as well as its ability to appeal to the heterogeneous urban proletariat.

Anarchism was popular among the urban working class in Argentina around the turn of the twentieth century for a variety of reasons. At that historical conjuncture, the state was relatively weak and decentralized, the capitalist class was still relatively unformed and the class struggle was often violent (Chatterton 2005). In addition, compared with socialist propaganda

of that time, anarchists had simpler and more direct messages and their conscious distance from political parties struck a chord with the proletarian masses, often alienated from the political sphere by the oligarchy (Oved 1997). As such, in spite of the anarchists' close association with the labour movement, their messages of equality and freedom transcended class, culture and language divides and went further than being merely demands for better material or working conditions. The transformative qualities of the anarchists' social demands, therefore, appealed to the poor and the oppressed regardless of their specific circumstance (Suriano 2010). The short but significant appearance of the anarcho-feminist newspaper *La Voz de la Mujer* (The Voice of Women) in 1896 is a good example for anarchism's appeal to wider social struggles against domination (see Molyneux 1986).

Despite the success of the anarchist movement in Argentina in reaching a diverse group of people, it was far more successful in appealing to urban workers than their rural counterparts. Thus, although attempts were made to contact the peasantry and rural workers in order to incorporate them into the class struggle, the core support remained mostly of workers spatially located in the main urban centres (Marshall 1992). The agrarian sector, however, was not completely isolated from the contemporary social and economic processes and unrest in the larger metropolitan centres. Migrant workers and farmers also reached the country's interior, where they joined other indigenous and *mestizo* labourers. But in spite of the dismal working conditions in rural areas, 'the persistence of pre-capitalist forms of exploitation in the interior—sometimes in spite of the nominal existence of wages—prevented the emergence of collective labour demands and activities' (Munck, Falcón and Galitelli 1987: 13).

During the early decades of the twentieth century, the agrarian question was brought to the fore following waves of strikes in the countryside. Both tenant farmers and landless workers, or *braceros* as they were called, demanded better conditions and more rights, protesting against the very unequal agrarian structure where the landed elite enjoyed extended economic and social privileges and against their persisting economic hardship. However, the tenant farmers' conservative side was revealed when the landless *braceros* also protested against them, since tenant farmers relied on *braceros* during harvest times and played a part in their exploitation (Solberg 1971). This differentiated and divided the class struggles of these two groups of rural subjects.

Anarchist and syndicalist ideas were brought into the countryside by working-class militants, who left the big cities as a result of the post–First World War economic depression of 1918 and 1919. These ideas found purchase among the marginalized *braceros*, and rural labour unions were formed for the first time in Argentina (Solberg 1971). This process is therefore seen as a direct extension of the militant urban labour movement, to a significant extent inspired by anarchist ideals (Pianetto 1984).

Social unrest in the countryside may have received more attention when it took place in the 'cereal belt' of the fertile Pampa region, but the most symbolic, well-known and brutal episode of anarchist-inspired rural mobilization took place in the Patagonian south between 1920 and 1922. As in other parts of the country, in 1920, a series of strikes were declared by organized anarcho-syndicalist rural workers in the Patagonia, who demanded better working conditions and better pay. Following numerous events of protest and conflict, the army was sent in to intervene and repress the strikers. The military campaign resulted in some 1500 dead workers (many of whom were effectively executed without a trial). The colonel in charge of the army unit that raided the strikers was later assassinated by a German-born anarchist militant (Bayer 2009; Oved 1997).[3]

Following this and many other confrontations and strikes, the anarchist movement was increasingly seen by the state and the ruling classes as a destabilizing force and hence as a direct threat. The military coup of 1930, the first of six during the twentieth century, marked an important turning point in the history of anarchism in Argentina. The military dictatorship persecuted the anarchists and labour activists, closed their numerous publications and forced them underground. After a number of years, some anarchists did manage to resurface and re-establish some of their organizational capacity, but the anarchist movement never regained the strength it previously had (Bayer 1985; Colombo 1971).

The rise to power of Juan Perón in the mid-1940s led to the co-option of the labour movement by the state, a process that manipulated the labour movement into a nationalist popular movement. In this process, reformist unions were supported, while any radical anarchist or communist tendencies were marginalized and suppressed (Chatterton 2005; Colombo 1971). Notwithstanding the rise of Perónism and the various military dictatorships that oppressed and isolated anarchist groups, it is nevertheless the case that fragments of the movement survived, even if that was in a far less prominent form than previously existed.

THE ARGENTINAZO AND THE DEBATED LEGACY OF HORIZONTAL SPACES

Suriano (2010: 10) makes an important argument in saying that in Argentina 'Anarchism was more suited for a society defined primarily by conflict and confrontation.' This was said in relation to the gradual decline of anarchism's appeal in the interwar period, but the events of December 2001 and their aftermath go some way in supporting this assertion. Perhaps, one of anarchism's greater challenges is, therefore, to remain relevant also in times of

economic and social stability. The question that needs to be asked, then, is how can anarchist ideals find widespread purchase beyond specific periods of crisis and limited circles of politicized militants?

While there is no simple answer to this question, crisis and events of rapture remain important catalysts for the emergence of counter-hegemonic alternatives. One such event in Argentina was the popular uprising of December 2001—the Argentinazo. The Battle of Buenos Aires, as it came to be known, saw thousands of people taking to the streets in protest against the ongoing economic and political crises, and it was the culmination of decades-long processes of neo-liberal economic restructuring and of growing dissent (Dinerstein 2002). The myriad of anti-neo-liberal protest and mobilization across the country was partly carried out by established labour unions, but more important were new social movements and new forms of organization. Protesters were disillusioned with political parties and unions as effective channels of representation and thus replaced them with new forms of action and politics (Villalón 2007).

From this popular rebellion developed a repertoire of tactics that challenged the inadequacies of representative democracy and neo-liberal capitalism. These experiences are the most significant legacy of the Argentinazo. Faced with deteriorating economic conditions and the inability of the state to address the deepening crisis, individuals and communities rediscovered their autonomy and agency to act. Among the most celebrated examples to emerge were the neighbourhood assemblies, recovered factories and picketers (Chatterton 2005; North and Huber 2004; Villalón 2007). These and other examples represent experiences of grassroots autonomous action that were based on principles of direct democracy and horizontal organizational structure. Since the late 1990s, numerous groups have turned to alternative forms of association and engagement not only as means for survival (mutual aid, barter clubs, etc.) but also out of conviction that a profound social and political change is needed.

This wave of prefigurative movements in Argentina, including all those who wish to create the future in the present, resemble other movements and experiences, with the Zapatistas in Chiapas, Mexico and the Brazilian MST being the most known examples in Latin America. Rather than being isolated examples, these prefigurative movements are part of a global trend where social groups reject party politics, vanguard leadership and hierarchy, and opt to replacing them with direct democracy and decision-making through consensus. They have often attracted criticism for not offering concrete alternatives, and indeed one of their key characteristics has been 'plac[ing] more importance on asking the right questions than on providing the correct answers' (Sitrin 2007: 45). But it is this anti-dogmatic and open-ended attributes that underlie prefigurative organizations and their politics.

The legacy of the Argentinazo, with the initial proliferation of grassroots prefigurative groups, has also been subject to some debate, in which the notion of creating 'viable alternatives' has been a main feature. Writing relatively proximate to the 2001 uprising, North and Huber (2004) maintain that no coherent alternatives to neo-liberalism emerged from the various local-level experiences of prefigurative groups, whose success was temporary and spatially confined at best. For them, 'it was a storm that could be weathered, not a tidal wave breaking through the neo-liberal dam' (North and Huber 2004: 981). In contrast, other activists and scholars such as Sitrin (2006, 2007) and Chatterton (2005) make a far more optimistic analysis. Sitrin highlights the appeal and practice of horizontalism years after the 2001 rebellion, and Chatterton sees the value inherent to micro-scale and localized experiences of resistance. Moreover, a decade after the Argentinazo there were still more than 200 recovered companies in operation, of which nearly a quarter were 'taken over' between 2005 and 2010. The significance of this lies not only in the fact that those recovered factories have managed to overcome many challenges; part of their legacy is also the existence of a viable option for workers to seize control over their workplace in cases where closure is looming (Hirtz and Giacone 2013). It seems, therefore, that both sides have some merit in their respective arguments. On the one hand, neo-liberal capitalism was not eradicated, and many alternative autonomous groups have gradually lost their viability and appeal once relative stability was achieved following the moment of rupture. On the other hand, some groups have demonstrated longevity and recent experiences of collective action have expanded the toolbox of strategies of dissent.

Notwithstanding the effect of the Argentinazo in terms of alternatives to neo-liberal capitalism, two additional and closely related questions are pertinent. First, what has been the role of anarchism as a political philosophy in these experiences in Argentina? Second, what kind of links, if any, could be drawn between the more recent organizational experiences and the anarchist movements of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries? An examination of the literature does not allow us to give definitive answers to either question, as this topic has not received much attention. North and Huber (2004) mention only in passing that some groups, particularly of unemployed workers, were inspired by anarchism and liberation theology. Writing about the recovered factories, Vieta (2010) attributes the re-emergence of cooperativism and the availability of a supportive legal framework to the waves of European migration and the anarchist and socialist ideals they brought with them. But again, this link is only briefly mentioned. Surprisingly, Sitrin's (2007) analysis of affective politics in Argentina includes jargon often associated with anarchism (horizontalism, self-management, prefigurative politics), but the word 'anarchism' is altogether absent. In her book titled

Horizontalism: Voices of Popular Power in Argentina, however, this association to anarchism is noted. An activist in a media collective expressed, 'Personally, the theory I like most is anarchism. I also believe that the way of relating in many assemblies—without it being a conscious choice—is an anarchist one' (Sitrin 2006: 56). However, no reference is made to the history of anarchism in Argentina. In a marked contrast, for Chatterton (2005) there are continuous threads of autonomous organization and anarchism linking current autonomous movements with the anarcho-syndicalism of the country's past. For him, the reaction among the unemployed and their desire for autonomy stem not only from a backlash against the neo-liberal project but also from 'the oppressive patron-client politics of the large Peronist trade unions' (Chatterton 2005: 550). Notwithstanding Chatterton's position, and while this is by no means an extensive review of the literature, most publications on the Argentinazo and the myriad of prefigurative organizations make no explicit reference to anarchism or past anarchist experiences. This does not mean there are no such links and continuities, but discursively those sociopolitical experiences are not talked about in those terms.

Thus far we have indicated the fractured trajectory of anarchism in Argentina and noted that even though anarchism has had a long history in Argentina's class struggles, it is difficult to establish an uninterrupted narrative of anarchist organization linking historical experiences with more recent and current ones. However, anarchist ideals can be clearly identified in the discourses and praxes of many of today's autonomous groups, but perhaps not in the explicit manner of past historical times. While anarchist ideals such as horizontal organization have found new purchase, the word 'anarchism' and reference to past experiences of the libertarian proletariat have been considerably, albeit not completely, absent from both popular discourse and academic analysis. Another notable feature of many of the better-known autonomous experiences in Argentina is their urban geographies.

CONTEMPORARY RURAL GEOGRAPHIES OF PREFIGURATIVE ORGANIZATION IN ARGENTINA

Given Argentina's high level of urbanization, it is not surprising that rural geographies of autonomous and prefigurative organization are often overlooked, and it is to these that we now turn and that we wish to highlight. There are, of course, well-known rural experiences elsewhere in Latin America, such as the above-mentioned Zapatistas and MST, and across the world there are many other examples of rural geographies of radical autonomous organizations (for some examples from different parts of the world, see Burmeister and Choi 2012; Desmarais and Wittman 2014; Luetchford, Pratt and Montiel

2010; Routledge, Nativel and Cumbers 2006). In fact, it seems that experiences of prefigurative politics are being increasingly situated within rural settings. During the 1980s and 1990s, a third wave of anti-neo-liberal movements emerged in Latin America.[4] The leadership in those movements tended to be young, not from large metropolitan areas, not university trained and very critical of political opportunism and manipulations by the partisan Left. Most dynamic among these third-wave social movements were those based on rural landless workers, peasants and indigenous peoples (Petras and Veltmeyer 2011).

Reflecting on such movements with reference to their anarchist rural geographies is on no account unproblematic. These movements do not self-identify as anarchists, and some elements of their discourses may sit uncomfortably with anarchist ideals, especially regarding nationalism and the state. These movements have also often been analysed using Marxist frameworks, with substantial attention devoted to class struggle and their position vis-à-vis the state (for a few notable examples, see Holloway 2005; Petras and Veltmeyer 2005, 2011). It seems, therefore, that it is necessary to be explicit regarding why we perceive particular experiences as constituting 'anarchist geographies', while staying mindful of similarities to radical forms of Marxism.

This reluctance to label oneself 'anarchist' is not, of course, unique to radical rural peasant and indigenous movements. Many urban-based movements also articulate a discourse of autonomy, in which ideals of horizontalism, consensus decision-making and prefigurative politics are pivotal. These concepts underpin a political culture that is synonymous with anarchism. This political culture includes common forms of organization and politics (non-hierarchical and consensus based); similar forms of political expression (direct action and confrontation); shared discourses and ideologies (left-libertarian, solidarity, anti-capitalist and more); and other shared attributes such as dress and music and sometimes even diet (Gordon 2007).

The prefigurative politics to which the confederation of La Vía Campesina adheres at the global scale mirrors similar models at regional and local scales. Examining the multi-scalar characteristic of grassroots rural organization, then, reveals how shared ideals are being interpreted and enacted within particular and changing sociopolitical and sociocultural contexts. In 2003, a number of peasant organizations in Argentina formed the National Indigenous-Peasant Movement (MNCI) as a national-level network. Some of these organizations were already members of La Vía Campesina, and the MNCI became an official member in the 2008 Fifth Congress. The Peasant Movement of Santiago del Estero–Vía Campesina (MOCASE-VC) and the Puna and Quebrada Network (Red Puna) are two of the MNCI's member organizations. The MOCASE-VC and Red Puna, from the north-western provinces of Santiago del Estero and Jujuy respectively, are multi-scalar

peasant-indigenous organizations formed during the 1990s in response to the ongoing marginalization of peasant communities in Argentina.

These organizations have a number of similarities as well as differences, such as in relations to their social and cultural compositions, threats to peasant livelihoods, organizational trajectories and histories (Wald 2013a, 2015a, 2015b, 2015c). Both adhere to ideals of horizontal organizational structure and direct democratic participation, while rejecting social and political hierarchies and domination. These ideals have proliferated across the La Vía Campesina confederation, but, given Argentina's long history of non-hierarchical organization, from the labour movement of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries through to the popular uprising of the Argentinazo, they should not be seen as foreign.

Taken together, the MOCASE-VC and Red Puna provide constructive examples for how decentralized structures and inclusive decision-making mechanisms could be imagined. First and foremost, according to these grassroots organizations, wide popular participation is required in order to create a real and lasting social change. This necessitates an organizational model that is based on a horizontal structure where decisions are made not by a selected few but by as wide a public participation as possible. The MOCASE-VC and Red Puna's internal structures, therefore, offer similar models of horizontal radical democracy governance, which aims to create an alternative anti-representative politics where power is decentralized and people are empowered (Robinson and Tormey 2005). The models they use include three organizational tiers.

The first tier includes the smallest organizational entity—the 'base community' (*comunidad de base*). The 'base communities' meet regularly, and these communities form an important pillar of the organization. In this forum, local everyday issues are discussed and debated, alongside issues that are brought from the other two tiers of the organization by the community's delegates. These could be issues of communal works, development projects, problems of production and commercialization, as well as information and requests from the wider regional, national or international networks.

The second tier includes the *Centrales* (short for *Centrales Campesinas* or Peasant Centres) in the MOCASE-VC and *Micro-redes* (micro-networks) in the Red Puna. These second-tier spaces include a number of neighbouring 'base communities'. The Red Puna effectively has four *Micro-redes* and the MOCASE-VC currently has nine *Centrales*, located in the north, east and southeast of the province. Each second-tier entity holds its own regular meetings. The aim is for as many people as possible to take an active part in this space, but because travelling poses constraints, even between communities that are relatively close by, there are often no more than five or six delegates from each base community and a conscious attempt is made to have some

rotation in place. The location of the meeting rotates as well so that the cost associated with travelling is more fairly distributed among all members, and decentralization is further enhanced; but some members would always have to make a long journey to attend.

The third tier of this organizational structure includes the General Assemblies of the two organizations and their Secretariats or Working Areas. This tier is the amalgamation of the nine *Centrales* and the four *Micro-redes* of the MOCASE-VC and Red Puna, respectively. At this level, both organizations have dedicated working groups for different issues, such as land, production and commercialization, gender and youth, communication and health. These working groups vary between the two organizations, both in terms of the topics covered and frequency of meetings. Every few months a general meeting of the working groups is held in a rotating location. These reunions are also referred to as the assembly and plenary of the organizations. The Red Puna also has a General Coordination body, which includes delegates from all working groups and *Micro-redes*. This is the main difference from the way in which the MOCASE-VC operates. In the past, the Red Puna had more organizational bodies; but these were modified with time and changing necessities. Thus, the organizational structure is dynamic and evolves over time as part of an organic organization that continuously searches for better responsiveness and that occasionally may encounter lack of participation or other challenges that could influence the way in which the organization operates.

This organizational structure, based on decentralized and direct democracy using consensus decision-making and rotating participation, embodies a number of anarchist ideals, such as prefigurative politics, diversity and a struggle against domination (Gordon 2007, 2008). According to a notable figure in the MOCASE-VC, horizontality, particularly in the lowlands of Santiago del Estero, resonates with some indigenous peoples' social structures of decentralized decision-making in assemblies and with ideas of European anarchism that were brought over by migrants, and which had an effect on marginalized rural people in Argentina (Wald 2013b). Still, mobilizing members to actively participate in meetings, particularly when travelling is involved, is a challenge for both MOCASE-VC and Red Puna. Being aware of this challenge, the organizations dedicate attention and resources in order to maintain and enhance participation, but this is likely to remain a perpetual struggle in itself.

There are also different external pressures for the organizations on practising horizontality and decision-making through consensus. For example, the state challenges this practice in several ways. When development-related projects are made available for rural communities, they have already been formed and are not usually open for further discussion by the receiving party. Legal requirements for obtaining funding are another constraining mechanism of

the state. Eligibility for state funding requires a community or an organization to have a legal status. By law, these legal associations must have a hierarchical structure that includes a president, vice-president, treasurer and more. This, of course, stands in contrast to the horizontal discourse and praxis of both MOCASE-VC and Red Puna, forcing them to find ways to comply without complying. Another form of external pressure sometimes imposed by funders is having restricting timeframes that do not allow enough time for the participatory process of tiered horizontal organizations to take place.

CONCLUSIONS

This chapter is primarily concerned with rural geographies of prefigurative politics and how these diverse experiences come together within the confederative structure of the transnational peasant movement La Vía Campesina. This movement has already been associated with anarchist ideals in relation to its modes of organization and practices elsewhere in the world (Brincat and Aylward 2010; Wald 2015a, 2015c), and here we substantiated in some more detail the confederative and multi-scalar structure of the movement, a structure that brings together individuals and groups of ideological diversity and sociocultural differences (Martínez-Torres and Rosset 2010). This structure, moreover, embodies the anarchist ideal outlined by Chomsky at the beginning of the chapter; that is, of a society that is highly organized, but in a way that is both democratic and where decision-making is decentralized to the grassroots (Chomsky 2013).

While La Vía Campesina encompasses member organizations from both the global north and the global south, here the main focus is on experiences from the latter. Argentina serves as an illustrative example of a country with a rich and long history of anarchist organization and prefigurative movements amidst oppressive polity and economic crises. Arguably, links could be drawn between the anarcho-syndicalism around the turn of the twentieth century and more recent and current autonomous movements (Chatterton 2005); but nevertheless, we found that while such links are plausible, they are not commonly and explicitly articulated in popular discourse and published literature. Nevertheless, there are many examples of autonomous forms of organization that adhere to anarchist principles. Some rural peasant-indigenous organizations are a notable example, though these are often overlooked in a context where most anarchist and prefigurative experiences have historically been reflecting urban geographies. In fact, it is increasingly rural organizations which are today the epitome of a confederative and democratically organized society.

NOTES

1. The last International Conference that was held in Jakarta in 2013 was attended by 500 delegates from 70 countries. Of those participants, 45 percent were women and 22 percent were youth (La Vía Campesina 2014). While this is below the movement's target, gender parity was nearly achieved.

2. Among the most prominent figures were the Italians Pietro Gori (1865–1911) and Errico Malatesta (1853–1932), who lived in Argentina for a number of years and were instrumental in the establishment of the anarchist movement there.

3. This conflict was depicted in Héctor Olivera's 1974 film *La Patagonia Rebelde* (Rebellion in Patagonia).

4. The first wave began in the 1960s and lasted until the mid-1970s. It included social movements, guerrilla groups and political parties. The second wave emerged during and in opposition to military dictatorships and their neo-liberal policies. However, after the demise of the military juntas, many Leftist regimes adopted the neo-liberal measures they had inherited and gradually lost their Leftist orientation and support base (Petras and Veltmeyer 2011).

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Chapter 2

Anarchist City? Geddes's 1925 Anarchist Housing-Based Plan for Tel Aviv and the 2011 Housing Protests

Yael Allweil

INTRODUCTION: ANARCHISM AND URBAN PLANNING

This chapter examines the anarchist elements in Tel Aviv's 1925 master plan, focusing in particular on its design and its realization by urban workers seeking housing solutions in the context of capitalist speculation in land and housing in the 1920–1930s. I then ask whether these anarchist elements have been maintained in Tel Aviv's urban fabric and how these affected the eruption of mass housing protests in the city in 2011, in response to brutal neoliberalization of the housing market.

Sir Patrick Geddes (1854–1932) was a polymath, who covered a remarkable number of disciplines and subjects and was best known for inventing the scientific study of Town Planning (Law 2005). Though a founding member of the City Planning Movement, Geddes's unwavering belief that new cities are formed due to the powerful actions of statesmen, capitalists and planners marginalized him within the movement (Hall 1988; Rubin 2009). In this context, Geddes proposed forming free confederations of autonomous regions as opposed to planning giant metropolises, nations and empire, based on detailed specific surveys. Through doing so Geddes offered a deliberate anarchic purpose: providing the basis for total reconstruction of social and political life (Hall 1988; Meller 1990; Mumford 1995). His anarchist urbanism was deeply influenced by anarchist-geographer Peter Kropotkin's idea of 'communism without government, the communism of the free' (Kropotkin 1990 [1906]), p. 28) as well as by French geographer Élisée Reclus's ideas of a universal geography and humankind as 'inhabitants' of earth (Reclus, Clark et al. 2013). While his ideas were highly circulated in exhibitions, lectures and publications, many of his plans were not realized. Geddes first visited Palestine in 1919 at age sixty-five. The visit, which was by invitation

to devise a plan for the Hebrew University in Jerusalem, came at a time when he was somewhat disillusioned by his efforts in the British Isles and India (Rubin 2013). His plan for Tel Aviv—what was to become his only fully realized work—was also his most ambitious plan, and it was completed five years later when he turned seventy (Geddes 1925; Meller 1990).

Anarchism and urban planning have been theorized as two perpendicular, or incongruent, processes. Modern planning, itself a direct response to the unregulated industrial city, has been framed and studied as a tool for capital accumulation and colonialism through a strong central government (Harvey 2003; King 2014). More recently, neo-liberalism and governmentality, overpassing and undercutting state governance have also been studied as planning-cum-governance (Harvey 2005; Ong 2006; Brenner, Marcuse et al. 2011). Yet, the phenomenon of unregulated urbanization by makeshift housing predates formal planning and the creation of the city de facto. While not explicitly framed as anarchist (AlSayyad and Roy 2004; Holston 2008), expressions of unregulated urbanization can be found in the auto-constructed peripheries of Cairo, Sao Paulo or Kolkata. These examples form important challenges and counterpoints when held against the market and conceptions of political citizenship. However, any relationship between anarchism and planning presents two fundamental questions: first, 'Can anarchism be planned for?' and second, 'What would an anarchist city be like?'. Responding to these questions, this chapter examines Tel Aviv's urban planning history vis-à-vis ideas and practices of anarchism in two key periods: the extreme capitalism of the 1920s and 1930s and the neo-liberal present.

This chapter contributes to the existing literature on anarchist urbanism by focusing on Geddes's less-discussed anarchic idea of a housing-based city built by its own dwellers, termed by Peter Hall as the 'city of sweat equity' (Hall 1988). Geddes agreed with Kropotkin and Mikhail Bakunin regarding individual property ownership as the essential guarantee of a free society, providing the basis for a decentralized, non-hierarchical system of governance (Proudhon 1969). His housing-based city proposed social reconstruction not by sweeping governmental measures like the abolition of private property but through the efforts of millions of individuals to build their own houses for the 'creation, city by city, region by region, of a utopia' (Geddes 1912 183). This anarchic idea, originating in Geddes's years at Edinburgh's tenements, underlies his 1925 master plan for Tel Aviv. In this way, Tel Aviv's formation vis-à-vis housing was the result of a conscious, anarchist, planning process whereby Geddes fully realized his ideas. This achievement came about not merely by challenging top-down mechanisms but by disrupting the dichotomous perspective of modern urbanism as a clash between top-down planners–ideologues and bottom-up urban citizens. For Geddes, planning was something that we all could collectively engage in.

Geddes developed his anarchist urbanism as a theory of civics in response to urban worker housing conditions in the industrial city (Geddes 1915). His work started with social reform activism in Edinburgh's Old Town tenements, where he himself lived in the 1880s. As Kropotkin wrote to Élisée Reclus in 1886: 'Geddes has now just got married, leaving his house and taking a very poor flat among the workers' (Kropotkin, in Boardman, 1978, p. 87). Geddes carried out social reconstruction using associations and guilds: the educational programme, the public open spaces committee and significantly the Housing Guild. These started 'within our limited range, with flower-boxes for dull windows and color-washing for even duller walls . . . we soon got to fuller clearings and repairings, next even to renewals, of course with thanks to growing cooperation from students and citizens, increasingly becoming good neighbors' (Geddes, quoted in Boardman, 1978, pp. 86–87). This idea, initiated in Edinburgh, was developed during Geddes's visits to India since 1914, where he produced planning reports for twenty-four different cities critiquing the colonial planning mechanism altogether: assumptions, methods, goals and know-how. Rather, Geddes suggested 'conservative surgery' based on long and patient study and replacing British top-down planning schemes with actions made by the residents themselves, primarily self-housing.

Geddes's counter-intuitive idea of planning for anarchism was not articulated for Tel Aviv but rather imbues his work, since Edinburgh's tenements further developed in his years in India (Geddes 1918). Yet, Tel Aviv is Geddes's only fully realized plan, largely, I argue, due to the anarchist practices of its urban workers who recognized the immense importance of the plan for their broader struggle over the 'production of the city' in terms of access to housing. Taking control of city government for two years (1925–1927), urban workers approved leapfrog development at the edge of the city on cheap unserviced land, reversing Tel Aviv's capitalist principle of ring development to maintain high land prices (Druyanov 1936). In their two years in government, worker leadership enabled urban workers access to housing and the city and used public funds to service these remote neighbourhoods, extending the Geddes plan layout to the edges of the city and forcing its realization in a relatively short time.

Can the city's urban fabric retain its anarchist spirit over the long term? The city of Tel Aviv is often referred to derogatively as 'the state of Tel Aviv' in public culture as well as by elected politicians and the settler elite, reflecting a sense of cultural, political and economic autonomy which questions and unsettles the values and governing mechanisms dominated by state government (Sofer and Bistanya 2006).[1] It is perhaps telling that 2011 mass social unrest in Israel, the largest since the 1970s, erupted in Tel Aviv in the context of brutal neo-liberal market in housing once provided by the state. Protest focused on popular demand for housing as a basic political right of citizenship

by forming dozens of tent camps in Tel Aviv, spreading across the country. Protesters challenged the basic terms of inclusion in the state as citizens and called for a new polity based on housing, expressed by one of the movement's symbols: an Israeli flag whose national-religious Star of David was replaced with a house, proposing the anarchist idea of self-housing. Government's failed attempt to disarm the movement was enacted by an attempt to alienate it by declaring it of the 'state of Tel Aviv' (Persico 2011; Shilo 2011). Mikhail Bakunin discusses 'The Paris Commune and the Idea of the State' in his 1871 paper as demonstrating the validity of anarchism as a struggle between the city and the state. Outlining a stateless social order that would 'affirm and reconcile the interests of individuals and society' is made possible by taking over the city (Bakunin 1971 [1871]). While Tel Aviv's anti-neo-liberal housing movement took over the city by forming an archipelago of autonomous tent camps connected to each other in a stateless a-hierarchical social order which transcended the city's urbanism, protesters resisted the anarchist label.

The reappearance of anarchist ideas and urban fabric in Tel Aviv almost 90 years after Geddes's urban planning raises several important questions: 'Is the fact that a Geddes-designed city is identified as a self-governing "state" coincidental? What urban elements breed active opposition by way of stateless social order? How can we understand "the state of Tel Aviv's" urban polity in Bakunin's terms? Moreover, what is the relationship between Tel Aviv's recurring anarchism and run-wild capitalization of dwelling?' In developing a response to these issues in this chapter, there is merit in examining anarchism vis-à-vis the dominant assumption within capitalism that every social and spatial interaction is commodified or commodifiable: an assumption shared by many of its critics (White and Williams 2012). Adopting a wide historical angle on the relations between workers and urban planning in the context of profit-driven housing development in two periods of extreme capitalism in the city of Tel Aviv, this chapter argues that anarchist urbanism is a response to intense commodification of urban dwellings.

ANARCHISM IN THE CONTEXT OF EXTREME CAPITALISM

A significant history of anarchism is defined by its responses to capitalism and by the repeated crises deriving from this 'free-market' project. In this respect, anarchism has been concerned with influencing both economic practice and the economic imagination. Of course, historical objections to intense capitalism and present objections to neo-liberalism are not necessarily anarchist in nature. For example, anarchists have developed very different political imaginations than Marxists, who have largely dominated political state-centric responses to the social consequences of capitalist accumulation

(Springer 2014a,b). In contrast, anarchists have long been committed to bottom-up, 'organic' transformations of societies, subjectivities and modes of organizing. Undercutting government, religion and other hierarchies, anarchists have not necessarily aimed to overthrow these structures but to disregard them by creating alternatives on the ground (White and Williams 2012; Springer 2013). Importantly, in this context, cutting-edge debates around emancipatory praxis are increasingly favourable towards anarchist critiques: becoming increasingly synonymous with direct action, horizontal decision-making and autonomy, and not with political parties and a 'taking-state power' mentality.

While the role and contribution of anarchism has often been framed through its competition with Marxism over the minds of the left as political theory versus ideology (McKay 2008), anarchism is arguably distinct from Marxism for its clear engagement with the *urban* aspect of industrial capitalism (Hall 1988; Merrifield 2013). The emergence of anarchist ideas in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, framed in the scholarship as direct response to the rise of industrial capitalism and the modern state (Goodway 2013), was perhaps even more so a response to concrete spatial realities of the industrial city (Geddes 1912; Geddes 1915).

Discussing the production of the city, Marxist sociologist Henri Lefebvre does not theorize the 'right to the city' in terms of any articulation of social relation other than class conflict itself. Lefebvre and De Certeau, as well as Crawford, have identified this conflict over the city as one waged between those who are space-haves and those who are space-less (De Certeau 1988; Lefebvre 1991; Crawford 1999). Moreover, the left in its Marxist iteration has arguably been suspicious of citizenship and 'rights' (of 'the egoistic rights of Man', as Marx put it) (Holston 2015 [at press]). Comparatively, this dichotomy has been framed by anarchists like Murray Bookchin (1995) and Hakim Bey (1985) as based on the distinction between citizen and nomad. Bookchin discusses the citizen as political subject, a figure whose political agency is enacted by belonging in concrete space and whose capacity for social change is based on the practice of 'libertarian municipalism'. Bookchin places the citizen in contrast with the space-less nomad discussed by Bey, whose activity is purposely blurred and transitory, limited to temporary autonomous zones (Bey 1985; Bookchin 1995). The idea of the citizen brings in a discussion of rights to space in a contractual sense, as a kind of social relation that distributes powers and liabilities between people, which in writers of the Marxist left, most notably Lefebvre, its conceptualization seems free-floating and devoid of such spatial relationality (Holston 2015 [at press]). Anarchist conceptions of citizenship are distinct from statist ones for involving ideas of belonging to a collective defined by distinct place and society (rather than to sovereign associations). Geddes in particular discussed civics as an idea bridging culture,

environment and society, oriented towards social action (Geddes 1915; Law 2005). Approaches to citizenship and place can therefore be argued as another key distinction separating anarchism from Marxism.

Surplus produced by the industrial city, wrote Geddes, merely produced degraded material luxuries for the few, amidst the physical deterioration of the many 'paleotechnic working-towns with their ominous contrasts of inferior conditions for the labouring majority, with comfort and luxury too uninspiring at best, for the few' (Geddes 1915, p. 389). His first attempt with urban reform, which informed the thinking of Kropotkin and Reclus, involved taking an apartment in Edinburgh's Old Town tenements in the 1880s and acting with the working poor by employing small-scale urban design improvements like flower beds, collective care of children and self-management of the tenement by organized rent collection (Boardman 1978). Geddes made many town planning proposals to amend the inferior and life-threatening dwelling conditions of urban workers, which he deemed a civic issue (Geddes 1925). His plans for towns in Scotland, Ireland and India referred explicitly to profit-driven capitalization in worker housing as the main object of his planning effort and proposed means for urban workers to produce good-quality housing for themselves (Geddes 1912; Tyrwhitt and Geddes 1947).

Extreme capitalist speculation in land and housing at the expense of urban workers is the context of Geddes's 1925 master plan for Tel Aviv, framing his survey report and plan. Indeed, Geddes dedicates twelve pages in his report to this phenomenon, which was rampant in the city in the 1920s. To counter this, Geddes proposed a principle for housing and urban block, which he termed the 'home block', that would allow urban workers to reach homeownership and a place in the city while evading the consequences of capitalist land speculation.

ANARCHISM AND CITY PLANNING

Anarchism has deep roots in the disciplines of city planning and geography, as some of its foremost theorists, such as Peter Kropotkin and Élissé Reclus, were geographers and planners (Hall 1988; Springer 2013). While the anarchist legacy of geography has been discussed extensively in recent years (Springer, Ince et al. 2012; White and Williams 2012; Springer 2013),[2] anarchism's influential role in shaping the discipline of city planning, despite being a relevant topic of inquiry in the past (Horner 1978; Hall and Ward 1998; Friedmann 2003; March 2004), is yet to enjoy such visibility within contemporary discourse. Geddes is a key figure in the intellectual space between city planning and anarchism. For too long regarded as lone 'visionary', Geddes should be better understood as being part of the pre-1914

mainstream of European Utopian thought, a 'larger modernism' extending cultural and intellectual developments far beyond the national purview of the British Isles in hope of a 'new age' of a world society (Welter and Lawson 2000; Law 2005). The emergence of the discipline of town planning from the related disciplines of geography, biology and sociology and from social reform circles involved ideas concerning urban inequality in the industrial city far beyond class struggle, to include worker self-management, mutual aid, freedom and decentralization, influenced by the figure of Geddes and his community-based small-scale interventions in worker environments (Meller 1990). Geddes explicitly identified his disciplinary purpose as guiding a new way of thinking about the world as a space that is able to foster transgression (Meller 1973; Boardman 1978).

Anarchist urban planning disrupts the dichotomy taken for granted by modern urban planners, as illustrated by the Houssmanian, City Beautiful and later Radiant City—namely that the planned city is produced by professional experts and governing institutions, while the unplanned city is produced by poor dwellers in response to industrialization and urban migration. This dichotomy dominates much of the scholarship on modern urbanization and particularly the creation of new cities, 'spontaneous' or planned. Influenced by Michael Foucault and Henri Lefebvre, geographer David Harvey and anthropologist Paul Rabinow studied French modern planning in both metropol and colonies as top-down overarching schemes enforced in the service of capital accumulation and governance of subjects (Foucault, Burchell et al. 1991; Lefebvre 1991; Rabinow 1995; Harvey 2003). At the same time, Lefebvre's and Foucault's theoretical frameworks also shape the study of unplanned urban peripheries, produced by mass urban migration. Urban scholars Ananya Roy and Nezar AlSayyad and anthropologist James Holston have studied urban peripheries produced by the agglomeration of makeshift housing as significant sites of vibrant economy and urban citizenship, in resistance to urban mechanisms of planning which exclude them from formal economy and citizenship (AlSayyad and Roy 2004; Holston 2008). These works, nonetheless, do not escape the dichotomist perspective of modern urbanism as a clash between top-down planners–ideologues and bottom-up urban citizens (De Certeau 1988).

'The method followed by the anarchist . . . is entirely different from that followed by the utopist', wrote Kropotkin in 1887 (Kropotkin in Cleaver 1993, p. 5), identifying one of the most important implications of anarchism as forming visions grounded in praxis by building concrete topoi for social reconstruction. Geddes was deeply influenced by Kropotkin's idea of communism without government, spatially located in the Medieval city and its guild system, able to escape monarchic and theocratic domination, a free state based on a union of districts, parishes and guilds (Kropotkin 1990

[1906]), p. 28; (Kropotkin and Woodcock 1987 [1896]). Geddes resisted the idea that new cities form due to the powerful actions of statesmen, capitalists and planners (Hall 1988; Rubin 2009), self-distinguishing from conceptions of modern planning by insisting that 'urban Planning cannot be made from above using general principles . . . studied in one place and imitated elsewhere. City planning is the development of a local way of life, regional character, civic spirit, unique personality . . . based on its own foundations' (Geddes 1915, p. 205).

Geddes's deliberate anarchic quality of the regional survey with its emphasis on traditional occupations and historical links was a conscious celebration of European culture, bearing a radical purpose: to provide the basis for total reconstruction of social and political life (Weaver 1984, p. 47). These ideas were influenced by French geographers Reclus and de la Blanch and by sociologist Le Play, whom he encountered in 1878 during the Paris Exhibition (Meller 1990, 1995). Meller shows that Geddes based his famous valley section on the ideas of Reclus, into which he incorporated Le Play's trinity of *Lieu, Travail, Famille* (Meller 1990; Law 2005) and in direct intellectual communication with Kropotkin and Reclus. Geddes's ideas of regional planning spread as far as America and influenced the formation of regional cities like Sunnyside Gardens and Radburn by 'a group of insurgents', as Mumford (1925, p. 129) called them, and influenced the lifetime careers of well-known successors and torchbearers Mumford and Abercrombie (Mumford 1925; Hall 1988; Welter and Lawson 2000).

CITY OF SWEAT EQUITY

Yet Geddes's anarchist urbanism goes *beyond* this well-known discussion of regional planning to include his less-discussed anarchic idea of a city built by its own dwellers based on housing, framed by Hall as the 'city of sweat equity'. While social reform activists and planners proposed housing solutions for and on behalf of the poor via top-down schemes, Geddes's approach to urban housing involved 'contributing to planning theory the idea that men and women could make their own cities' and the idea of the role of planning in leading a civic reconstitution of society and cities (Hall 1988, p. 263). Moreover, Geddes's urban planning did not involve proclamations or overt anti-institutional agenda (he did work for the colonial British Empire), but, rather, he proposed an anarchist strategy for planning, whose decisive element, I would like to argue, is worker housing.[3] This less-discussed idea, central in Geddes's vision, involves his thinking of housing as the building block for cities—in fact in seeing housing and urbanism as one single problem. Geddes's idea that cities should be built and governed by their poor

dwellers—and that there *can and should be planning* for this purpose—was far more anarchistic than his idea of the city in the region. This revolutionary and anarchic idea underlies his 1925 master plan for Tel Aviv.

For Geddes, 'Worker and woman unite to form the elementary human family, and from them, not only by bodily descent, but social descent, from their everyday life and labour, there develops the whole fabric of institutions and ideas, temporal and spiritual' (Geddes 1896, quoted in Law 2005). Worker housing was imbued with Le Play's trinity, stressing the family as the basic social unit of its environment: 'The natural eugenic center is in every home . . . these make the village, the town, the city small or great (Geddes in Defries 1927, p. 218) . . . unite theses grouped homes into renewed and socialized quarters . . . and you have a better nation, a better world' (ibid., p. 230). For Geddes, it was not the 'degenerate' individual who was the source of social pathologies but the 'appalling material conditions of slum-culture in paleotechnic cities', writes Law (Law 2005). Welter argues that 'civics is Geddes's contribution to the contemporary late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century debate about citizenship' (Welter and Whyte 2003, p. 49). Society, in its most concentrated formation, the city, is where Geddes wished to apply his ideas of civics (Welter 2009). If an urban plan is an expression of ideas of urban civics, realization of this plan is to embed ideas of civics into the culture of the city. While these ideas are echoed in Colin Ward's *Housing: An Anarchist Approach* and John Turner's *Housing by People*, these important works differ significantly from Geddes, whose work attempted the seemingly impossible task of urban planning for anarchism (Turner 1976; Ward 1976).

TEL AVIV: GEDDES'S 1925 MASTER PLAN AND ITS REALIZATION BY URBAN WORKERS

With the notable exception of his followers, Geddes's ideas are largely discussed as having been never realized. Such a conclusion wilfully ignores his 1925 plan for Tel Aviv, self-proclaimed to be his most ambitious plan (Hall 1988; Weill-Rochant 2003). This is perhaps due to historiography of Tel Aviv which argues that the plan was executed in layout alone since its 'home-block' dwellings were rejected by city and urban dwellers alike. Historians thereby argue that Geddes's plan was based on a poor survey, and that it does not represent his planning ideas (Kallus 1997; Weill-Rochant 2008). Nonetheless, data I found in the archives and the built environment proves that (i) the plan was in fact realized in full by the mid-1930s and (ii) the anarchist element in the plan were explicit, enabling the very realization of the plan by the city's disenfranchised worker community. These findings indicate that Tel Aviv's formation via housing was the result of a conscious anarchist planning

process where Geddes was finally able to fully realize his ideas of planning for anarchism, disrupting the dichotomous perspective of modern urbanism as a clash between government and citizens (Turner 1976; Holston 2008).

Tel Aviv was in 1925 at a major crossroad: its population quadrupled in four years following the transition from Ottoman to British rule and the beginning of ethnic-national clashes in Palestine in the 1920s, which generated mass urban migration and the formation of tenements and substandard housing (Marom 2009). These changes transformed the town from a home-owner community to a crowded agglomeration of neighbourhoods with no clear structure, full of shacks and tents housing the urban poor, bearing consequences for municipal politics (Geddes 1925; Biger and Shavit 2001).

Geddes spent two months surveying the city and region and produced a sixty-four-page town planning report and a plan for Tel Aviv as a city for 100,000 inhabitants. Geddes's survey focuses on Tel Aviv's contemporary housing condition, identifying housing as the driving force in the town's urbanization and very formation as a homebuilding association in 1909. He defined his plan's primary aim as 'continuing the Garden Village Tel Aviv began with, and bettering this as far as may be' (Geddes 1925, p. 15). Geddes analysed the town's condition at a crossroad between two housing types: one, continuing the process of transforming Tel Aviv into a city of tenements—or 'human warehouses'—and, the other, returning to its original principles of garden village based on 'detached cottages with small gardens'. Geddes presented this crossroad in his report by analysing two nearby housing forms in the Shapira alley: detached cottages with small gardens and a nearby 'warehousing tenement block'. These two housing types, writes Geddes (Geddes 1925, p. 13), 'represent the essential contradiction between the two types of planning'.

Geddes' plan for Tel Aviv is based on self-managing 'home block' urban units: urban blocks were composed of two rings of detached houses, at the inner circumference and outer circumference of the block. Each block included a small public park with communal facilities such as playgrounds and tennis courts. The home block was surrounded with 'mainways' for through traffic and serviced by narrow 'homeways' and pedestrian ways leading to the inner block yet not traversing it (Geddes 1925; Kallus 1997; Weill-Rochant 2008). In Geddes's report, each housing plot was 560 square metres with the construction area limited to one-third of hat area and the building height limited to 9 metres, to contain a single, semi-detached house with no more than two residential units, leaving much of the plot available for subsistence farming. Tel Aviv's building block, the house, was embedded within Geddes's 'home block' within a large-scale urban scheme. The plan included different-sized home-block units tied to one urban system via a non-orthogonal grid system of North-South and East-West mainways, identified

by scholars as 'biological' design as it created a street hierarchy that differentiated between quite residential streets and major throughways (Welter and Whyte 2003; Welter 2009; Alon-Mozes 2011).

'Scientific publications on the history of the city, dealing primarily with the topic of the garden-city, discuss the inadequacy of [the home-block] model . . . made obsolete the development plan drawn up in 1925 by Geddes,' writes Weill-Rochant (Weill-Rochant 2003, p. 153). Scholars argue that the home block was realized in layout alone, while house units were built in the 1930s by Bauhaus-educated architects as three-floor apartment houses, what Geddes defined as 'warehousing'. Claiming that Tel Avivians rejected the home-block housing type, these scholars are effectively claiming that Geddes's anarchist planning-as-housing design was not executed other than as a top-down modern planning scheme, which was later filled in with housing (Kallus 1997; Weill-Rochant 2009). Yet, this is the very opposite of his intentional planning for anarchism.

Examining the historical development of the Geddes area closely, my detailed study of planning documents archived at the city's technical archive and of few home-block houses remaining in the urban fabric, nonetheless, shows that urban workers materialized Geddes's housing scheme in full (Allweil 2016). Moreover, my findings indicate that home-block housing was formed before the Geddes layout was paved to reach them, forcing the city to extend Geddes's layout and materializing his full urban vision in a relatively short period by reversing the town's previous for-profit concentric development (Biger and Shavit 2001; Marom 2009). How did this happen?

URBAN WORKERS AND ANARCHIST REALIZATION OF GEDDES'S MASTER PLAN

Geddes's recommendations were adapted in 1926 into planning documents by the municipal technical department. The plan, containing a coloured map and written by-laws, drafted in accordance with the British 'Town Planning Order' was approved as legal document by the planning board of the Mandatory Authority in 1927 (Weill-Rochant 2008).

The plan's design and approval occurred at a period of great conflict between workers and capitalists in Tel Aviv, at the backdrop of grave housing conditions. Rental costs ranged from 40 to 50 percent of a worker's average wage in the late 1920s (Lavon 1974). Workers responded by unionizing into cooperatives in order to obtain loans for land purchase and construction, cooperatives similar to Tel Aviv's original homebuilders' association model (Geddes 1925; Druyanov 1936; Lavon 1974). Geddes's home block was a perfect match for urban workers: Restrictions on housing size and height

made auto-construction a realistic possibility, and construction limit to one-third of the plot met workers' need to maintain small subsistence farms and support them at times of unemployment.[4]

The worker party took power of Tel Aviv's municipal government between 1925 and 1927 at the crucial moment of British Mandate approval of Geddes's plan. Worker leadership realized the immense consequences of the plan for their struggle over access to housing and the city. The brief two-year tenure of the worker party at this strategic moment was enough to transform the city's developmental model. Long controlled by capitalists, Tel Aviv's development was based on land speculation, controlled by careful municipal development of roads to maintain high land costs (Druyanov 1936; Katz 1994). Urban workers could only afford cheap unserviced land at the edge of the Geddes plan area, far from the city centre. Approving leapfrog development, the worker-led urban government permitted development of small self-built home blocks at the edge of the plan area before other urban infrastructure arrived, such as development of roads, electricity, water and sewage, which kept land prices low. Following construction of worker housing, the working-class government used public funds to service these remote worker neighbourhoods with roads and public services, thereby creating the Geddes plan layout in a 'housing before street' framework (Druyanov 1936).[5] Housing construction at the edges of the plan was therefore the decisive act in forming the infrastructure and layout of the Geddes plan in a relatively short time.

By 1937, there were 16 worker neighbourhoods in the Geddes plan area, marking the entire area a 'worker's quarter'. Some of the original buildings still exist, standing as testament to the existence of a workers' neighbourhood with subsistence farms in what is now at the heart of the city. Examples include Workers' Neighbourhood A formed between 1930 and 1931 by the collective purchase of a cheap three-hectare plot at the northern tip of the Geddes plan area, by the ternary and sewage-contaminated sea, unserviced and far from the city centre during a period of ethno-national violence. Engineer David Tobia designed the neighbourhood layout and its 35 identical houses, each with a subsistence farm on 0.05 hectare plots. Houses included two rooms, a porch, a kitchen and a bathroom.[6] Poorer workers of the Camel Leaders Neighbourhood first built wooden shacks for themselves and only in the late 1930s gradually began issuing building permits for the construction of small permanent houses. The residents themselves using scrap metal rather than construction-quality materials built all structures. Consequently, the technical department banned construction of more than one floor in this neighbourhood.[7] While meagre, the houses enabled dwellers of the city's shack neighbourhoods to gain access to proper permanent housing and subsistence farms and transformed workers into homeowners

and therefore proper citizens of the city, as discussed by Holson for Brazil (Holston 2008).

Realization of the Geddes plan in Tel Aviv was significantly the result of 'sweat equity' actions of its working class, self-constructing the home block and thereby extending the plan layout throughout the planed area, bypassing the expensive city centre to gain access to urban dwellings by forming a network of cooperative worker neighbourhoods. This process marks Tel Aviv as the only city in the world that was planned for through anarchist urbanism and executed by means of anarchist self-governance by disenfranchised urban workers under conditions of intense commodification of urban land and housing.

TENT CAMP ANARCHIST ARCHIPELAGO

Tel Aviv has recently sparked large-scale popular protest of the intensifying neo-liberal conditions that exclude most Israelis from access to housing and the city, conditions quite similar to that experienced by Tel Aviv's urban workers in the 1920s. On July 14, 2011, six months after the first mass demonstration of Egyptians in Tahrir Square, Israeli protesters (representing a broad social spectrum) poured into the streets of Tel Aviv. These protesters echoed the Egyptian protests to identify Israel as a quasi-democracy, explicitly associating with Arab Spring demands for popular sovereignty of the nation state (Gurevitz 2012). Protesters were calling for a 'revolution' in terms of how the state of Israel is governed and managed: 'Governments can be replaced—citizens cannot' and 'When the government is against the people—the people are against the government'.[8]

The 2011 eruption of mass social unrest started with a dwelling act: the creation of dozens of tents in the city, soon spreading to camps all over the country. Forming alternative urbanism through tent camps, citizens were sharing the everyday bodily experience of dwelling in Israel today: the Israeli real estate market saw a steep hike in housing prices since 2006, making access to housing for all Israelis deeply dependent on very high mortgages and rent rates for relatively poor-quality dwellings. While different classes of people define 'proper dwelling' differently and suffer the indignities and absurdities of dwelling spaces in their own ways, discontent over access to proper dwellings is strongly shared. Each Israeli resident faces deep enslavement to their limited dwelling options: the neo-liberalization of Israel's housing market since the 1990s has transformed dwelling from a citizenry right to a means of production for developers and the state itself holding 94 percent of the land (Holzman-Gazit 2007). Dwelling options for citizens have come to include enslaving oneself to high thirty-year mortgages, paying up to

50 percent of one's income for housing costs, offsetting high costs with long commutes, or dwelling in very poor conditions. All but the wealthiest are squeezed by the cost of everyday reality of their dwellings. All pay a price for the right to dwell in Israel. Using humour, protesters expressed their shared hopelessness of ever living in proper dwellings by using the children's alphabet song: 'A for Aohel (tent), B for Bait (house)'—using the banner 'B is for Aohel' (tent) to declare the sense of their inability to ever advance beyond very basic dwelling. Michael Walzer identified the Israeli movement as 'the first uprising, anywhere in the world, against a successful neoliberal regime', identifying 'what started as a demand for affordable housing has turned into something much bigger' (Walzer 2011, p. 1), namely a struggle for civics and change in governance.

To protest their inability to afford the increasingly high cost of dwelling, in Tel Aviv as well as across the country, protesters organized an event via Facebook and set up tents on Rothschild Boulevard—the most expensive boulevard in Tel Aviv for residential, office and dining space—claiming that housing was 'a right rather than a commodity'.[9] Announced via Facebook, the first tent was rapidly joined by dozens, followed by hundreds of additional tents in Tel Aviv and across the country, forming a built environment no one could disregard. Eventually, the Rothschild tent camp expanded to become an 'urban' grid of four parallel 'streets', including public spaces and other amenities. Across the city and all over the country, citizens set up similar camps in central public squares, parks and boulevards. After two weeks, there were twenty-six tent camps in all, occupied by urbanites and suburbanites, the middle class and the very poor, renters and homeowners, and Jews and Arabs.[10] By September 2011, sixty-six camps had formed across the country, supported by five encampments of Israelis living abroad in London, Berlin and the United States.[11]

Have the anarchist elements in Geddes's 1925 plan and the largely forgotten anarchist legacy of the city's urban workers been maintained in its urban fabric and urban culture, affecting its role in the protest movement? The 2011 movement distinguishes from prior social protest movements for demanding dismantling of Israel's hierarchical system of differentiated citizenship, while previous protests by marginalized publics merely asked for alterations to the hierarchical order of privilege. This demand expressed itself in the movement's space of political action, tent camps in urban public spaces, producing an equalizing space of basic shelter and horizontal solidarity among camp residents and among camps of varied and alienated social groups. The movement produced a built environment composing an archipelago of 'regional' self-managing tent camps, characteristic of the neighbourhoods and towns they were part of in population, political activism and hours of operation. For example, the Tel Aviv Nordau Boulevard Camp hosted nightly teach-ins by professors and public figures, while the Arab Jaffa and right-wing Tikva

camps organized mutual visits and joint Arab-Jewish protest marches. Rules drafted by the predominantly Muslim Jaffa camp forbade the presence of alcohol and dogs and overnight stay of men, while Rothschild Boulevard camp rules focused on regulating and enabling public debate and territorial decisions like setting 'plots' for communal facilities like toilets, kitchen, clinic and 'public square' invoking Kibbutz socialist built environment.

These tent camps, I suggest, are emancipatory spatial units resonating with the 'home-block' spatial unit in Geddes's 1925 anarchist master plan, designed as semi-autonomous urban units unique in size, location, public space and civics, yet connected to all other home blocks in the city. In the context of Tel Aviv's extreme capitalism of the 1920s and neo-liberalism of the present moment, as the city is produced by and for the very rich, the deeply horizontal idea of civics informing Geddes's design recurred in the city's urban dwellers' activism through a tent camp archipelago of alternative urbanism.

Like urban workers of the 1920s, 2011 protesters identified themselves as the true urban citizenry—the key stakeholders in Tel Aviv's urbanism rather than passive residents and revenue producers for capitalists. This urban culture, identifying financial inability to reside in the city as renters or owners irrelevant to one's right to the city, has maintained among Tel Avivians. Compared to the 1920s, when the nation was not yet consolidated into a nation state, the 2011 iteration of this civic culture applied itself to city and nation, demanding its right to both. Sparked in Tel Aviv, the movement spread the city's civic culture across the country, encouraging Israelis of other towns to claim their rights to city and nation by demanding the right to dwelling. Such action extended the archipelago of tent camp emancipatory spatial units of non-hierarchical, regional communities of citizens beyond the city to the entire nation.

Unlike the ubiquitous model of the Paris Commune as 'the' model for urban citizenry rebellion and self-governance, the Tel Aviv tent camp archipelago did not barricade itself in the city nor attempted 'taking over the city' in such a way. Rather, the network of tent camps claimed the city by forming an alternative urbanism within the city's very fabric, forming a network of self-managing, fully autonomous and locally situated camp communes. Camps connected with each other via mutual visits and the protest marches through the city, as well as via an open-code website mapping connecting the camps (Ram and Filk 2013).

NEO-ANARCHISM VIS-À-VIS NEO-LIBERALISM: THE IDEA OF CIVICS

As anarchism has been used negatively as flint to spark images of unorganized chaos and destructive protests (Thompson 2010), the Israeli protest

movement of 2011 overtly rejected anarchism as label. Rather, protesters insisted on themselves as law-abiding citizens interested in dialogue with the state as equal partners in governance. The movement nonetheless insisted on the very values that anarchism seeks to promote, namely anti-oppression, anti-authoritarianism, direct and participatory democracy and emphasis on relations. In particular, it made these demands by reintroducing them into the public sphere. While not calling for a classless society per se, the movement called out Israeli society as based on oppressive social structures—identified by protesters as deeply spatial, based on access to the concrete material space of urban housing. While not necessarily demanding equal substantive distribution of housing as goods, the movement identified access to homes as a value each citizen is entitled to (Allweil 2013; Marom 2013).

The tent camp archipelago of the 2011 movement aligned with libertarian practices and principles as horizontality, self-management and decentralization, which are not necessarily connected to the anarchist tradition in a strict sense. These libertarian principles have been related to principles of self-reliance and privatization of one's responsibility for oneself, harbouring citizens' decade-long consent to neo-liberalism and marking these practices as the brainchildren of neo-liberal state of mind just as much as of anarchism. Self-governing is central to neo-liberal rule, while also a central trope in contemporary anarchist and autonomist social movements. This seemingly congruent character between anarchism and neo-liberalism revolving around self-governance has made the 2011 movement's actions, practices and rhetoric quite difficult to articulate, for activists and scholars alike (Ram and Filk 2013). Scholars drawing on Foucault's work on governmentality have analysed the ways in which individuals are called upon to work on themselves in order to constitute themselves as 'free' subjects (Foucault, Burchell et al. 1991; Barry, Osborne et al. 1996). Nonetheless, the very agenda of the 2011 movement was revoking neo-liberalism's demand for individual responsibility for oneself, calling for and enacting collective responsibility for civics and governance revolving urban housing.

Colin Ward defined anarchist society as a society which organizes itself without hierarchy (Ward 2004). I read the 2011 protest movement as anarchist in both practice and discourse for its emphasis on relational, nested and place-based dynamics, which push the boundaries of and critiques of key taken-for-granted concepts such as territory (Ince 2012), state and nationalism (Butler 2012a; Butler 2012b), hierarchy (Springer 2014) and space (Rouhani 2012). While protesters were careful not to identify with anarchism and attempted to disassociate themselves from the sabotage and clashes with police that are common in the global anti-neo-liberal movement, they were even more cautious when it came to Marxist calls to take state power (Marom 2013; Ram and Filk 2013). Insisting on the movement's civic and apolitical character,

protesters expressed deeply non-hierarchical sentiments of solidarity and self-governance. The anarchist elements I identify in the 2011 movement therefore include its rejection of taking-state power, archipelago structure and deep spatial engagement with the city as discussed above (Merrifield 2013).

My study points to an important distinction between neo-liberalism and neo-anarchism expressed in the spatial unit used as locus for self-governance: rather than the self tent, the movement was enacted via the camp as agglomeration of individual tents based on mutually agreed-upon civics defining the camp as community and spaces of protest within the network of protest camps in the city. The emancipatory object of anarchist praxis in Tel Aviv's tent camp archipelago is not the autonomous self/tent, but rather agglomerations of selves and individual tents into an emancipatory self-governing civic archipelago as an alternative to the neo-liberal city. I therefore argue that the bordering and territorialization entailed in creating autonomous spaces (Ince 2012) are, for anarchism, very different from that of neo-liberal governmentality.

CONCLUSIONS

Geddes's planning for anarchism, seemingly a contradiction in terms, has produced a fascinating city and urban culture. Anarchist urban planning, attempted by Geddes throughout his career with little resonance, has met the right civil partners in Tel Aviv's 1920s worker community, which searched for ways to circumvent capitalist speculation in land and housing and become urban citizens. Urban workers acknowledged the consequences of Geddes's plan for their access to housing and urban citizenship and realized it against the interests of urban capital, producing a-hierarchical archipelago of urban neighbourhoods tied together to form a city of distinct urban culture. Assumed to have been unrealized by urban historians, the anarchist planning legacy of Tel Aviv has been largely forgotten. Yet, as I show here, its urban fabric and civic culture have been maintained in the city's built environment and emerged again in the neo-liberal present, particularly in the face of concrete processes that are once again excluding urban dwellers from housing and the city. Producing an alternative urban fabric composed of a camp archipelago, the protests of 2011 created a regional, non-hierarchical 'urban' fabric of autonomous camps that replicated Geddes's home-block urban units. The result was a rematerialization of their demand to city through anarchistic means. This dweller-produced urbanism was imbued with both the ethics and spatiality of Geddes's anarchist plan for Tel Aviv, whose realization depended on the actions of residents, spreading 'the state of Tel Aviv' anarchist urban culture and non-hierarchical urbanism across the country.

NOTES

1. See also Hebrew Wikipedia entry titled 'The State of Tel Aviv': http://he.wikipedia.org/wiki/%D7%9E%D7%93%D7%99%D7%A0%D7%AA_%D7%AA%D7%9C_%D7%90%D7%91%D7%99%D7%91. Last Accessed March 20, 2015.

2. See also 'Anarchist Geographies', a special issue of Antipode dedicated to anarchism. *Antipode*, 44(5)—Anarchist Geographies.

3. Geddes has been critiqued from a postcolonial perspective for working within the imperial context: Rubin, N. H. (2013). *Patrick Geddes and Town Planning: A Critical View*. London: Routledge.

4. Tel Aviv Municipal Archive: Workers' Neighborhood A file; Camel Leaders' Neighborhood file; Neighbors' Neighborhood B file.

5. Tel Aviv yearbook, 1926, 1927, 1928, Tel Aviv Municipal Archive. Alter Druyanov, *The Book of Tel Aviv* (Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv Book Committee, 1936).

6. Tel Aviv Municipal Archive: Workers' Neighborhood A file, Ben Gurion 26 house file.

7. Tel Aviv Municipal Archive: Camel Leaders' Neighborhood file, Yeshayau 36 house file.

8. Mass demonstration, Tel Aviv, July 30, 2011.

9. Harel, Yarden. Nana 10, July 18, 2011 [Hebrew].

10. Channel 2 News, 'Special: Map of Protest Camps across the Country,' July 28, 2011. [Hebrew].

11. 1-Ha'am, 'The Housing Protest—Camp Map' (2011). [Hebrew]. '1-Ha'am' alludes to Ahad Ha'am, literally 'one of the people', the pen name of Asher Zvi Ginsberg, one of the foremost pre-state Zionist thinkers.

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Chapter 3

Contesting Imperial Geography

Reading Élisée Reclus in 1930s' Hokkaido[1]

Nadine Willems

In January 1933, the eighth issue of a mimeographed handwritten poetry magazine called *Hokui gojūdo*, or 'Fifty Degrees North Latitude', appeared near Kushiro, a port city located in the far eastern part of the Japanese island of Hokkaido. The first poem, 'Yoru' (Evening), by Watanabe Shigeru (1933: 3), includes the following lines:

> The clock sharply strikes two,
> Its echo softly fades
> The open volume of Élisée Reclus's *Man and the Earth* tells of the origins of humanity,
> But just now I can't concentrate,
> My sick father sleeps, gasping for breath,
> His brow dripping with his final perspiration.

The reference to Élisée Reclus (1830–1905) is intriguing. Though he shaped his discipline during the second half of the nineteenth century, by 1933 he had been dead for more than twenty-five years and was almost forgotten in official geographical circles. How did his name reach a group of poets scraping a living in a remote and unforgiving part of East Asia at a time of rising international tensions in the region? Why would an anti-conformist French geographer fire the imaginations of struggling settlers in a territory primarily dedicated to modern farming techniques and support for the central government's expansionist policy? What is the specific power of a text such as *L'homme et la terre* (Man and the Earth) that gives it multiple meanings at both the local and global levels?

The present chapter examines the intricate web of transnational connections that fuelled interest in the works of French anarchist and geographer

Élisée Reclus in pre-war Japan. It is primarily a historical investigation, as it traces the routes of knowledge exchange among radical intellectuals and how they extended all the way to East Asia during a certain period. But it is also a consideration of contested geographies. It explores the everyday resistance that unfolded in Japan's northern frontier in the context of the modernizing colonial project engineered by the country's central administration after the Meiji Restoration of 1868. In this chapter, I intend to show that the diffusion of Reclusian ideas through non-state and non-institutional channels of communication inspired the making of a space and related living practices that opposed the dominant geography of the times, one premised on the subjugation of nature and expansion of state control.

The inherent universalism and global ambitions of anarchism are well acknowledged. At its core is a preoccupation with all forms of injustice and exploitation and a linkage of common class interests worldwide, regardless of borders, culture, race and sex (Schmidt and van der Walt 2009; see also Marshall 2008; Woodcock 2004). These global aspirations have reflected themselves in multiple transnational contacts, and also supply the basis for a comprehensive critique of militarism and imperialism. For a long time, however, scholarship on anarchism centred on the various institutions and organizations established to foster labour and socialist internationalism. As David Berry and Constance Bantman point out, only recently have scholars recognized the necessity to address the significance of individual and network-based activism (Berry and Bantman 2010; Bantman 2013).

From a historian's perspective, attention to the personal bonds that define and shape the anarchist experience is essential for its understanding. Often, these bonds only become salient through the investigation of clandestinely published material, archived private correspondence and rediscovered texts, journals and pamphlets. This methodology underscores that, among other things, the feasibility of anarchism as a political process relies as much on the efficacy of these webs of informal exchange as on the ideas that sustain them. Benedict Anderson's engagement in *The Three Flags* with the life and writings of late nineteenth-century Filipino intellectuals exemplifies this approach. His study helps reveal the gravitational force of anarchism on a global scale while stressing the importance of crucial personal connections in the circulation of ideas of resistance to the colonial order (Anderson 2007).[2]

Similarly, the present focus on Hokkaido's anarchist network in the 1930s traces global intellectual flows through the medium of personal relationships. As we shall see, the individuals involved expressed a real commitment to transnationalism and, as such, find a place in the broad anarchist tradition that encourages ties of solidarity among like-minded activists across national borders and racial boundaries. Likewise, Élisée Reclus's *Man and the Earth* symbolically challenged mainstream geography precisely because its diffusion

depended on non-state, non-institutional means of transmission. This kind of text must not be regarded as an import, typically from what is considered as a fully modern space—the West—to one aspiring to enlightenment—in this case, Japan in the early twentieth century. Rather, *Man and the Earth* is a perfect example of a 'travelling text' that reaches unlikely places and unexpected readers in foreign lands because it is transported through unconventional routes.[3] Unlike a book read in the official framework of university education, it does not become the object of canonical interpretation. Through the travelling process, some of its values are lost, others transformed and new ones added, but all the while such a text keeps its role as potent emblem of dissidence.

JAPAN'S ENCOUNTER WITH RECLUSIAN GEOGRAPHY

Élisée Reclus needs little introduction to present-day radical geographers. Although his work fell into partial oblivion after his death in 1905, scholarly interest re-emerged in the 1970s, and again more prominently in recent years (see Springer et al. 2012). Together with his friend Peter Kropotkin (1842–1921), Reclus stands out for the profound sense of humaneness he instilled into the discipline of geography, encouraging its emancipatory potential in the struggle against all forms of domination. What he called 'social geography' stressed the responsible and mutual interaction between human communities and their natural surroundings (Pelletier 2013). It set his thought apart from the geographical determinism typical of his era that often served to justify the ideas of racial hierarchy and geopolitical expansionism. Like his friend Kropotkin, Reclus was a proponent of the principle of mutual aid and suggested that the ties of cooperation observable in the natural world could be replicated in the social sphere (Fleming 1988; Marshall 2008). For him, mankind and the earth have a common and indivisible destiny, a notion reflected in his well-known metaphor of man as being 'the consciousness of nature' (Reclus 1905/1; Pelletier 2013).

In the early 1900, however, Japanese anarchist-leaning activists were much more familiar with Kropotkin than Reclus. This small group of opponents to the regime counted among them the first translators of the Russian's writings, and they were in constant danger of attracting the government's wrath for their activities. But in March 1913, a small event would contribute to the subsequent dissemination of Reclusian geography in Japan and beyond. In a climate of harsh repression against dissenting intellectuals, the journalist and anarchist Ishikawa Sanshirō (1876–1956) left Tokyo on a self-imposed exile to Europe, a move that sealed his role as a key node in the process of non-institutional knowledge transfer that characterizes anarchist activism.

In exile, Ishikawa stayed for several years in Belgium and France with the family of Paul Reclus (1858–1941), nephew and professional heir to Élisée, who was also in exile. The encounter between the two men laid the foundations of a lifelong friendship. It also presented Ishikawa with a great opportunity to immerse himself in Élisée's geographical writings. On his return to Japan in November 1920, he made it one of his missions to discuss and propagate Reclusian geography in his part of the world. In 1927, he settled as a part-time farmer in Chitose on the outskirts of Tokyo. From there, he organized study meetings, introduced Reclus's life and thought in his self-published monthly anarchist journal *Dinamikku*[4] and started translating *Man and the Earth*. By the summer of 1930, the Japanese translation of the first of the six volumes was in print, and its distribution would soon reach many distant corners of the archipelago.[5]

There was a natural affinity between Reclusian philosophy and Ishikawa's thought, which was based on an uncompromising rejection of human-made hierarchical conceptions in their various manifestations. Ishikawa had opposed his government at the time of the war against Russia in 1904–1905, the clearest expression to date of its imperialist ambitions. Shortly after, he had actively campaigned in favour of the victims of pollution caused by the over-exploitation of the Ashio Copper Mine northeast of Tokyo, in the context of the country's intense industrialization drive. Ishikawa also refused early on any association with political parties, as inherently tainted by the corruptive influence of power. Yet, in Reclusian geography, he found an additional source of support for his biting critique of both industrial capitalism and Marx's dialectical materialism.

For Ishikawa, Reclus's emphasis on a spatial dimension in the understanding of human developments represented a corrective to the predominantly historicist ideologies he perceived as overbearing in Japan. The French geographer related the evolution of humankind to the constant, dynamic and mutually transforming interaction with the land. As Ishikawa (1930: 2) observed in 1930 in reference to *Man and the Earth*, 'I finally grasped with a clarity that I hadn't thought possible, the kind of place I occupied in the mass of human beings floating in time and space, and I came to feel I could see all human and natural phenomena'. Ishikawa's own vision strongly condemned the notion of a 'hierarchy of time'. He considered change in terms of symbiosis and networks of alliances rather than a linear process of domination and control on the path of inevitable progress. In that sense, Reclusian geography gave symbolic credence to his long-held anarchist convictions.

Thus, the appeal of Élisée Reclus's geography lay in its strong message of human brotherhood and necessary connection to nature, which Japan had increasingly ignored in the course of its accelerated quest for modernization. As a geographical thought, it was stripped of obvious references to the radical

elements of anarchism and as such escaped the radar of official censorship. But it became the object of quiet study in a circle of political dissenters, among whom Ishikawa acted as a pivotal figure. That the loose network of 'kindred spirits' he nurtured extended to the island of Hokkaido is no coincidence, precisely because the region represented a site of meaningful resistance. As explained below, Japan's northern frontier exemplified the power of another kind of geography in fashioning and organizing an efficient colonial space, one used as the instrument of larger geopolitical ambitions.

GEOGRAPHY AS LEGIBILITY

Hardly a year after the Restoration of 1868 and concomitant birth of the Meiji state, the new government annexed the island of Ezo, soon to be renamed Hokkaido—literally 'northern sea circuit'—and made it part of Japanese sovereign territory. This formal step answered nagging security concerns related to Russia's own strategic ambitions on its eastern frontier. It was also the culmination of a long history of economic—mostly tributary—contacts with the Ainu population, the indigenous inhabitants of Ezo.[6] The annexation reflected one of the priorities of the new regime, that is, the assertion of its status as a nation state on the international stage. The plan for Hokkaido was to develop the quasi-virgin island into a vast agricultural area which would provide not only food for Japan's growing population but also an experimental terrain for scientific and rationalized, meaning Western, farming techniques. The means were clearly defined. It comprised the opening up of the land, the administrative appropriation of the territory through immigration of Japanese settlers, and the 'assimilation' of the natives. For the purpose, the Kaitakushi, an administrative body closely linked to the central government, was established in July 1869 (Godefroy 2011).

Historians of Japan have devoted a large amount of study to the transformation of Hokkaido and its changing place in the country's political agenda. It represents among other things a fascinating case study of the 'taming' of an unexploited, 'pristine' land, including its native population, and reshaping it into a new sovereign space. The appropriation of the northern frontier as a trial stage in what would become the rapidly expanding ambit of the Japanese colonial empire has attracted particular attention (see Morris-Suzuki 1994; Siddle 1996; Walker 2001). But the importance of modern geography as a tool for the conversion of Hokkaido into a strategic and productive territory deserves equal scrutiny. The injunction prescribed by the foundational Charter Oath of 1868 that 'knowledge shall be sought throughout the world so as to invigorate the foundations of imperial rule' quickly translated into the adoption of Western means of development (Walker 2004). New geographical methods, in the form

of increasingly sophisticated cartography, surveying and statistical analysis among other things, occupied a place of choice (Berque 1980).

Indeed, in the course of this vast and rapid post-1868 transformation, geography was always present, whether it served the Meiji project or was nurtured by it. Geographical discourse rationalized modernization and the colonial order. For pioneering and popular geographer Shiga Shigetaka (1863–1927), the discipline had to foster a sentiment of national pride and unity among the population. The singularity and virtues of the country's landscape that he described in his 1894 bestseller alluded to a hierarchy of nations in which Japan had a clear stake (Okada 1997; Takeuchi 2000). The Meiji regime in turn promoted the growth and specialization of the discipline. By 1909, it could dispatch a representative to the conference of the International Geodetic Association in London. But this expressed as much a symbolic assertion of Japan's rank as a first-rate nation entitled to its colonies as an eagerness to learn from new scientific knowledge in map-making (Fedman 2012).

Enlisting geographical knowledge and methods as instruments for empire building and management was not Japan's prerogative, as Gerry Kearns' study of British geographer Halford MacKinder vividly illustrates (Kearns 2010). What was distinctive, however, is the swiftness and efficiency with which the country recruited the discipline in its programme of modernization and expansionism. The process marked a near-complete severance from premodern geographical practice, mainly the production of detailed regional or local descriptions, the *fudoki* or *chishi*, which presented a less systematic but more holistic approach (Takeuchi 2000).[7] Overall, the Meiji period saw a preference for physical, over human, geography, an emphasis aimed at producing a chartable and measurable space for the creation of a modern nation (Takeuchi 2000).[8]

In that context, Hokkaido constituted an ideal testing ground. The administrative reform initiated soon after annexation proceeded to divide up the territory in manageable and homogenous units and to rename most of the island's topography, resulting in the partial obliteration of existing cultural traces (Berque 1980; Godefroy 2011). Foreign experts, most notably the agronomist Horace Capron (1804–1885) and rancher Edwin Dun (1848–1931), were called upon by the Kaitakushi to assist in a variety of fields. The two men were expected to bring to Japan's northern frontier their experience of the American mid-West and its development through farmers' settlement and 'management' of an indigenous population (Berque 1980; Godefroy 2011; Harrison 1951). In this case, besides the Ainu, this population included the island's native wolf. Deemed a threat to cattle raised in the framework of Hokkaido's new commitment to ranching, it was swiftly and entirely exterminated, under Dun's advice, in spite of centuries of traditional reverence for the animal (Walker 2005).

The reordering of the northern space also meant the expansion of rice cultivation against adverse climatic conditions and the fashioning of an urban

landscape according to neat and geometrical patterns, of which the capital, Sapporo, remains the first example (Berque 1980). The central government became increasingly concerned with the accuracy of land surveying, instructing by 1884 the inscription in land registers of 'every inch of national land' (Hanes 1997). The monotonous landscape—both rural and urban—which characterizes most of today's Hokkaido is testimony to the Meiji mindset and its reliance on new geographical techniques. It highlights the modern propensity to privilege the precise, geometric and measurable representation of space. As James Scott (1998) suggests, legibility became a central problem in statecraft, as the imposition of standardized and calculable categories rendered space more easily manageable for its administrators.

By the early 1900s, this new space called Hokkaido represented a tangible example of legibility. The clearing of land for cultivation, grazing and infrastructure development was mostly complete, and immigration had pushed total population to over 1.7 million in 1913 from about 58,000 in 1868 (Berque 1980). As for the Ainu natives, they fell victim to the rationale of the Meiji project. Historians have stressed that relations of economic dependency imposed by Japanese authority in the premodern era had already led to a significant cultural and social decline of the northern frontier's indigenous population, including those in the island of Sakhalin (Howell 1995). The annexation of 1869, however, irrevocably sealed the fate of the 17,000 Ainu who remained in the region. The Meiji administrators embarked on the implementation of a series of deculturation policies intended to eradicate Ainu traditions. The official rhetoric of 'assimilation' found justification in the ideology of Japan as a family-state with the emperor as its father-sovereign (Howell 2004). In practice, it proceeded to thoroughly negate Ainu's ethnicity, prohibiting among other things the use of their language and the conduct of traditional rituals and customs. It subjected their livelihoods to normative patterns of land cultivation that further dismantled the habitual economy of hunting, gathering and fishing, while applying a concept of private property foreign to them (Howell 2004; Mason 2012; Siddle 1996). Even though they adhered in many cases to the assimilation policy, the Ainu were 'civilized' by fiat. They also became legible within the grid of the Japanese empire.

GEOGRAPHY OF DISSENT

By the 1920s, Hokkaido's transformed landscape attested to the success of Japan's first colonial enterprise; its aim was to subdue both the natural environment and its people. Interest in the geography of Élisée Reclus advanced in this context, precisely because it offered a platform of dissent against the perceived constraints and homogenizing ambitions of modern

development. Instead, it referred to practices of everyday life and use of space that expressed disregard for the norms imposed by government planners. As a vital connection in a non-institutional, transnational network of knowledge transfer, Ishikawa Sanshirō acted as an intermediary for his anarchist friends of the northern frontier. To them, Reclus became a kind of emblem, with *Man and the Earth* providing an intellectual foundation for their actions. The individual journey of Hasegawa Kōji (1898–1975), a friend of Ishikawa, exemplifies the symbolic force of Reclusian thought in East Asia. Indeed, his acquaintance with the work of the French geographer inspired a mode of participation in the world which touched upon the crucial issues of man's relationship with nature and his fellow human beings.

The devastating Tokyo earthquake of 1923 was the catalyst for a life-changing decision by Hasegawa. The quake had entirely wiped out his cabinet-making business in the centre of the capital, motivating him to resettle in Hokkaido to start a new life as a farmer. In preparation for his new venture, on 11 October 1927, he sent a letter to Joseph Ishill, a Rumanian emigrant to New Jersey, independent publisher and one of Reclus's biographers. Hasegawa (1927: 67) had a very specific query while writing to his correspondent in English:

> In Japan, we young (converted) farmers are desiring ardently to study the teachings of Élisée Reclus. I should like to know everything about him, but I'm so sorry I can't read French. Please be so kind as to write to me about your book on E. Reclus and others (biographies, translations, studies, etc.) in English or German, if any.

Ishill belonged to the community of anarchist sympathizers, located in various corners of the world, who were keen to ensure the legacy of Élisée Reclus. Among them were Élisée's nephew, the Paris-based Paul Reclus, English social philosopher Edward Carpenter (1844–1929), German social historian Max Nettlau (1865–1944) and Chinese anarchist Li Shizeng (1881–1973). Through their multilingual work as translators, publishers and activists, and the personal connections they nurtured, they sought to keep Reclus's geographical and political thought alive. Ishill duly acknowledged reception of Hasegawa's letter. To Ishikawa, an epistolary friend he knew through Carpenter, he writes not long after: 'I am glad that my work is of significance (for those by) whom our ideals and ideas are so sincerely interpreted' (Ishill 1928: 24).

In line with Ishill's hopes, Hasegawa had in mind a specific way of life for his move to Hokkaido, one that fully recognized the bond of dependency between man and his natural surroundings and that made scholars later bestow on him the sobriquet of the 'the Henry Thoreau of Japan' (Itō et al. 2012).

Taking advantage of the land grants allocated by the government, he settled with his family in the midst of rough and virgin terrain and gradually learned to make his living from the soil. He chose a plot of land near the village of Tsurui in the Kushiro area and built a house that was surrounded by marshes and rare wild cranes. He called his abode 'Chiruwatsunai', from the Ainu name of the nearby river. Observation of the elegant birds in their natural setting formed part of his project. After a few years, Hasegawa had achieved a completely self-sustaining autonomous lifestyle for himself and his family. Unlike Thoreau, he remained there for the rest of his life (Itō 2005).

Despite physical isolation, a situation compounded by the long and harsh winters, the young settler remained in touch with a variety of people and the intellectual trends that inspired his project. An avid reader, he was already familiar with the work of William Morris (1834–1896), having written a graduation thesis about the English social activist and author.[9] The wide range of books Hasegawa accumulated in his library included works by sympathetic thinkers such as Walt Whitman (1819–1892), Ralph Waldo Emerson (1803–1882), Henry Thoreau (1817–1862) and Edward Carpenter. From Ishikawa, who was working tirelessly on the translation from the French of *Man and the Earth*, he received a dedicated copy of the first volume in the summer of 1930. Three years later, Jacques Reclus (1894–1984), Paul's son and Élisée's grandnephew, accompanied Ishikawa on a visit to Chiruwatsunai (Hasegawa 1933; Reclus J. 1933).[10] Jacques was travelling from China, where he taught French and social history, and where he also closely engaged with the local circle of anarchist activists. His meeting with Hasegawa confirms the existence in East Asia of an informal network of like-minded thinkers, for whom the figure of Élisée Reclus constituted a rallying point.[11]

Interestingly, the single bookmark inserted in the translated copy of *Man and the Earth* found in the Hasegawa archives rests on a passage relating to 'imitation and mutual aid'.[12] There, Reclus criticizes the simplistic understanding of Darwinian thought by those like Thomas Huxley who consider the process of 'struggle for life' as the single principle that governed evolution. He reminds his readers that Darwin's *Descent of Man* also stresses the existence of an animal and human social instinct for mutual aid and sympathy. He also elaborates on one aspect of cooperation, that is, the ability of living organisms to learn, whether consciously or not, from patterns of behaviour that exist within or outside their own species (Reclus 1905/1: 132). Reclus's affirmation that the life of birds has multiple lessons for humans could only stir Hasegawa's curiosity.

In the spirit of Reclusian philosophy, Hasegawa recognized man's deep indebtedness to his natural surroundings. Not only did the young farmer resolve to learn from his observation of the cranes' living habits, he was also interested in methods of cultivation and raising livestock that could be more harmoniously

integrated into the natural order. He derided the inspection of crops and livestock performed by officials of the Hokkaido Agency, the successor to the Kaitakushi, which oversaw the choice of cultures and proportion of livestock to cultivation. In his judgement, official farming rules were ill-suited to his environment, so he planned a switch to his own farming management techniques once the ten-year compulsory inspection period was over (Itō et al. 2012).[13]

As a regular contributor to Ishikawa's journal, *Dinamikku*, Hasegawa reports on crop failures due to bad weather and new developments on the farm. Over the years, however, he would reach a level of food self-sufficiency and independence from administrative meddling that ultimately became the envy of visitors during the lean years of the war (Itō et al. 2012). He also expresses his allegiance to the *nakama*, the circle of kindred spirits, to which Ishikawa devotes so much energy. He remarks that the craze for Marxism sprouts everywhere and that his friend's work is an essential bulwark, a reminder that human destiny rests on mutual cooperation (Hasegawa 1930). To Ishikawa, the house nestling in this unspoiled mountain forest represented realized utopia—what in today's parlance one could label as 'feasible anarchism'. In fact, contrary to his original plans to acquire more land over time, Hasegawa appreciated after ten years that the present arrangement was in accord not only with the natural environment but also with individual freedom. He was not prepared to compromise it (Itō et al. 2012).

Crucially, throughout the process of making Chiruwatsunai a space independent from state interference, Hasegawa stood firm against the ideological premises of his era. In the general context of entrenched beliefs in ethnic discrimination, he refused to go along with the prevalent attitude of exploiting Korean workers (Itō et al. 2012). He ensured they were paid decent wages when in his care. After Japan's annexation of Korea in 1910, many Koreans toiled in their rulers' country under exploitative conditions. Typically, they were expected to perform farming work without receiving wages, being only guaranteed nourishment for their efforts (Itō 2005). Hasegawa's honourable attitude towards Korean workers reflected the rejection of hierarchical divisions, whether based on racial or ethnic characteristics, intrinsic to anarchist thinking. Ishikawa and his friends expressed unwavering support for that stance. In the late 1920s and early 1930s, while Japan engaged even more fully with a racially defined discourse that condoned the subjugation of peoples, they belonged to a minority.

TRANSGRESSING ETHNIC BOUNDARIES

Hokkaido's status at the time as a site of encounters and dissension is best expressed by the poetry monthly *Hokui Gojūdo* (hereafter *Hokui*), from

which is extracted the text mentioned at the beginning of this chapter. The first issue of this thin and roughly made periodical came out in January 1930. Its initiator was the young proletarian poet Sarashina Genzō (1904–1985), a native of Teshikagachō, near Kushiro, and a friend of Ishikawa. After the Second World War he would become a well-known scholar of Ainu culture. Both men had participated a few years earlier in the establishment of a nationwide farmers' liberation movement, based on anarchist principles of self-management and multiple ties of cooperation.[14] *Hokui* grew in part from that experience. It saw itself as a poetic movement in its own right aimed at building a new social order predicated on mutual aid and liberation from state control (Satō 1972). Imbued with a sense of humaneness from the north, it created a link with a wider network of poets of anarchist inclination, whose awe for the natural world was often matched by a deep concern for the plight of beleaguered social classes. During its five years of existence, *Hokui* succeeded in reaching a nationwide, albeit limited, readership, thanks to the distinctiveness of the literary project and the energy of its editors (Torii 2000).

For Sarashina and his friends, *Hokui* was the occasion for a tribute to the unfamiliar wildlife and vast snowy plains of the north, but gave at the same time a voice to its farming communities. As much as Hokkaido represented a showcase for modern planning and development, cyclical and structural troubles weighed heavily on its rural population, particularly in the early 1930s. The poem mentioned at the beginning of the chapter makes clear that in those years, life for small-scale farmers was harsh, often punishing. In the poem, it is tuberculosis that is slowly killing the author's father. Heavy taxes and land fees make paying health bills difficult. The palpable sense of misery exuded by the text reflects the prevailing atmosphere of the era. The financial crisis of 1927, followed by worldwide depression after the crash of 1929, had hit the farming sector with full force. In 1931, prices of agricultural products fell into a downward spiral, while general prices kept rising. Urban workers made redundant by the crisis returned to their hometown, thus inflating the rural population. In some cases, acute poverty led farming households to sell their daughters into prostitution (Hirahara 2000). Moreover, the destruction of crops by bad weather was a constant worry during those years, while numerous disputes between tenant farmers and landowners further compounded the instability (see Hane 1982).

In this context, Reclus's geographical thought fuelled the questioning of the logic of progress that undergirded Hokkaido's transformation, and of which the negative aspects could be felt among settler families. The poets countered it with contrasting accounts of farmers stricken by indigence, confronted by uninviting weather conditions and burdened by demands made to settlers by administrative authorities. The wording of the poem 'Yoru' suggests that

Man and the Earth was familiar reading material for its author. He talks of a book that rests open for repeated consultations while the geographer's name seems to need no explanation to the poem's expected readership. Ishikawa's close ties with *Hokui'*s poets make this assumption valid. It is his translation of *Man and the Earth* that circulated among them. And their contributions to his magazine *Dinamikku* during those years attest to a constant dialogue with Ishikawa and, through him, with the transnational community that sought to perpetuate Reclusian thought.

Anyone familiar with *Man and the Earth* knows the attention and respect its author pays to the world's primitive cultures. The first volume abundantly illustrates his interest for the history and customs of different peoples over the ages, from which human collectivities of any era should derive useful lessons. Reclus based the practice of the 'moral' geography he preached on this understanding, a perspective far removed from the discourse of discrimination ingrained in state-sponsored ethnography. The way the earth's early tribes adapted to cope with their environment—from Greenland's Kalaallit people to indigenous tribes along the Orinoco River—occupies much of the book translated by Ishikawa. The 'origins of humanity' mentioned in *Hokui*'s poem give a hint about the book's content. Importantly, there is a striking correspondence between the Reclusian concern for primitive peoples and the sense of empathy for Ainu communities gradually developed by Sarashina Genzō.

Born to a family of settlers, the young poet early on intermingled with the natives, adopting not an occupier's attitude but that of an equal who favoured giving back to the Ainu population something of what had been taken from them. By the early 1930s, he was working as a schoolteacher in a *kotan*—an Ainu village—and had grown immensely fond of the natives with whom he engaged. His involvement with, and profound appreciation of, their culture and way of life paved the way for his future scholarly career. He observed and started recording their customs, even using for himself some of their traditional hunting and fishing practices—precisely those that the Meiji authorities had earlier banned for the sake of 'assimilation'. In her cultural history of Hokkaido, Michele Mason (2012) notes that an overwhelmingly large body of literature ignores the existence of the Ainu while detailing the hardships of Japanese colonists' lives. Sarashina's poetry appears as one of the few exceptions to that rule.

In 'Fubuki no kotan' (The snow-stormed village), a 1930 poem, he describes the life of these primitive dwellers of the land and the sorry fate that besets them. The tone is compassionate, but lucid at the same time. As he writes, it is not only the snow that makes up their destiny. The blood of a sacrificed bear stains the landscape red because of ingrained beliefs. Words in Ainu language punctuate the text, a choice which appears as a transgression in light of official efforts to obliterate the signs of an alien culture in

Hokkaido (Sarashina 1930). The Japanese poet would devote the rest of his life to cataloguing and analysing Ainu tales, myths, music, customs and other cultural features that make up their world. The voluminous literary production he generated over the years attests to his dedication. Watanabe Shigeru (1907–1982), his friend from the *Hokui* days, and author of the above-quoted poem, 'Yoru', co-edited some of the work.

Sarashina's resolute engagement with the Ainu population, however, soon came into conflict with the state's homogenization drive. By including Ainu words and traditions in his poems, or adopting the natives' food gathering methods, he expressed resistance to the official project of imposing order and obedience within the northern territory. Inevitably, his actions fell under the surveillance of the state's censors, which led to his dismissal from his job as a teacher in an Ainu school in 1931. As he then writes to Ishikawa, 'I have been sacked on the grounds that I am a dangerous character. I was happy that the forty yen chain tied to my neck finally came undone. But I found very hard the separation from the *kotan* children' (Sarashina 1931: 3). He also announces his plans to move north with his friend Igari Mitsunao (1898–1938) and live off land cultivation and livestock breeding. The effort involved during these years of economic crisis proved numbing. It was bringing no money and no relief, and the physical work was just exhausting. But, to him, it was the plight of those who thought alike, that of their *nakama*, the community of kindred spirits, which linked him to Ishikawa (Sarashina 1933).

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF TRANSNATIONAL CONNECTIONS

Sarashina's affinity with Ainu people was no coincidence. It clearly reflected the belief in non-hierarchy within the human realm that pervaded the anarchist network to which he belonged. In the 1890s, Bronislaw Pilsudski (1866–1918), another member of the network, had accomplished a similar ethnographic task of recording Ainu culture. His detailed work on the Ainu language, which has no written source, remains particularly well regarded in the field, recognized as instrumental for the preservation of the language even today (Majewicz 1998). A Polish subject of the Russian Empire, and the brother of Josef Pilsudski (1867–1935), who became the founder and leader of independent Poland during the interwar period, Bronislaw was sentenced to fifteen years of exile on the island of Sakhalin for his involvement in 1887 in a socialist plot to assassinate Alexander III of Russia. Given permission to study the Ainu community, he settled for a while in a village in the southern part of the island, married an Ainu woman and had children with her.

The locals treated Bronislaw like a friend, while he acted as their protector in their relations with the authorities (Majewicz 1998). By his own admission,

he found the abundance of their folklore astonishing, reporting on an extraordinary richness of songs, tales, speeches and verbal expressions (Pilsudski 1998 [1912]). His dedication to Ainu culture was a testimony to his deep belief in the equality of all men.[15] And as someone who had experienced foreign (Russian) domination over his own people, he reminds his readers of his constant endeavours 'to live and act so as not to be numbered among the hateful destroyers of individual and national rights' (Pilsudski 1998 [1912]: 9). Just before the close of the Russo-Japanese War in 1905, he was persuaded to leave Sakhalin for his own safety, travelling back to Poland, through Japan, but after a while once again forced into exile, this time in Europe. He drowned in the Seine in Paris of an apparent suicide in May 1918.

Bizarrely, the last time Pilsudski had a chance to interact with representatives of the Ainu community was at the 1910 British-Japan Exhibition in London where they travelled to be displayed as racial curios. Six years earlier, a group of Ainu had also journeyed all the way to the St. Louis World's Fair in order to appear as human exhibits. The prevailing civilizational rhetoric of the era classified them as an ethnic group that had remained low on the scale of development from barbarian to advanced and thus fit for subjugation and exhibition as zoo-like specimens. Their description as 'probably the hairiest people on the globe' gave ammunition to the perception of primitive otherness (Starr 1904).[16]

Japanese officials gladly assisted in the process of exporting the Hokkaido natives abroad for demonstration purposes. As much as 'assimilation' constituted the country's declared policy towards them, it could never be complete for fear of denying Japan's own place on the civilizational ladder that legitimized colonialism. Pilsudski's meeting with the London Ainu gave him a welcome opportunity to speak the language he had studied for so long. And as he soberly observes, his interlocutors 'were extremely pleased to find themselves treated, not as curiosities or beasts in a show, but as men' (Pilsudski 1998 [1912]: 16).

Although Sarashina Genzō and Pilsudski never met, they shared Ishikawa's friendship, confirming the function of their network as transnational and trans-generational site of knowledge exchange. Ishikawa recalls his contacts with the Polish ethnologist in Tokyo on a couple of occasions at the time of his involvement with socialist propaganda in 1905 and 1906 (Ishikawa 1978/6: 280). Their next encounter would take place in Brussels in 1914 while Ishikawa was residing with the family of Paul Reclus. The Japanese anarchist notes in his memoirs that by then Pilsudski had lost the cheerfulness he knew from Tokyo. Although he was earnestly engaged with his work on Ainu culture in European academic circles, tears would fill his eyes with nostalgia at the thought of his life in Sakhalin (Ishikawa 1978/6: 282). The Pole had by then abandoned his political activities and hence his status as a

'revolutionary' in the strict sense of the term (Ishikawa 1934). But his adherence to, and dissemination of, an attitude of empathy towards his fellow human beings was transformative in its own way.

The shared acquaintance with Paul Reclus confirms the power of the transnational links which bound these men together. As the successor to his uncle Élisée, Paul had an interest in Pilsudski's research, whose spirit was in perfect accordance with the conception of the 'moral' geography he supported. Non-hierarchical human relations remained an overriding principle of their anarchist convictions. That Ishikawa felt the need to publish in Japan an article on Pilsudski in 1934, and then again in 1938, many years after the Pole's death and at a time of rising imperialist tensions, underscores his willingness to buck the pervasive ideology of the era (Ishikawa 1934; 1978/6).

Undeniably, there was a sense of urgency in anarchist circles in the face of jingoism and aggressive expansionary strategies by the Japanese government. The translation and diffusion of Reclusian geography acted as a symbolic means to counter the trend. By the mid-1930s, Ishikawa was considering a partnership with Cultural Life Publishing, a Shanghai-based outfit specializing in the translation of foreign books. The Chinese publisher planned a translation in twenty-four volumes of *Man and the Earth*, with a first volume already at the printing stage, and had asked for Ishikawa's help to render the translation more accessible to a Chinese audience. Li Shizeng (1881–1973), a long-time acquaintance of the Reclus family, was behind the initiative. It seems, however, that the heightening of hostilities between the two countries in July 1937, namely the Marco Polo Bridge incident leading to the second Sino-Japanese War, put an end to his contribution to the Chinese edition of *Man and the Earth* (Ishikawa 1941). The law of force was by then reigning supreme, and dissenters were left with little scope for opposition.

CONCLUSION

The various figures that the present historical inquiry has extracted from near obscurity had in common a willingness to challenge state-imposed normative principles through the practices of everyday life. Their engagement with anarchism transcended a mere ideological stance as they sought to actualize their convictions in daily expressions of dissent. For Bronislaw Pilsudski, it meant espousing Ainu village life and recording its people's customs and language. Sarashina Genzō did likewise, engaging in prohibited hunting practices and rehabilitating Ainu words and idioms through poetry. Hasegawa Kōji's experience in self-sufficient farming—that is, the deliberate decision to cut off links with the state-sponsored system of production and exchange—expressed a similar form of civil disobedience.

On a basic level, these practices represented a refusal to fit in with the scheme created by the nation's modern planners. They were simple forms of protest against a standardized (capitalist) mode of production, exchange and domination. In other words, they confronted the desire to impose on human experiences a fixed grid of understanding. What self-sufficiency put into question was the necessity of state control, thus embodying a core anarchist critique (Springer 2013). In James Scott's view, the creation of a space that is not controlled by the state is akin to an act of desertion (Scott 1998). In that sense, the above-mentioned protagonists were seditious in stressing autonomy, as well as in symbiosis with nature in the wider acceptance of the term. The space of self-management and equality they created realized their anarchist beliefs, albeit most often in a largely invisible way.

On a more critical level, however, this chapter reveals the potency of a specifically transnational context, as it allowed the flourishing of these dissenting practices in 1930s' Hokkaido. The reality and efficacy of a web of cross-border, non-institutional connections made possible the circulation of Reclusian geography and the spirit of humaneness that animated it to remote locations in East Asia. The evocation of *Man and the Earth* in poetry attests to its privileged role as a 'travelling text', with its interpretive leeway and emblematic power. Also, intergenerational and transnational ties of friendship provided crucial channels of communication and support for commonly held values. By these means, anarchist dissidents were able to adhere to the overarching logic of Reclusian geography against the standardization and legibility of Hokkaido's modernity and thus engage in the making of an alternative space.

It is no coincidence that the diffusion of Reclusian geography became a pressing concern during the years under consideration. Indeed, the tracing of the transnational exchanges relating to Reclus's work indicates that the network was particularly active during the decade preceding Japan's de facto invasion of China in 1937. As geopolitical tensions rose and Japan geared up for full-fledged war, the refusal to abide by the state's organizational scheme—including racial discrimination—also signified an implicit rejection of Hokkaido as a showcase for the country's colonial project and the use of global power politics as the means to structure a hierarchy of nations.

Ishikawa, whose self-published periodical had been censored when he condemned his country's occupation of Manchuria in 1931, knew the futility of open protest (see Ishikawa 1931). Like Hasegawa, he pursued self-sufficiency, even withdrawing entirely from the state-controlled food distribution scheme during the war (Ishikawa 1957: 71).[17] His actions, however, were only meaningful because of the existence of a transnational anarchist network that validated his choice of an alternative mode of participation in the world. Ishikawa was well aware of the revolutionary power of the practices of daily life. In 1927, the year he settled outside Tokyo to cultivate a piece of land,

he wrote: 'I work to live by my own means. But I can't do it alone. I need allies and so we work together in this. This is my social movement' (Ishikawa 1978/3: 22). His stance and that of his friends highlight how tactics of quiet disobedience can be used to mark out a different system of thought. As they 'claimed' space through everyday practices of resistance, readers of Élisée Reclus in 1930s' Japan sought to implement social transformation rooted in their understanding of anarchist geography.

NOTES

1. I am grateful to the generosity of the Japan Society for the Promotion of Science (JSPS), which provided financial support for my research trip to Japan. My thanks also go to the organizers of the 2013 London Graduate Conference on the History of Political Thought, where I presented a version of this chapter.

Note: Japanese names appear in the customary order, with the surnames preceding the given names.

2. For the importance of transnational connections in modern Japanese history, see especially Konishi 2013.

3. For another example of a 'travelling text' in the East Asian context, see Peng 2007.

4. This journal was a four-page leaflet published every month between November 1929 and October 1934. On four occasions, government censors banned its sale.

5. The analysis of Ishikawa's correspondence confirms the wide reach of Reclusian ideas.

6. A smaller proportion of the Ainu population also lived on the Kurile and Sakhalin Islands.

7. Takeuchi notes, however, that traditional methods of recording geographical knowledge remained in various places but lost practical and administrative meaning for the central government.

8. Some Japanese scholars, such as Minoru Senda (1992), also allege that the adoption of European geography resulted in the understanding that nature is compelled to exist in subordination to culture, a conception supposedly foreign to traditional Japanese thought.

9. The thesis got burned in the Tokyo earthquake and Hasegawa never graduated (see Itō et al. 2012).

10. This was Jacques's second visit to Japan, the first one having taken place in 1929. A letter of 19 February 1935 suggests there was a third visit around that time.

11. Hasegawa never claimed to be an anarchist, but he was certainly in tune with what Nathan Jun (2013) calls 'anarchistic ideas'.

12. Hasegawa's books are kept in the *Kōji Hasegawa Papers*, Tsurui Village Information Centre 'Minakuru', Hokkaido.

13. Settlers complained often in those days about the emphasis on rigid agricultural and farming rules devised by central authorities, which fell foul of nature's demands and put undue pressure on them.

14. The Nōmin Jichikai (Farmers' Self-Governing Councils) operated between 1925 and 1929. This initiative was the brainchild of Ishikawa and a few friends, but ultimately did not resist the rising tide of nationalism that swept Japan at the time.

15. For an interesting interpretation of Pilsudski's engagement with Ainu culture, see Konishi 2013.

16. See the account by American anthropologist Frederick Starr (1904). He prides himself for having brought the Ainu from Japan and praises the features of the outdoor Ethnological Exhibit, where living tribes are to be seen in action. He makes clear, however, that the Ainu are victims of the 'civilizing' mission of the self-described 'advanced' nations.

17. Although Ishikawa stuck to his dissenting principles throughout the war, Sarashina felt pressured in the early 1940s to publish poetry supportive of official ideology.

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Chapter 4

Organizing the APOCalypse

Ethnographic Reflections on an Anarchist People of Colour Convergence in New Orleans, Louisiana

Patrick Huff

APOCalypse 2012: Survival Strategies for the New Millennium was the third historic anarchist people of colour (APOC) convergence organized in North America. It took place in New Orleans, Louisiana, between July 12 and July 15. The convergence hosted roughly seventy local, national and international participants, a beautifully heterogeneous mix of racial, ethnic, sexual and gender identities. Somewhat analogous to an academic conference, the convergence offered space for discussion groups, paper presentations and workshops. Topics ranged from strategies for combating police violence in the United States, to the politics of borders, to rope-climbing and knot-tying, to safe sex and much more. Along with my other duties as an organizer, I facilitated a session titled *Anarchy 101: a Beginner's Guide*. The convergence emphasized the dialogic sharing of knowledge over individual expertise. Unlike a typical academic conference, *APOCalypse 2012* was not about presenting one's latest research findings. The aim was, rather, to increase individual and collective capacities for radical struggle and survival against imperialism, racism, classism, gender and sexual oppression and other forms of direct and structural violence.

Calling the event *APOCalypse 2012* was a bit of wordplay alluding to the serious matters of New Orleans' tragic past and troubling present. As we wrote in the introduction to our convergence programme, '[w]ell, when it comes to the apocalypse, we've kind of already had one. After Katrina, we had a moment of complete industrial collapse and a declaration of martial law. We saw the best people could be to each other; we also saw the worst'. The 'best' was manifest in the people's collective capacity for cooperation, solidarity and mutual aid. 'Communities had to organize autonomously to

support each other and survive, not only in the aftermath of the storm, but the years of rebuilding that continue to this day'. Noting the unique history of New Orleans, we asserted, '[o]f all places, we know the imperatives for creating and sustaining alternative models of community interdependence' (*APOCalypse 2012* Convergence Program). This emphasis on interdependence raised questions about solidarity, questions with which the radical left has long grappled. Indeed, the existence of an APOC movement within anarchism raises a number of intriguing conceptual questions of solidarity and difference. Solidarity, in the classic Marxist formulation, is the emergent social relation of a universalized class, and it is grounded in commonality. The revolutionary solidarity found in the universal conditions of the proletariat would make possible the establishment of global communism. Conceptualizing solidarity in terms of commonality is not completely wrong, but it is completely inadequate.

I argue that the APOC movement provides grounds for an intersectional and strategic conception of solidarity. My aim is to foreground a conception of solidarity more adequate to the diverse subjectivities constitutive of the twenty-first-century anarchist movement. It is hardly incidental that I arrived at this formulation due to my reflexive ethnographic participation in *APOCalypse 2012* and my interaction with a core of local organizers. This is an exercise—to paraphrase bell hooks (2000)—in moving from the margin to centre and seeing what things look like from this different perspective.

I begin the chapter by introducing several of the core local organizers with whom I worked closely in the lead up to and during *APOCalypse 2012*. I then pull out to take a widescreen view in order to situate the contemporary movement in relation to a wider global history of non-Western anarchism(s). The contemporary APOC movement in the United States has a complex, rhizomatic, genealogy rooted in the emancipatory struggles of multiple racial and ethnic groups. I focus on the historic entanglement of anarchism, Marxism and black feminism primarily within the compass of the black freedom struggle. After this historical contextualization, I return to the contemporary and local voices of the organizers in two reflexive sections. The first reflection considers the problem of white privilege within the wider anarchist milieu, and the second reflection considers the meaning and significance of solidarity from the perspective of three local organizers. I then develop a theoretical discussion of solidarity as a strategy of radical intersectional politics. In other words, I argue for a conception of solidarity that starts with the problematic of difference rather than an assumption of commonality.

At the outset, I should acknowledge my own positionality and all the partiality that it implies. I write as both a social anthropologist and anarchist of colour. I am also a cisgendered heterosexual. I hold a doctorate and hail from a rural working-class background of mixed racial heritage. Would my

account differ if, say, I were a genderqueer Asian American raised in New York, undoubtedly. My account, particularly my conceptual and theoretical arguments, should not be seen as an attempt to offer a final closed authoritative statement encompassing the experiences and positions of convergence participants or even those of my co-organizers. I view this chapter as a point of departure, a continuation of the dialogue that was opened during those days in the sweltering New Orleans summer of 2012.

THE ORGANIZERS OF THE APOCALYPSE

The APOC collective in New Orleans was a network of friends and acquaintances with overlapping ties to various groups within the city's activist milieu. Membership was fluid, and little temporary affinity groups tended to coalesce around projects of mutual interest and then, once accomplished, to dissipate back into the wider milieu. These projects ranged from an afternoon's street demo, to ongoing prisoner support work, to nurturing local community gardens. The work of organizing *APOCalypse 2012* was a major undertaking that relied on solidary networks, local, national and even international in scale. In the following section, I focus on some of the core local organizers, but I want to acknowledge that the events' success depended on the cooperation and mutual aid extended by hundreds of people. I should also note that in order to guard their anonymity I have given the participants pseudonyms, but I am confident that each person described here will recognize themselves in the details.

My involvement with *APOCalypse 2012* came about somewhat serendipitously. My first contact was Jackie. We met at a local bicycle collective's garage while I tried and failed to locate one of the collective's members with whom I had previously corresponded via email. I ended up chatting with Jackie as she worked a shift at the garage. Jackie took me on a brief tour of the garage and bicycle storage facilities, and I explained my research interests in the city's anarchist milieu. At some point, Jackie mentioned the APOC convergence and suggested that I might want to get involved. I jumped at the chance, and after a bit more discussion we exchanged contact info and parted ways.

About a week later, June 7 to be precise, I received a text from Jackie: 'Local APOC meeting today at . . . [Kwende's house]. If you want a ride meet me at the co-op for 4 p.m.', she wrote. We actually ended up meeting at a small café on St. Claude Street to chat before the meeting. Arriving a bit early, I ordered a coffee. I took a seat at one of the café's few tables and waited for Jackie. Rain from a late afternoon downpour streaked the café's windows. Drainage is a chronic problem, and I expected minor flooding

in lower sections of the city. Jackie arrived, drenched from the downpour. We sipped coffee and chatted, politics and small talk mostly. We discussed our shared experiences growing up in the South and joked about our unapologetically southern accents. Except for some bits of travel and a stint in Hawaii for her undergraduate degree, Jackie was a lifelong New Orleanian.

As our conversation stretched on, I got the feeling that it was a kind of a final interview before being introduced to the rest of the group. It seemed that she wanted to feel comfortable that I was not some tin foil wing nut or a police spy. Most radicals recognize that their political dissent makes them prime candidates for police surveillance and infiltration. The organizers of the APOC convergence were engaged in completely legal activities, but this hardly guaranteed privacy. Jackie explained that some of the others in the APOC collective had raised the possibility that I might be a police informant. She opined that even if I were a mole, it would not matter because the whole project was completely above board. 'Nothing to see here, folks', we joked, as if talking into a secret microphone.

As I would come to see, Jackie nurtured a persona of a loud, southern and tough-as-nails black woman. 'I don't take shit from anybody', Jackie noted on more than one occasion. Her strong lean body and multiple piercings complimented her persona. This was not an act. Jackie was indeed loud, southern and tough as nails, but her bright eyes, quick smile and smart humour softened her image a bit. She wore her humanity on her sleeve. Her childhood in New Orleans had imprinted in her a deep connection to the city and its African American history, culture and politics. Jackie observed that in many ways African Americans in the South had been anarchist for a very long time but mainly in terms of practices of solidarity and mutual aid but not necessarily as a conscious politics or ideology. Our discussion continued on for a bit more time, but soon it was time to go to our meeting with the other organizer of the APOCalypse.

By the time we arrived at Kwende's house, the rain slacked to only a light drizzle. Entering Kwende's house behind Jackie, I was greeted by Kwende and Jawanza, another local organizer. We engaged in small talk while we waited for another organizer, Aisha, to arrive, but, as it turned out, something came up at work, preventing her from attending this planning session.

Kwende, tall and lean, carried himself with confidence, even a bit of a swagger. He kind of reminded me of a young Barack Obama, with his thin angular face and broad smile. Kwende was a biracial child of a working single mother who raised him and his two siblings with limited assistance from his father. A 'traveling kid', who hopped trains and crisscrossed the country in his youth, he had been leading a settled life in New Orleans for nearly a decade. Kwende organized *Louisiana Books 2 Prisoners* (B2P), a small consensus-based

organization focused on providing books and reading material to prisoners. Employed as an emergency medical technician, Kwende described himself as, 'a black urban medical professional'. He put his medical training to use as a street medic at protests and convergences around the country.

Jawanza, in contrast to Kwende, was small, slight framed, soft spoken, with a very gentle unassuming demeanour. Whenever things became stressful or tense during the convergence, we could usually count on Jawanza to be a calming presence and informal mediator. He had only lived in New Orleans for two years but had quickly integrated into the city's activist milieu, both radical and progressive. He was employed at a local non-profit, but he was involved in various capacities with roughly a dozen formal and informal activists groups around the city. Jawanza described his background as middle class. The son of college-educated parents, his childhood was spent in suburban New Jersey. However, this was hardly an apolitical environment. His father had been a Black Panther and his mother was a social worker. As he once told me, 'I never had a "come to Jesus or rather come to Malcolm [X]" moment that had always been there in my life'.

During this planning session, we discussed the practical minutia of event organizing, publicity, securing event facilities, lining up volunteers and so on. New to the milieu, I mostly listened and tried to ask appropriate questions. After about an hour, we decided to adjourn until next week when Aisha could report back on her efforts.

Aisha and I arranged to meet at a café before the next official planning session. Aisha, like Jackie, carried off a kind of Afro-punk style: knee-length shorts, black tank top, dreadlocks and a small piercing on the side of her nose. She was charismatic, projecting confidence mixed with wry humour. Genealogically, her roots lay in Germany and sub-Saharan Africa. Aisha had lived in New Orleans for about a decade and had survived Hurricane Katrina. She worked in New Orleans' burgeoning film industry as an on-set assistant. Over the years she had been involved in half a dozen or so anarchist and black feminist projects around the city. Our meeting at the café was, I think, my final interview before acceptance into the group.

Throughout the rest of June and July, I worked closely with Jackie, Kwende, Aisha and Jawanza to prepare for *APOCalypse 2012*. I began to prepare materials for my session, *Anarchy 101: a Beginner's Guide*. This proved to be an interesting challenge. Its Eurocentrism rendered the usual narrative of anarchist history inappropriate for a convergence aimed at promoting the voices and perspectives of anarchists of colour. The following sections are the results of my efforts to approach the history of anarchism from a non-Eurocentric perspective. Of course, this is in no way a comprehensive account. I include it here as a suggestive corrective to an often too-standard narrative.

ANARCHIST PEOPLE OF COLOUR: A GLOBAL HISTORY OF NON-WESTERN ANARCHISM(S)

Anarchist historiography has tended to focus heavily on the classic tradition of European political anarchism. Peter Kropotkin, Mikhail Bakunin and Emma Goldman are well-known luminaries of the Euro-American anarchist tradition. Kôtoku Shûsui, a major figure in the history of Japanese anarchism (Crump 1998), Rabindranath Tagore, an Indian anti-colonist and anti-nationalist poet (Ramnath 2011: 179), and Luis Cusicanqui, a Bolivian anarchist union organizer (Cusicanqui 2005), are marginal figures at best.

European anarchists have not completely ignored non-European anarchism(s). For instance, Peter Kropotkin (2002, 159) famously argued that certain ancient Chinese Taoists were among the earliest self-consciously anarchist philosophers. Kropotkin pioneered the use of ethnological knowledge as a critique of European society by pointing out the radical alterity of existing non-authoritarian societies, institutions and practices (Robinson and Tormey 2012: 155). Conversely, European anarchist thought was adopted in non-European contexts and mingled with cultures beyond Europe.

By the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, anarchism was a global movement with anarcho-syndicalist unions existing from Chicago, to Johannesburg, to Beijing (Schmidt 2013). As Anderson (2013, 2) observes, 'Anarchism, in its characteristically variegated forms, was the dominant element in the self-consciously internationalist radical Left'. This was, perhaps, facilitated by a powerful intellectual and practical openness to encountering the new and different. Anarchists of the classic period such as Rocker (1938/1989, 31) argued, '[a]narchism recognizes only the relative significance of ideas, institutions, and social forms. It is, therefore not a fixed, self-enclosed social system, but rather a definite trend in the historic development of mankind'. By the early twentieth century, anarchism was, arguably, the world's first global mass secular political movement.

Yet, despite a number of works on non-Western forms of anarchism from China (Scalapino and Yu 1961), to Africa (Mbah and Igariwey 1997), to India (Ramnath 2011), no one has, to my knowledge, ever written a general history of non-European anarchist movements. Adams (2003, 4) has probably gone furthest in offering a global analysis, and he writes, '[i]n order to truly understand the full complexity and interconnectedness of anarchism as a worldwide movement however, a specific focus on the uniqueness and agency of movement amongst the "people without history" is a deeply needed change'. The autonomous Mayan communities of Chiapas, Mexico and their Ejército Zapatista de Liberación Nacional (EZLN) (Marcos 2002) are perhaps the most salient contemporary examples of the articulation between the global anarchist movement and movements rooted in local histories of autonomous struggle.

The revolutionary movement among the Kurds of Rojava (formerly western Syria) has drawn deep inspiration from Murray Bookchin's ideas of social ecology and confederalism (Jongerden and Akkaya 2013). However, the 'people without history' (Wolf 1982) are not confined to the global South. Centuries of diaspora, intensifying through globalization, has brought about complex interpenetrate of core and periphery, the South and the North. This can be seen in the perpetual outsider status of African Americans in the United States.

ANARCHISM, MARXISM, BLACK FEMINISM AND THE BLACK FREEDOM STRUGGLE

Anarchism, Marxism, black feminism and black power are dimensions of the black freedom struggle within the United States and internationally. The relationships between these tendencies are historically complex. However, to understand the contemporary APOC movement, it is necessary to untangle some of the strands of its antecedents within the black freedom struggle.

Rejecting an older two-stage model of succession from moderate to radical movements, recent historiography has extended the period of Black Power activism from 1950 to 1980 and stressed its parallel development with the Civil Rights movement (Joseph et al. 2006a). As Kelley (2002, 62) notes, 'A vision of global class revolution led by oppressed people of color was not an outgrowth of the civil rights movement's failures, but existed alongside, sometimes in tension with, the movement's main ideas'. The black freedom struggle can best be conceptualized as a heterodox, dynamic and creative confrontation with historical injustices.

The creativity of the black freedom struggle is particularly evident in its engagement with Marxism. As Robinson (2000, xxxii) explains, 'Black Marxism was not a site of contestation between Marxism and tradition, nor revision. It was a new vision centered on a theory of the cultural corruption of race'. In other words, the black radical engagement with Marx was a syncretic expropriation of Marx, one conditioned by the historical confrontation with the racial order of white supremacy.

The Johnson-Forest Tendency (JFT) pioneered an autonomous-Marxist engagement with the struggles of people of colour. C. L. R. James, an Afro-Trinidadian, Raya Dunayevskya, a Ukrainian immigrant of Jewish descent, and Grace Lee Boggs, a Chinese American, initiated the group. James's (1963) *The Black Jacobins: Toussaint L'ouverture and the San Domingo Revolution* was a groundbreaking text of radical history. Dunayevskya's (1958/2000) *Marxism and Freedom: From 1776 until Today* is perhaps the best known of her extensive writing on themes of dialectics, Marxist

humanism and radical feminism. Boggs's (1974) *Revolution and Evolution in the Twentieth Century*, co-authored with her partner James Boggs, is probably her most widely read text.

Grace Lee Boggs is, however, best known today for her decades of activism in Detroit. Joseph (2006b, 262) notes that Grace and James Boggs 'mentored a generation of black student radicals who would go on to play pivotal leadership roles in the Black Power Movement'. These radical youth were associated with the Revolutionary Action Movement (RAM) and the Detroit-based League of Revolutionary Black Workers, later known as Dodge Revolutionary Union Movement (DRUM), and the wider Black Power Movement including the Black Panthers.

ANARCHIST PANTHERS

The Black Panther Party (BPP) provided an important link between the Black Power Movement and the contemporary APOC movement. The contradiction between BPP'S emancipatory aims and authoritarian structure pushed Kuwasi Balagoon (2003), Ashanti Alston (2003) and Lorenzo Kom'boa Ervin (1994) towards an anarchist alternative.

After his death a comrade eulogized, 'Kuwasi Balagoon was an anti-authoritarian like Bakunin and Richard Flores Magon, one who found his voice in a remarkable life of illegality and danger in the struggles of the oppressed' (Sakai 2003: 21). Splintering from the Black Panther Party, Balagoon and his comrades in the New Afrikan Black Liberation Army (NABLA) modelled their activities on national liberation guerilla campaigns of expropriation, robbing banks to finance their operations. Eventually captured, tried and convicted, Balagoon spent his time in prison reflecting on anarchism's significance to the black freedom struggle. He rejected the Black Panther Party's internal hierarchy and what he saw as its hegemonic aims. In contrast, Balagoon (2003: 73) argued:

> The goals of anarchy don't include replacing one ruling class with another, neither in the guise of a fairer boss or as a party. This is key because this is what separates anarchist revolutionaries from Maoist, socialist and nationalist revolutionaries who . . . do not embrace complete revolution.

Anarchism's radical critique of hierarchy and its egalitarian ethics became central to Balagoon's (2003, 79) vision for Afrikan survival and organizing a just society:

> Where we live and work, we must not only escalate discussion and study groups, we must also organize on the ground level. The landlords must be contested

> through rent strikes and rather that develop strategies to pay the rent, we should develop strategies to take the buildings. We must not only recognize the squatter's movement for what it is, but support and embrace it. Set up commons in abandoned buildings; sell scrap cars and aluminum cans. Turn vacant lots into gardens. When our children grow out of clothes, we should have places where we can take them, clearly marked anarchist clothing exchanges and have no bones about looking for clothing there first. And of course we should relearn how to preserve food; we must learn construction and ways to take back our lives, help each other move and stay in shape.

Balagoon ended his days in prison, an early victim of the AIDs crisis. Though Balagoon took it to the furthest extreme, his life of 'illegality and danger' is mirrored in many respects by the lives of Ashanti Alston and Lorenzo Kom'boa Ervin.

Ashanti Alston (2003, 3), a key organizer of the first APOC convergence held in Detroit in 2003, had a direct influence on the contemporary APOC movement. Alston recalls his discovery of anarchism while incarcerated:

> I learned about anarchism from letters and literature sent to me while in various prisons around the country. At first I didn't want to read any of the material I received—it seemed like anarchism was just about chaos and everybody doing their own thing—and for the longest time I just ignored it. But there were times—when I was in segregation –that I didn't have anything else to read and, out of boredom, finally dug in (despite everything I had heard about anarchism up to the time). I was actually quite surprised to find analyses of peoples' struggles, peoples' cultures, and peoples' organizational formation—that made a lot of sense to me.

However, Alston noticed scant representation of the struggles of people of colour in the materials he received. 'I tried to figure out how this applies to me. I began to look at Black history again, at African history, at the histories and struggles of other people of color', Alston explains (2003, 4). This observation spurred a reassessment of history and social movements from the perspective of anarchism. 'I found many examples of anarchist practices in non-European societies, from the most ancient times to the present. This was very important to me: I needed to know that it is not just European people who can function in an anti-authoritarian way . . . we all can', Alston notes.

Lorenzo Kom'boa Ervin also encountered anarchism during a long stretch in prison. Ervin was imprisoned after an extraordinary international manhunt. As a Black Panther he was targeted by the government's counterintelligence programme. He was sought on weapons charges and for threatening the life of a Ku Klux Klan (KKK) leader. In 1969, Ervin hijacked a plane to Cuba and later made his way to Czechoslovakia. Ervin was eventually captured by

the Central Intelligence Agency, returned to the United States and handed a life sentence. However, in an extraordinary development, a groundswell of activism and legal advocacy for his case and his own struggles within prison managed to get him released after serving fifteen years (Ervin 1994: 65–66).

An organic intellectual, Ervin has been at the forefront of radical black struggle against white supremacist hegemony (Heynen and Rhodes 2012). Ervin's (1994) *Anarchism and the Black Revolution* is a key document of the APOC movement. The book is an exercise in strategy, theory in the service of action, tracing out the intersecting lines of black-and-white working-class struggle. Ervin (1994, 3) argues, '[i]f an effective resistance is to be mounted against the current racist offensive of the Capitalist class, the utmost solidarity between workers of all races is essential'. Noting the generally white and middle-class composition of the North American anarchist movement, Ervin (1994, 60) asked rhetorically, 'Why am I a part of the Anarchist movement, since I am none of those things'? Ervin answered:

> Well, although the movement may not now be what I think it should be in North America, I visualize a mass movement that will have hundreds of thousands, perhaps millions of Black, Hispanic and other non-white workers in it. It will not be an Anarchist movement that Black workers and other oppressed will just 'join'—it will be an independent movement which has its own social outlook, cultural imperative and political agenda. It will be Anarchist at its core, but it will also extend Anarchism to a degree no previous European social or cultural group ever has done. I'm certain that many of these workers will believe, as I do, that Anarchism is the most democratic, effective, and radical way to obtain our freedom, but that we must be free to design our own movements, whether it is understood or 'approved' by North American Anarchists or not. We must fight for our freedom, no one else can free us, but they can help us.

Ervin's vision corresponds to the actual sentiment and practice of many of the younger generation of APOC activists. Of course, the contemporary APOC movement has a long way to go before it reaches a 'mass' stage. But, in terms of it basic solidary aims, the APOC movement appears to be broadly moving in the direction of Ervin's strategic vision, though obstacles like white privilege and supremacy remain.

REFLECTION 1: A DISCUSSION WITH AISHA ON ANARCHISM'S WHITE PRIVILEGE

A major impediment to realizing this solidary vision of interlocking social struggle is the passive failure or active evasion on the part of many anarchists to acknowledge, genuinely critique and practically oppose the problem

of white privilege and supremacy within the wider movement (Gelderloos 2010). Two critiques have been important to the formation and development of the APOC movement. As noted in the preceding section, one critique voiced dissatisfaction with the hierarchical organizing style of earlier black and brown revolutionary groups such as the Black Panther Party. Another critique has been focused on calling out anarchism's white privilege, the homogenizing assumptions and unaddressed white supremacist attitudes and practices within the wider North American radical and anarchist movement (McIntosh 1988; Martinez 2000; Smith 2006). These two critiques were certainly at the forefront of our concern as organizers of the convergence.

I asked Aisha's for her perspective on the racial dynamics of anarchist organizing. Drawing on her experiences as a black woman radical in often primarily white activist milieus, she said:

> Ok, I walk into a woman's space and they're talking about mainstream white women's shit or radical white women's shit, which is just as irritating because they're talking about deconstructing a construct that doesn't even apply to me. And then acting on those things without doing the base work necessary for all women's liberation. You know, you go into radical black spaces and being a feminist is divisive. Go into radical white spaces and you might become an authority that gets to tell all the white kids what to do. That happens sometimes. That's anti-racist pandering. You can be the one person of color in the room but your presence seems to validate their whole process. I've noticed being a woman of color in predominantly white spaces there are definitely roles that you can fulfill. You get that or you get eliminated, 'there aren't any people of color here.' And I'm like, 'I'm siting right here' [cynical laughs]. What? Do I not count? I think also the way that I present, the way that I talk, I get discounted in certain communities. I've had friends be like, 'you're not *really* black.' I'm like, 'please tell me what that means?' I know what they're saying but I just think it's bullshit. They're saying that I speak eloquently and therefore I'm not black. They are saying that I'm knowledgeable about things and therefore I'm not black. They are saying that I have a middle class background and therefore I'm not black.

Aisha's statement suggests some of the ambiguities and complexities involved in navigating relations of race, gender and class as an anarchist woman of colour. Her comments also suggest the need for a critical look at the ambiguities in the term *anarchist people of colour.* Just as it announces the presence of diverse non-white identities within the anarchist movement, it also glosses those identities in the abstract generalization of *people of colour*. The term is a useful and expedient abstraction, but it must be emphasized that behind the abstraction of *people of colour* exists evermore concrete and diverse historically produced subjectivities, standpoints and differential positions. Beyond race, this diversity includes lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender and

queer (LGBTQ) identities as well. Even within the category of race, many people view themselves in terms of biracial or multiracial identities. The APOC movement does not seek to trade one homogeny for another. It is not a matter of simply critiquing the white privilege of white anarchists. Rather, the challenge of the APOC movement is to build solidarity across difference; this question of solidarity holds implications for the radical left more broadly.

Aisha noted, during a later interview, a certain relational dynamic in her experience with radical activism. 'It's hard [to articulate] because it's like deconstructing self. Like, I can say that it's important to be selfless but it's also important to shift how we identify self in the singular, like the capitalist mode of the individual'. I asked her to elaborate on this extended sense of self. She replied:

> I would say that you have your own distinct boundaries of who you are but you don't isolate your needs to yourself. A lot of people say, like, you know, you do things for causes but they're not causes to me because they're the communities that I live in. It's very direct. Also realizing what's good for the whole is also good for you. I don't think the capitalist model of thinking really allows for that. It's more of "what's good for me is good for me and I'm not going to think about where this coffee came from, where my gas came from because that's not me" and I'm like, that is me because I'm fucking somebody I can't even see.

Aisha's linked this extended sense of self to a notion of a solidary gift. Reflecting on *APOCalypse 2012*, she said, 'All of APOC was a gift. That whole thing was a gift. People just gave and people gave space, yeah'. Solidarity was an important conceptual and practical category for a number of the core organizers of *APOCalypse 2012*. The following reflection explores a bit of this sentiment around solidarity and its significance for furthering the APOC movement.

REFLECTION 2: APOCALYPTIC SOLIDARITY: DISCUSSIONS WITH JACKIE, JAWANZA AND KWENDE

It is hardly surprising that solidarity and its corollary mutual aid are important topics for a movement that seeks to organize a heterogeneous body of participants. One aim of this section is meant to ground the more theoretical discussion on solidarity that follows.

Jackie

I asked Jackie if the values of solidarity and mutual aid were fundamental to the kind of political activism and organization she engaged. Her response

was affirmative but qualified. 'The words are [significant] but they need to be expanded. When I say that, I mean, when I hear someone say "solidarity", "solidarity", "solidarity", I say okay but with the understanding that you can't understand'. Jackie seemed to suggest that to enact solidarity one must be willing to learn from those whom one seeks solidarity with. 'For me solidarity is an action and not just a thought or notion. To me it's realizing that I'm just one part of something. Solidarity means being humble. That's what it really means to me. It's being humble', Jackie emphasized. Elaborating her point she drew upon her own experience as a non-native activist in Hawaii during her college years. 'To me you show solidarity by being the black girl from New Orleans who goes to Hawaii and asks, "What do you want me to do"? Not "I'm going to come up in all yo shit and such". That's not solidarity', Jackie explained and continued, 'I'm not going to organize a protest on the behalf of the native people of Hawaii. No. It don't make no sense. That's not solidarity. That's I'm taking your shit over. That's colonialism'. Again she emphasized the need to come together over matters of shared political interest. 'Solidarity is realizing that, alright, I'm going to be with my people, you going to be with your people but we're going to exchange resources and we're going to have each other's back. That's solidarity', she said. When asked, Jackie drew a connection between solidarity and generosity in the action of mutuality and dialogue. She explained, 'Educate each other; generosity of knowledge is the most powerful gift you can give each other and listening, listening, to me that the greatest generosity'.

Jawanza

'[i]f you define solidarity as standing alongside, struggling with, then that sounds like a principle that is fundamental. Now, if we look at mutual aid as generous action that is flowing between the people struggling together in solidarity then certainly [I see solidarity as fundamental]', Jawanza said. Later he contrasted the relations of solidarity and mutual aid with those of the state and capitalism. 'The state and capital work in very selfish ways and solidarity and mutual aid—I would say, laying out how I kind of defined them in a short and concise way—I would say that capital just wants to perpetuate capital and the state just wants to maintain state power'. In contrast, Jawanza emphasized, 'So therefore these things with solidarity, we're about struggling toward liberation, we're about being cooperative'. 'You know, solidarity and mutual aid and cooperation, we're about being better and with a lot of conscious thought behind that, not just, you know, saying this is good for me but saying this is good for us'. He then offered an expansive meaning for 'us'. 'I mean, it depends on what kind of analysis you have what "us" means. I mean for me "us" means the whole planet and not just me and my family', he explained.

Kwende

When I asked Kwende whether solidarity was fundamental to the kinds of activism that he engaged in, he did not hesitate. 'Yes, yes, absolutely', he said. He illustrated this with an example from past. 'The first time I experienced jail solidarity, I got out of jail in New York and I got a hug, a bagel, and a phone'. Jail support is often an integral aspect of protest planning. Depending on available resources, support work may include pro bono legal support or it may include simply someone providing a ride home after the jailed person makes bail. In Kwende's case, 'There were literally people lined up who took it upon themselves to meet every person who came out of jail and give them a hug, give them something to eat and "here use my cell phone and call who you need to call"'. Beyond particular practical manifestations such as jail support, solidarity for Kwende means recognizing, 'We're all in this together. We are in a collective struggle'. He shifts to his current life in New Orleans. 'And even if you don't identify it as a struggle, the people you live next to in New Orleans, you're all in this together. You're all on the same block together. If you all don't maintain your gutters, your street is going to flood when it rains'. 'If you don't know your neighbors something is going to go wrong and you're not going to have any help. If you don't keep track of your friends, they're going to disappear'. Finally, he summed up the bottom line stating, 'Solidarity. If you want it to work, if you want this community that is can live and can stand on its own, then you all have to be there for each other'.

DISCUSSION: APOC AND SOLIDARITY AS STRATEGY

This section discusses an approach to solidarity that recognizes and values difference as well as commonality, a solidarity across differences or intersectional solidarity. Solidarity is a key value within anarchism's value system. This discussion is approached from both theoretical and reflexive standpoints. By *theoretical*, I mean to bring solidarity into relation with the feminist theory of intersectionality at an abstract level and reconstruct and extend the concept of solidarity and intersectionality in relation to each other. By *reflexive*, I mean that I do this as a form of strategy, that is, theory in the service of action. As a researcher *and* a participant organizer of *APOCalypse 2012*, I want to use this discussion to develop some strategic insights that may serve to promote ethnographic and practical understanding of the relational processes at work in the development of such a heterogeneous movement. This discussion is also meant to act as a corrective to the heavy focus on black *male* anarchists and their roles as seminal figures in the development of the APOC movement.

The *APOCalypse 2012* event was not only multiracial, but it was also multi-gendered. In addition to binaries of cisgender identities, many participants identified as genderqueer and transgender. Social race and ethnic identities were also heterogeneous. Several participants identified as biracial, Chinese, Chicano, Latino/a, Filipino Chinese, Korean American, Dominican, Kurdish, Xicana, Native American, Cherokee and Ojibwe. It must be kept in mind that these categories suggest, but do not capture, the whole story of the diversity at the event because each individual's understanding of their identity and its history is unique. In other words, the APOC participants cannot be understood simply as static categories but as living people and agents in history. Recognizing this diversity means grappling with its articulation in solidarity.

FEMINISTS OF COLOUR AND LIFE AT THE CROSSROADS

The concept of *intersectionality* (Crenshaw 1989; 1991) offered a brilliant synthesis of currents of critical praxis elaborated by feminists of colour throughout the twentieth century. The 1977 manifesto of the Combahee River Collective (CRC) stated, '[w]e believe that sexual politics under patriarchy is as pervasive in Black women's lives as are the politics of class and race'. Significantly, they added, '[w]e also often find it difficult to separate race from class from sex oppression because in our lives they are most often experienced simultaneously' (CRC 1986: 267). The members of the CRC were not alone in their recognition of and struggle against multifarious oppressions that characterized much of their life experience.

The Third World Women's Alliance (TWWA) was organized against sexism within the Student Non-Violence Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and the Black Power Movement of the late 1960s and 1970s (Ward 2006: 120). Dynamic internal discussions and debates led the group to transition from its incarnation as the Black Women's Liberation Committee (BWLC) to the Black Women's Alliance (BWA) to its final form as the Third World Women's Alliance. Ward (2006, 128) explains that, '[t]he resulting conversations were an example of the group's most significant activity in these initial months, namely the creation of a dialogic, collective process through which members . . . developed their ideas'. These ideas found expression in the group's newspaper. *Triple Jeopardy* (1970–1975) was published monthly and explored racism, sexism and class as interlocking systems of oppression in the lives of women of colour (Ward 2006: 138). Though significant and expansive in its own right, this tripartite formulation was not unique to the TWWA.

As early as 1949, pioneering communist feminist Claudia Jones identified the 'triple oppression' of race, class and gender as convergent challenges to

black women's emancipatory struggle (McDuffie 2008: 85). And, of course, later on Angela Y. Davis (1983) explored the convergent problems facing women as they are confronted by oppressive and exploitive systems of race and class. Crenshaw's (1989; 1991) famous articulation of the concept of intersectionality emerged from an enduring dialogue among feminists of colour about difference and commonality.

Crenshaw's (1989) aim was to construct an analytical and critical concept capturing the multidimensional oppressions experienced by black women. 'With Black women as the starting point, it comes more apparent how dominant conceptions of discrimination condition us to think about subordination as disadvantage occurring along a single categorical axis', Crenshaw (1989, 140) explained and continued, 'This single-axis framework erases Black women in the conceptualization, identification and remediation of race and sex discrimination by limiting inquiry to the experiences of otherwise-privileged [white] members of the group'.

Notably the reliance on and over attachment to the single-axis framework on the part of some white liberal feminists has led to considerable antagonism within the global feminist movement. Intersectional analyses are not only more robust but their adoption can potentially lead to greater feminist solidarity. A key to solidarity is, after all, mutual recognition. Intersectionality aids mutual recognition by drawing attention to the differential standpoints of feminist experience.

The theory of intersectionality is not merely an additive approach that simply seeks to add categories to existing feminist criticism. At its best it functions as a dialectical critique. Crenshaw (1989) argues that the relevant categories and the practical experiences these categories represent are not to be understood as discrete events occurring at different moments of a subject's existence. Instead, she insists on the 'multidimensionality' of subjective experience. 'Because the intersectional experience is greater than the sum of racism and sexism, any analysis that does not take intersectionality into account cannot sufficiently address the particular manner in which Black women are subordinated', Crenshaw (1989, 140) explains. For an early generation of feminists, solidarity was seen as born from a commonality of sex and gender. This notion of solidarity proved insufficient when confronted by the actual existing diversity within the feminist movement. As demonstrated above, new conceptual and practical approaches had to be developed. And this development continues.

INTERSECTIONAL SOLIDARITY

This section reconstructs intersectionality as a form of strategic solidarity praxis.

The struggle for subjective and intersubjective self-definition is an important conceptual starting point. Solidarity should not be sought in a sense of shared victimhood, but rather it should be based on bonding through shared strengths and resources (hooks 1986). Solidarity is not a pre-existing condition of existence, or primordial essence; solidarity is a political achievement (hooks 1986: 127–128). Collins (2000, 98) observes, '[t]he voices of African American women are not those of victims but of survivors. Their ideas and actions suggest that not only does a self-defined, group-derived Black women's standpoint exists, but its presence has been essential to U.S. Black women's survival'.

The activity of collective self-definition requires and produces social spaces of critical dialogue, that is, safe spaces wherein one can speak freely (Collins 2000: 100). The classic feminist conscious-raising group is one form of a secure dialogic space; projects such as the Cambahee River Collective and APOC convergences demonstrate other socio-spatial constructions. Collins (2000, 101) notes, '[t]hese spaces are not only safe—they form prime locations for resisting objectification as the Other'. Solidarity is a political achievement operative within a social dialectic of condition and subjective and intersubjective agency.

Intersectionality is a conceptual tool of emancipatory struggle and not just another academic object of discourse. *Intersectionality* is what Mies (2014, 36) calls a 'struggle concept', a concept born of the experience of collective struggle and possesses an explanatory value. Chun and colleagues (2013, 921) recognize *intersectionality*'s 'action imperatives' and note that these imperatives 'have not always been well understood in the academy but have enjoyed a rich and flourishing existence inside social movements—especially those organized by women of color'. Intersectionality must be recognized as a form of radical emancipatory praxis, a dialectical relation of thought and action.

Solidarity is a key and a continuously present dimension of intersectional praxis. Intersectional solidarity is a 'revolutionary accomplishment', to use hooks' (1986, 127) words. Solidarity is a historical action. With this recognition, the question moves from asking what solidarity is, in an essentialist sense, to asking how solidarity is created. The answer can be found in the knowledge of social struggle. However, one should caution against a formula of solidarity as simply volunteerism and political will; dialectics of conditional constraint and agency are always at play.

As an assertion of agency, intersectional solidarity intervenes in existing conditions through the creation of new conditions—micro-systems of cooperation and mutual aid. Crenshaw (1991, 1226) notes, '[t]he struggle over which differences matter and which do not is neither an abstract nor an insignificant debate among women'. Crenshaw continues by arguing, 'Indeed,

these conflicts are about more than differences as such; they raise critical issues of power'. Her analysis of power leads Crenshaw to the conclusion that 'the struggle over incorporating these differences is not a petty or superficial conflict about who gets to sit at the head of the table'. Consequently, she notes, '[i]n the context of violence, it is sometimes a deadly serious matter of who will survive—and who will not'. And yet, from her intersectional perspective Crenshaw saw reason to be hopeful about multidimensional political struggles: 'A beginning response to these questions requires that we first recognize that the organized identity groups in which we find ourselves in are in fact coalitions, or at least potential coalitions waiting to be formed' (Crenshaw 1991; 1299).

A politics with an emphasis on identity need not be fractionalizing and ever narrowing. With the understanding that solidarity cannot be assumed in advance Carastathis (2013, 942) argues for the importance of 'conceptualizing identities as coalitions—as internally heterogeneous, complex unities constituted by their internal differences and dissonances and by internal as well as external relations of power'. This is the kind intersectional politics of solidarity that made possible *APOCalypse 2012*. As mentioned, space of dialogic construction was crucial.

SPACES OF THE APOCALYPSE

I now want to briefly outline some of the solidary spaces where dialogues unfolded. The space of the *APOCalypse 2012* consisted of eight sites spread across French Quarter, Marigny and Bywater neighbourhoods (see Figure 4.1). On the first day, arriving participants registered at Plan B: The New Orleans Bike Project; many had already registered online. The Allways Lounge and Theatre, Resurrection After Exoneration (RAE) House, the Fourth World Movement, Healing Center, Dragon's Den, Gay and Lesbian Community Center, Sankore and Mudlark Public Theater were the eight sites that hosted workshops, discussion groups and other convergence events.

The Allways Lounge and Theatre served as a primary hub for tabling and scheduling updates concerning event space changes and the like. The Allways Lounge was a popular nightspot that usually showcased racy burlesque and LGBTQ-themed cabaret acts. Over the course of the convergence, it was a crucial centre of collaboration and coordination. Convergence participants set up tables loaded with books, 'zines (DIY magazines/pamphlets), small art pieces, patches and other materials. The literature on display dealt with the history, theory and practice of the APOC movement. The writings of early anarchists of colour, such as Kuwasi Balagoon's (2003) *A Soldier's Story: Writings by a Revolutionary New Afrikan Anarchist*, Lorenzo Kom'boa

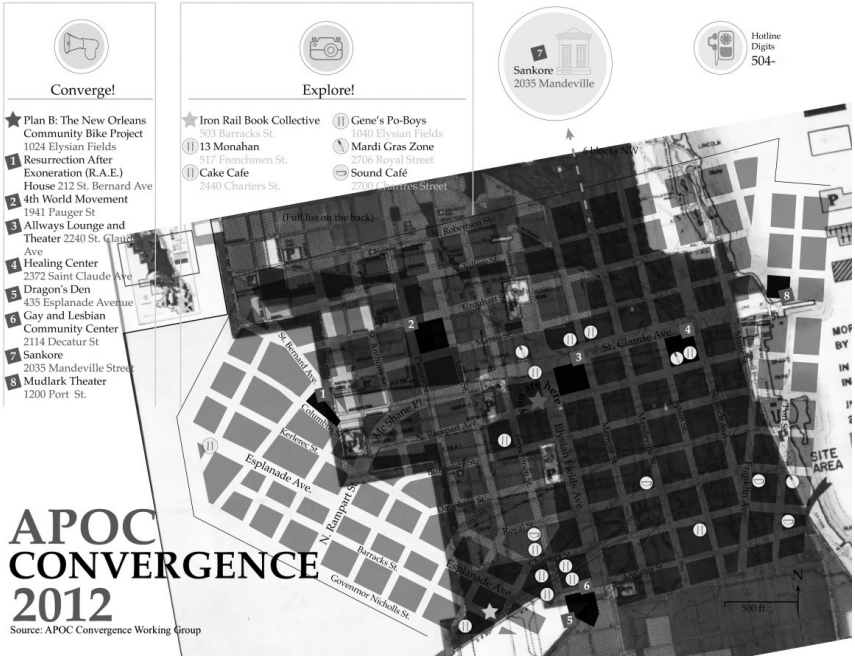

Figure 4.1 Map of *APOCalypse 2012* Convergence Spaces. *Source*: APOC Working Group.

Ervin's (1994) *Anarchism and the Black Revolution* and Ashanti Alston's (2003) *Black Anarchism* were all on display along with many other radical pamphlets.

RAE hosted *APOCalypse 2012*'s opening Barbeque and Community Anti-violence Forum, and the place was packed. John Thompson, a man exonerated after he spent eighteen years in prison, four of those on death row, founded RAE in 2007 with the aim of assisting exonerated individuals in their reintegration into society.

The Fourth World Movement, an international grassroots anti-poverty movement, donated its local space to host some of the convergences workshops. These workshops focused on topics ranging from the deadly serious 'Combating Police Terror in the United States' to the more tongue-in-cheek 'Preparing for a Zombie Apocalypse'.

The Dragon's Den, a two-story music and art space, hosted a number of APOC workshop sessions which focused on topics such as 'organizing within migrant and immigrant diaspora communities', 'whores and politicians: sex work, anarchy, and race politics' and 'strategies toward indigenous anarchism, decolonization, and indigenous-anarchist solidarity'.

Sankore, a project of the New Orleans' Women Artist Collective, is an art space that facilitates arts, crafts and urban gardening skill sharing and training programmes. The workshop session at Sankore all focused on various aspects of physical, emotional and spiritual healing.

The Mudlark Public Theatre is a small black box theatre and performance space and it hosted an eclectic mix of sessions. These included everything from 'rope-climbing and knot-tying' to 'community in spite of itself, conflict, solidarity, self care, and Robert Altman', to 'looking for trade: erotic autonomy, diaspora, and the displaced', as well as a number of other sessions.

The Gay and Lesbian Community Center hosted sessions concerned with safe-sex practices and sexuality and had discussions on consent; they also had a discussion about coming to anarchism from a childhood within a Maoist family.

The New Orleans Healing Center is a large building housing several businesses such as the consumer co-op that employed Jackie. It also rented space to a Turkish restaurant, a yoga studio and an interfaith centre, and a cooperative bank and a microloan facility, among others. The Healing Center proved a controversial choice of venue. I recall one anarchist referring to it as a 'Yuppie mall'. Many in New Orleans' anarchist milieu strongly critiqued the Healing Center and its president as a force for gentrification. By the time I came along, the event's sites had already been selected. I was not part of the decision-making process that led to the selection of the Healing Center as an event location. However, after talking with some of the other organizers it seemed that the choice was made based simply on the pragmatic need for event space. As it turns out, no workshops were actually held in the Healing Center. Part of the space was reserved for collective childcare for convergence attendees.

CONCLUSIONS

Solidarity is a key value within anarchism's value system. Solidarity has often occupied a rather ambiguous theoretical position, despite its centrality to practice. For many activists it can be described more as an existential individual and collective experience than an explicit theoretical category. However, it is precisely the ethnographic experience of the complexities and ambiguities of solidarity in the context of the APOC convergence that has allowed me to think through and articulate an intersectional conception of solidarity.

The ethnographic and historical data that I have presented demonstrates the practical operation of intersectional solidarity among APOC generally and the participants in the *APOCalypse 2012* event specifically. Since the first APOC convergence in 2003, these events have registered the presence of

diverse subjectivities within the wider anarchist movement, a movement too often associated exclusively with white middle-class youth. Event organizers and participants embodied a wide spectrum of racial, sexual and gendered identities including LGBTQ, African African, Chinese, Chicano, Latino/a, Filipino Chinese, Korean American and Native American, among others. Of course, single-axis categories like African American or transgender find their limitations in an inability to encompass or designate the multiplicity of any particular person's lived experience.

To organize this event, and to produce this particular context, required a solidary organizational praxis attuned to a multitude of intersecting subjectivities and intersubjectivity. As I have shown in this chapter, historically, the APOC movement has tended to bend towards such a conception of intersectional solidarity. The diversity of intersecting struggles within the historical context of New Orleans also complemented the aims of the convergence organizers.

However, my findings speak to broader concerns beyond the ethnographic particularities of *APOCalypse 2012*. This chapter contributes to developing a conception of solidarity derived from reflexive ethnographic participation. In this sense, this chapter is an intervention. By theoretically relating solidarity to intersectionality, my formulation simultaneously deepens the concept of solidarity and transforms our understanding of intersectionality. It moves intersectionality from a relational analysis of oppressions to a relational praxis, a creative doing in the world capable of constituting solidary intersubjectivity from diverse subjectivities.

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Chapter 5

Anarchism, Social Order and the City in Portugal between the End of the Nineteenth Century and the First Decades of the Twentieth Century

Diogo Duarte

Anarchist practices and ideas were particularly influential in the great urban centres in Portugal, especially among the working classes, in the period between the end of the nineteenth century and the first decades of the twentieth century. The dissemination of anarchism in Portugal took place simultaneously with a—somewhat late—process of institutionalization of a modern state and with the industrial growth in some areas of the national territory. This temporal coincidence in which the consolidation of the state and capital is faced with the strong growth of an anti-state and anti-capitalist political culture was naturally marked by conflicts resulting from different, and often irreconcilable, understanding about what society, social organization and the individual were and should be.

The growing demographic concentration in cities such as Lisbon and Oporto and the increasing social instability led the political and economic elites to plan urban organization in articulation with their ideas of social order. The fear of a city surrendered to crime and 'immoral behaviours', devastated by disease, squalor and the degradation of many of its buildings, with the 'dangerous' classes out of control, started to concern the political and economic elites and dominate their discourses. Some segments of the elites started seeing the improvement of the living conditions of the popular classes as a necessity, which led to the formulation of plans and the construction of housing projects for the working and popular classes. Regardless of the paternalist or repressive character underlying many of those projects, those who occupied those urban areas didn't always behave according to the expectations of the ones who organized them. During those decades, together with the consolidation of the proletarian movement and the intensification of workers' struggles, the practices and experiences that emerged in the different places

where anarchist influence was felt were plentiful. In the workers' unions and associations or in the streets and the spaces of informal conviviality that existed in these neighbourhoods, like the taverns, anarchists often developed new forms of sociability and resistance related to their emancipatory ideals or that were seen as a threat to the normative values that defined the social order that was being imposed upon them. With this chapter, I propose to look at these proletarian and popular urban spaces, between the period of 1890 and 1940, in contrast with the cities imagined by the state and the ruling classes.

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The city was one of the stages in which the struggle for different worlds was felt with greater intensity.[1] It was within its space that the development of a system of state bureaucratic power, aimed at the social construction of population as an object of governing, is most keenly felt (e.g., through statistics, census, taxation, policing and legislation, but also through space organization). It is also in the urban space that the most important individual and collective agents of the Portuguese anarchist movement settled and developed themselves. As such, studying it and paying attention to the conflicts that traversed it allow us to not only know some of the preoccupations and purposes that characterized the history of urbanism but also to approach the mutually constituent relationship which united the state and anarchism. This relationship was often undervalued in most analysis due to the powerful antagonism that exists between these two forces. On the one hand, in relation to the state and its institutionalization processes, the idea remained that it was alien to the groups and social movements that were formed despite it or against it. On the other hand, in relation to anarchism, due to its anti-authoritarian and anti-state character, an understanding of it as totally indifferent to the action of the state prevailed, as if it was only moved by an absolute autonomous will and an immanent logic, immune to any external conditioning, independent of the social conditions in which it exists and impermeable to other discourses, ideas and practices that surround it.

As was previously mentioned, an important stage of the affirmation of the modern state in Portugal matches the emergence of the popularity of anarchism in the popular classes. This simultaneity reinforces the importance of a study that has this relation in mind, namely to understand the institutionalization processes of state powers and, in particular, the formation of certain mechanisms of repression and social disciplining. As we know, anarchism has a somewhat unique position towards the state, in the sense that it is truly hostile to it. The way in which anarchists sought to organize themselves, whether to suppress the flaws and social difficulties found in a rapidly transforming world and whether to battle the hegemony of the state in society

and its control over their lives, had an impact on these institutionalization processes; they conditioned the formation of the means of social control, regardless of whether they had a purpose of repression or social assistance. In the same way, the growth of the state conditioned anarchist action on various levels, since it was forced to answer or, at the very least, to adapt its practices and ideas to the growth of this Leviathan.

Let's start by briefly clarifying the way in which I see the history of urban planning, especially what we consider to be the main axes behind its development dynamics and the path that it took to reach the form that we know today—a form which has the marks of economic and social inequality as an inseparable element of its landscape.

The planned edification of the city, as a technical or scientific knowledge, is a phenomenon of modernity. It corresponds to a specific process which seeks to establish and hegemonize a new form of social and economic organization in very particular historical and social conditions. Considering the conflicts and social tensions that cross through the expansion, planning and effective organization of the urban landscape leads us towards the contradictions and paradoxes of that modernity. Marshall Berman stressed that the subjects marked by the experience of modernity were 'moved at once by a will to change—to transform both themselves and their world—and by a terror of disorientation and disintegration, of life falling apart . . .' and added that 'to be modern . . . is to be overpowered by the immense bureaucratic organizations that have the power to control and often to destroy all communities, values, lives; and yet to be undeterred in our determination to face these forces, to fight to change their world and make it our own' (Berman 1982: 13). In regard to the city, these contradictions are expressed by the simultaneous sentiment of repulse and fascination it raises and which we find in many of the subjects in this chapter.

Ideas such as 'functionality', 'efficacy' and 'rationality' recurrently appear in association with the edification and organization of the city. However, in the discourses and reflections in which these concepts emerge, it isn't always clear to what that functionality and efficacy seek to match, nor do we explicitly find what that underlying reason is. Such concepts refer to a universality and to an idea of neutrality that does not know social and economic barriers and that, thus, ignore or relativize the realities in which its models seek to be applied.

This chapter shows my interest in the problematization of these concepts, questioning as to what brought us the emergency of this new world, what propelled it and what it had and has in its core. That is to say, the way in which this city was built, whether in relation to those who established themselves at the top of the new social order, or in relation to those who sought it as a quest for a better life and only found precariousness and misery—yet, never giving up the fight against those miserable conditions and for more dignity, for a different city and for a world in which they did not feel like a strange element.

The analysis that I wish to present here matches a theoretical reading of the city which highlights that the 'generality of the proposals of modern urbanism has abstract labour as a structural principle of the production and organization of the modern city'—here understanding 'labour' according to Marx, when he states that 'labour' is a category as modern as the relations that generate that simple abstraction (Lamas 2013: 103). Therefore, we talk about a city constituted from an idea of society that sees labour as one of the central criteria of integration and social cohesion and, as such, defines itself as a 'society of labour', naturalizing and perpetuating the conditions of capitalist society in that way (Lamas 2013).[2] In my view, the importance of labour that I acknowledge in modern urbanism is related to the consolidation of a certain kind of governmentality connected to an idea of liberal freedom as described by Patrick Joyce—in his words, freedom is a technique of ruling people (Joyce 2003: 1). This chapter is not the place to develop thoroughly this argument, but it's important to state, though, that even if this chapter opposes two different ideas of a city—the 'anarchist city' and the 'liberal city', to put it simply—and I see one as resisting the other, they are not always, or fundamentally, antagonistic. Not only did labour have a central importance in some emancipatory ideals and practices proposed by the anarchists, but we can also find great similarities between the ideas of freedom proposed by many anarchists and liberals, for instance in the importance conceded to rationality and science as objective and neutral forms—that is, apart from the political sphere—to organize society and transform individual behaviours.[3] In this sense, anarchism can also be thought of as a certain form of governmentality.

The need to think the city in an orderly and methodical way comes about with the transformations brought by industrialization, in particular by the large migratory movements heading towards the areas where the major industries settled, leading to a concentrated and continuous demographic explosion in cities that were not prepared for that rhythm of growth. The two main Portuguese cities, Lisbon and Oporto, are cities with many centuries of existence, and it's in the conditions created by this long history that those who arrive, hailing from rural areas in overwhelming majority, are forced to settle. In the nineteenth century, the migratory movement attracted by the industrial concentration accelerated and the speed of this demographic growth rapidly surpassed the growth capacity of the city itself. As a consequence, the excess in population started to open fissures in its historical limits.

This process was accompanied by an unwavering belief in progress. It was believed that, gradually, all of the city's problems would be overcome by an inevitable equilibrium, achieved by the stabilization of that sudden growth and by a civilizing process in which everyone would know exactly what their place was in the city and in the social order. This belief in progress was the base of the first great urban projects—true 'bourgeois utopias'—determined

to build a modern capitalist city that reflected the growing social power of the bourgeoisie. One of the most famous examples of these urban utopias, and one of the founding projects of urbanism as a scientific technique, was Cerdà's project for the city of Barcelona, approved in 1860. This plan sought an urban renovation in the overcrowded and chaotic old city (*Ciutat Vella*), uniting it with the industrial hubs that had come about beyond the walls through an extension (*Eixample*) 'that would become the centre of a new functional, socially inclusive and interclass city, in which people of every social layer would interact in a new equality and civic unity' (Ealham 2010: 1); in other words, a rational and civilized urban space that would nullify all social conflict. Many of the plans for expansion and reorganization of cities such as Lisbon and Oporto were inspired by the projects of Cerdà for Barcelona and Georges-Eugène Haussmann for Paris, even though their projection and application had never reached a similar dimension. However, their impact was sufficient to further accentuate the polarization between the two cities that existed within the same territory, contributing for social segregation and the contrast between the dirty, degraded and decadent areas of popular housing and the carefully planned areas traversed by spacious avenues and filled with sumptuous houses and palaces.

As is common in many of the megalomaniac projects imbued with a utopian and avant-garde will, a great part of these projects failed. The deregulation of markets, along with speculation and corruption, as well as the underestimation of the social consequences of urban growth, contributed in general to the lack of success of those projects. Urban growth, thus, happened in a disorderly way, exposing the most vulnerable part of the population to the fluctuations and whims of the market without the support of any kind of public protection. To the precariousness of their employment relationships and to their low salaries, were added the high rents and the overcrowded housing without any living conditions, situated in insalubrious neighborhoods. This housing crisis was visible in Lisbon by the '*patios*' and '*villas*' and in Oporto by the so-called '*islands*',[4] all of them provisional 'solutions' also given to exploitation of private entities that had as their sole intention taking advantage of the housing crisis to increase their fortunes.

It's in the face of this reality that the utopias start to give way to catastrophist scenarios, to dystopian visions of a violent and out-of-control city, threateningly hovering over the middle classes and the elites. This consciousness began to disseminate, with regard to the main Portuguese cities in the last decades of the nineteenth century, with the increase in crime and with the fear of the spreading of epidemic diseases, not only because of the consequences of the miserable hygienic conditions in which the popular classes lived, but also because of the threat represented by the organization of the working class and through the increase in strikes and labour conflicts.

The most apparent public expression of the change in elite consciousness is the proliferation among the bourgeois circles of what Chris Ealham[5] calls 'moral panics' (2010). 'Moral panics' emphasized the negative consequences of life in the city and identified certain 'marginal' groups as the causes of urban disorder, resorting to a diversified set of technical and scientific knowledge and means (Ealham 2010: 11). The degradation of living conditions was starting to become associated with the moral and biological degeneracy of individuals, and criminal behaviour to be seen as derived from innate characteristics.

Associated with these discourses was the identification of certain areas in the city as good or bad, the latter being dominated by criminal and immoral activities of all kinds, such as bohemian and self-destructive behaviours, by the hand of anti-Christian and anti-social degenerates. Predictably, these areas always corresponded to the working-class neighbourhoods and the areas frequented by the popular classes, and it's based on this pattern that the profile of the criminal starts to be built, giving way to the perception of the existence of a 'criminal class' that followed this life, whether by biological reasons or by choice.[6] It's through the sensationalistic portraits of cities traversed by criminality that we see the affirmation of a normative discourse which values the discipline, self-control and respect for private property. Through these narratives the image of the criminal and his association with the popular layers that inhabit the city were built, legitimizing the need of a moralizing and educational intervention. Work had a fundamental role in that process. Basically, the criminal class was characterized by a 'set of elements who lived in the city and preferred leisure and moments of adventure, with crime as a permanent resource in place of steady work, even if scarcely paid' (Vaz 2014: 249). As such, work was seen as the main element which separated the lower classes from the savagery and indiscipline into which they always seemed about to slide. In some cases, though, the only efficient solution seemed to be the total destruction of these neighbourhoods that were controlled by the 'hordes of savages'.[7]

In the second half of the nineteenth century, facing this scenario, criminology and hygienism become two important fields of knowledge for intervention in the rapidly transforming city. Eugenics, combining the knowledge of these two fields, begins to appear with special emphasis, in many of these catastrophist discourses, in the first decades of the twentieth century, and the plea for measures of social and moral disciplining begins to give way to measures that act directly on the bodies, coercively denying or limiting life itself and its reproduction, if necessary, to the subjects considered dangerous, degenerated and uncorrectable.

Some of the syndicalist and libertarian press were also crossed by this tenebrous city, and, as such, the anarchist militants weren't alien to some of

these tendencies. Eugenics itself has a presence in the articles and ideas of some libertarians, albeit in proposals that appeal to the voluntary adherence of the workers to eugenic measures and not to their coercive application by an authority. The promotion of neo-malthusianism and the practices of limitation of procreation[8] are examples of this, as well as some narratives regarding the city and, in particular, areas of popular living and housing.[9] Nevertheless, the main purpose of most of these accounts about the living conditions of the workers and the popular urban classes, albeit set on an equally normative and moralist view,[10] was to denounce the poverty and inhuman conditions that were predominant in the living spaces of these classes.

But in the city apparently strange to the ideas of harmony and stability defined by those who established the rules of social order, there was much more than diseases, misery, crime and moral decay. Anarchism was the counter-hegemonic ideological framework that grew the most and mobilized the popular classes that arrived in ever-increasing numbers to the Portuguese urban centres, especially in the first three decades of the twentieth century. It wasn't, thus, simply a background of these transformations, but rather a determinant agent due to the strength of its presence and intervention. Its influence was felt even among those who did not consider themselves anarchists and didn't embrace its ideas and practices. The combative and emancipatory ideal which moved anarchists attracted many of the people who worked in factories and inhabited the popular neighbourhoods, mobilizing them against the daily violence imposed by their living conditions and against an order that was given as inevitable and thus naturalized. The working class revealed itself to be less and less passive and conformed with its condition of mere receiver of the actions and decisions that came from above—from the institutions of power—and began to recognize its strength to resist and impose a different course to the events. Rather than simply responding, it began to evoke answers as well. The history of the city, and of the way in which some urban plans sought to contain the 'social disorder' brought by various social agents, demonstrates that behind the ideas of functionality that guided it were obstacles which were seen as a threat to its hegemony and, as such, needed to be overcome. In other words, not everyone seemed conformed with the world in which they felt suddenly submerged; many acted with the purpose of steering it in a direction which would have their desires and ambitions in consideration.

It isn't hard to understand, for all these reasons, that what was in question in these catastrophist portraits present in the readings of the elites was a shadow of an *other* city, the proletarian city, which emerged simultaneously and in countercurrent with the liberal city, the city of work and commodities which sought to consolidate itself. In cities such as Lisbon, Oporto and Setubal, the weight of the working city was huge and felt in many ways.

The horrible scenarios that the elites painted of the popular areas generally ignored their social dimension, characterized by a diversity of institutions, prefigurative practices and forms of sociability which constituted an autonomous culture, founded in communitarian values and increasingly in the ideas of equality, solidarity and freedom.

The areas of popular housing centred a great part of the syndical headquarters, of class and mutual-aid associations and of schools and culture and leisure institutions created and aimed at the working classes. Naturally, these organizations had an important role in the development of class consciousness and mobilization of the working classes. But above all, they were fundamental in the creation of a particular world view, contributing to the establishment of a culture that wasn't reducible to its political and confrontational ends. Thus, they took a place of importance in the daily life of many workers, weighing on their personal relations, family life and most ordinary living habits. For anarchists, the construction of a different world meant workers' struggles and the demand for better material conditions (through raising salaries, reducing work hours and improving working conditions) as much as education and cultural training. In the headquarters of workers organizations, not only were strikes and actions of struggle planned, but study groups were also gathered, and debates, lectures, public reading sessions, theatre plays, soirées and parties often took place. The themes of the debates, the lectures and the many plays that happened there were focused as much on the more immediate preoccupations of the working classes, serving to spread the libertarian and syndicalist ideas, as well as they approached themes with an apparently less direct relation, such as feeding, sexuality, health, Esperanto or art.

These associations were equally the space for creation of schools aimed at the children of working families as well as to the adults themselves. Illiteracy rates were very high among the Portuguese adult population during the first decades of the twentieth century, and education offered by the state was not sufficient or accessible to the majority of the population. That is why the workers' schools, many of them of libertarian influence, had a fundamental role to play in the education and literacy of the popular urban classes, providing the means of basic instruction and also offering experimental educational methods in line with libertarian ideas. Around 1920 there were seventy-two schools linked to the worker movement in Lisbon, and nearly the same number of schools controlled by the state (Candeias 1994), which allows us to have an idea of the weight that the 'worker city' had during the period in question, with its institutions rivalling state and religious services.

The same thing happened in the field of social solidarity, given in great measure to the mutual-aid associations. These associations were generally the only way for working families to find medical assistance and help in sickness. Just like all the previous institutions, mutual-aid associations were

equally moved by their own values, often contrary to those of the dominant institutions. That is why their impact wasn't felt only in the attenuation of the specific evils that it sought to combat. The ideal of solidarity that guided them was in conflict with the principles of charity, which in some cases, even during periods of great food shortage, led to the refusal of the assistance provided by religious and state institutions which, guided by that logic, demanded obedience and conformism in return. That is what happened in 1903, in Oporto, during the course of a strike that began with thirty thousand workers in the textile industry and quickly spread to other professional classes that mobilized in solidarity. Among the claims of the strikers were a ten-hour work schedule (they worked for fourteen hours daily) and a 20 percent raise in salary. The strike lasted for about a month and, in a short amount of time, hunger started to weigh on the workers involved. According to Manuel Joaquim de Sousa, a famous Portuguese anarchist militant who would after some years become the leader of Confederação Geral do Trabalho (CGT—General Work Confederation), 'to answer the general outcry' the civil governor of Oporto decided to offer a few meals in one of the economic kitchens of the city, albeit a lot less than the quantity needed to address the hunger. The workers considered the charitable offer to be humiliating—probably because they felt as if their empty bellies were being used to make them back off from their claims—and, in response, after confrontations with the police, they decided to raid the kitchen and loot it (Joaquim de Sousa 1989: 161–162).

The more spontaneous and informal forms of sociability were as important as the role of these organizations and associations. Many of the affinities which sustained the collective consciousness of a common condition were established in the streets. And it was in the streets that a culture based on the emancipatory ideals of freedom and equality was reinforced—an uncompromisingly hostile culture to the values that the bourgeois society sought to implant through work and a great apparatus of disciplinary means. These streets weren't simply a place of passage and circulation of people and commodities, but they were, above all, a place of conviviality and sociability. If the bourgeoisie gave evermore privilege to the privacy and comfort of the home, the popular classes spent a great part of their time outside the house. It was in the public and common places that someone illiterate could hear the worker newspapers or even pamphlets of syndical or anarchist propaganda being read out loud. As Emídio Santana describes in his memories,[11] 'In the worker neighbourhoods the street was the great stage of everyday life.' In the street, conviviality and fraternization were pursued, 'whether to take in the cool of the calm nights or to talk over and discuss the latest events'. Also, it was in the streets of the neighbourhoods that parties and corteges were frequently held (without a permit by the city hall or the police), often imbued with a satirical content and a critique of customs (1987: 11–15).

Some of these spaces of sociability were directly connected to the workplaces, as was the case of some of the small workshops in the neighbourhoods that also were places of fraternization and circulation and sharing of information. An example of this was the workshop of anarchist militant Manuel Ferreira Torres, situated in Oporto, which was seen as a true 'micro-centre of culture' as it had various shelves filled with books, flyers and anarchist and syndicalist newspapers, both Portuguese and foreign (Freire & Lousada 2013: 73).

But the right to a city that was denied to them was reclaimed through the recuperation of lost time and by the subversion of the discipline imposed by factory and working-life schedules.[12] For many workers, the time free from work, after leaving the factory or the workshop, was the time when the liberation of work itself was prepared, and as such it was more than a time to rest from that work in order to face it again day after day. The nights were frequently occupied by doing activities other than sleeping or enjoying the family's company, as was expected of the responsible citizen and worker. As we've seen, like the struggles for better living conditions and control over the means of production, participation in cultural events and educational instruction were some of the activities considered essential to achieve liberation from salaried work through a revolutionary change. The attendance of the theatre or literary gatherings, generally only accessible to the higher classes, was seen not only as a form of cultural ascension in the present but also as preparation for that future emancipation. Writing a play, a tale or poetry, publishing a newspaper or creating a publishing house were ways to embrace activities that were denied to them and that they were not expected to be able to enjoy due to their social condition. Carlos da Fonseca, when presenting the memories of the previously mentioned Manuel Joaquim de Sousa, highlighted: 'A worker is not subversive due to the fact that he (sometimes) writes subversive things. He is such due to having shown the boldness to write when the capitalist economy had programmed him solely to produce' (Fonseca 1989: 141). Nonetheless, we should broaden the meaning of the word 'produce' presented in the words of Carlos da Fonseca, because all those activities, as well as singing fados in a tavern, participating in a musical band or organizing a party, were also forms of production. And it was precisely due to producing something other than commodities that they became more defiant and dangerous activities. The supremacy of the logic of profit maximization that increasingly regulated the dominant system of production was negated. And by countering the limited productive role reserved for the worker, to whom cultural and intellectual production was practically sealed, these activities generated new life experiences. Above all, they replaced the automatism of factory work with creativity and turned the producer into the owner of the product of his own work. In short, it wasn't simply a condition of class that was being (re)produced.

From this perspective, taverns were one of the most interesting spaces of worker sociability due to their ambiguity. Strongly criticized by almost all social layers and political ideologies, including anarchist militants, taverns were a transversal space in the social life of practically all the spaces of worker living and circulation. In the *dantesque* portrayals of the city drawn by the bourgeoisie, these were one of the frequently highlighted elements as true dens of degradation, decay and criminality. A great part of the urban nightmares seemed to start there. Alcohol transformed the worker into someone useless for work, reinforced a biological degeneracy that he was already inclined to, and made him indomitable and a hostage of vagrancy. Immune to the discipline of work and indifferent to the moral conventions that sought to normalize his behaviour, the tavern-goer couldn't follow a path other than that of laziness and crime. In the beginning of industrialization in Portugal, one of the difficulties that the industrialists and their usually foreign technicians faced was precisely the domestication of peasants, who were little interested in regular factory work and more attracted by the tavern and wine. As an example, one of the first measures undertaken by Englishman William Stephens—in the framework of social assistance policies and control of the workers' free time, which he quickly developed once he arrived in Marinha Grande[13]—was to shut down the region's taverns, keeping only one functioning under his control, supplying quality wine paid by cash (Machado de Sousa 2009: 12).

For anarchists and other socialists, on the other hand, the life of the tavern, dominated by alcohol, gambling and prostitution, was a trap that pushed the worker away from school and the syndicate and, thus, served the bourgeoisie's interests. An article published in the newspaper *A Batalha* denounced the hypocrisy of the bourgeois who claimed that what they paid the workers would be enough if they didn't throw away their salary in the tavern. For the author of the article, this argument was doubly hypocritical, since it ignored the miserable salaries paid to the workers, as well as hiding that the tavern and alcohol served the interests of this class. As he said, 'The bourgeois leeches open taverns in places where education houses should be working', and, for that reason, he exhorted the workers to abandon the taverns, since if they traded them 'for the school, where they would acquire the light of the spirit, the foundations of the great bourgeois edifice would quickly collapse'.[14]

In short, for the bourgeois or for many libertarian workers, the tavern was a focus of anti-social and self-destructive behaviours. The fact that it constituted a space of rupture with the heavy and demanding labour activity which filled the greater part of the day, and that it allowed a momentary detachment from the often miserable life condition that characterized the worker, turned the tavern into a space of alienation, both for the middle classes and elites and for anarchists. If for the former time spent in the tavern made the workers

unproductive and, therefore, useless, for the latter it made them incapable of their own individual emancipation and weakened the collective revolutionary movement.

However, these perspectives ignored the central role that taverns played in the social life of many popular neighbourhoods,[15] cementing affinities and friendships, but serving equally as a space for debate of ideas and exchange of propaganda. Oftentimes, the difficulties in finding an own space and the absence of a syndical headquarters meant that some gatherings actually happened in taverns.[16] Some anarchists recognized the centrality of the tavern in daily life and didn't ignore the positive role that it played. Emídio Santana highlighted the syndicates, class associations and the tavern as the spaces in which the worker divided his free time. In the tavern, social fado was sung, with lyrics filled with revolutionary content and social criticism written by popular poets (e.g., in Salgado Matos 1981: 984). In the city of Setúbal, the tavern of the anarchist José Alves, an old canning worker, was prominent; it was a place where worker gathered to sing social fado and where free meals were offered to the unemployed (Freire and Lousada 2013: 44). Francisco Quintal also underlined in his memories 'how the old Lisbon of those times (first decades of the twentieth century) found itself sown with revolutionary cafes', naming a few spaces of anarchist conviviality where conversations prolonged themselves 'until late hours' and where authors such as 'Jean Grave, Kropotkin, Faure, Malato, Malatesta or Tolstoy . . . passed through every hand' (Quintal [1977] 1988: 75–78). With greater detail, he describes an existing tavern in Cacilhas, in the south margin of the Tagus river, where many workers flocked to in order to admire the painted portraits on the walls of figures such as 'Louise Michael . . . , Bakunin . . . , Francisco Ferrer . . . , Kropotkin . . . and Alfredo Luís da Costa', one of the regicides who took down King Carlos in 1908. These portraits remained on the walls from the first years of the Republic, since 1910, until they were erased by the military dictatorship established in 1926 (Quintal [1980] 1988: 79–80). Lastly, it should be remembered that *A Sementeira*, one of the main Portuguese anarchist newspapers, published between 1908 and 1919 and edited by the arsenal worker Hilário Marques, had its headquarters, throughout a long period of its existence, in a tavern in Cais do Sodré, in Lisbon (Freire 1981: 780).

The authorities also did not ignore the role that taverns had in the dissemination of a revolutionary culture, not only because they were interested in associating these ideas to the criminality and moral decay attributed to these spaces but also because they recognized that these were effectively a place of conviviality for many of the revolutionaries they were pursuing, and that thus functioned as places of propaganda and sharing of information. In the parliamentary debates around the Law of February 1896, by which anarchism was prohibited in Portugal, the minister of justice, António de Azevedo

Castelo Branco, underlined in defence of the law that the 'most fearful, most effective' anarchist propaganda 'is the one that is secretly made in the covens of these groups, in the workshops, during rest hours, in the cafes that they attend'.[17]

All these forms of appropriation of the public space, generated by countless informal practices, were an obstacle to the legibility that the state sought to impose over the territory and population for fulfilment of its functions of surveillance and control (Scott 1998). The spatial chaos of many of these neighbourhoods, only intelligible to those that lived in them, combined with the relations of vicinal proximity and communitarian spirit that dominated much of it life and sometimes made them become closer to the village life rather than to urban cosmopolitism, was what permitted, in times of repression, the hiding of outlaws,[18] clandestine typographies or even workshops where guns and bombs were manufactured and stored, and which were fundamental, for example, in the preparation of the republican revolution of October 1910.[19] According to Emídio Santana, in those places 'everyone know each other, everyone communicated' and 'in times of political agitation or if the discussion went sour and the police loomed to break apart the great street audience, the population became solidary' (1987: 12). Not by chance, the control of the streets and the repressive success of police action sometimes depended on the role of informants, often former anarchist and syndicalist militants. From the 1930s and throughout the following decades, José Gonçalves, a former anarcho-syndicalist baker, stood out as a street policeman and, afterwards, as a member of the political police of the Estado Novo (New State) dictatorship, moving 'like a fish inside water' within the popular mediums and old neighbourhoods of Lisbon, knowledgeable of its streets, inns, taverns and 'underground tricks' (Pacheco Pereira 1999: 91). Previously, in 1920, Sérgio Príncipe, a merchant, ex-syndicalist railroader, and very critical of the police's work in the fight against social crimes, proposed to the members of the Employers' Confederation the creation of a secret terrorist organization called Great Order of the Employer Knights (Grande Ordem dos Cavaleiros do Patronato) that declared in its statutes the intention of 'organizing the defense of individuals, property and employers' collectivities against socially motivated attacks' (Príncipe 1923: 79). The need for a 'bourgeois guard' (as he called it) for the street fight against syndicalists (Ramos 2001: 552) arose after the promulgation of a series of social measures, namely the law of the eight hours of work.[20]

The repression was also felt through the reorganization of space. In the face of a city that threatened to explode beyond its limits, it became necessary to think of a city that answered this threat without putting in question the bases of its social—or even—civilizational project. Urbanism then openly found itself with its disciplinary and moralizing dimension to secure and perpetuate

the conditions of that 'society of work', eliminating the conflicts and neutralizing the inequalities that traversed it.

As we previously saw, by the end of the nineteenth century, the debate around the housing of the working classes intensified both in Oporto and Lisbon, fed by the referred 'moral panic'. Together with the appeals towards this 'moralizing and educative intervention' grew the warnings of hygienists, who were worried about the spread of infectious diseases. In the Portuguese capital, tuberculosis started to hit various social classes. The renowned Portuguese doctor, Ricardo Jorge,[21] stated that combating the scourge became a 'question of survival for the whole of society' (in Pereira 1994: 509).

The state was increasingly requested to play a part in this scenario, since the private initiatives had been unable to resolve the problem of neither the 'social order' (the working class was more and more organized and the conflicts grew) nor public hygiene (mortality rates reached alarming numbers). In the city of Lisbon, the action of the state, in regard to the question of housing of the so-called working classes, only later materialized into concrete and significant projects.[22] Until then, other than the previously mentioned precarious solutions, the housing problem of the working classes had faced isolated actions of great industrialists and philanthropists, who started to build worker neighbourhoods next to factories, especially in the eastern area of the city, when the lack of cheap housing started to become an obstacle for industrial development. The demands of cheap workforce and the interest in maintaining low salaries saw the investment in housing as a potential solution.

Added to this was the disciplinary dimension, in its various strands, of these neighbourhoods. To them the paternalist mark was transversal, promoting images like that of the 'great family' and of dignification through labour (Pereira 1994: 519). One of the biggest social housing projects in Oporto, emerging after an epidemy of bubonic plague which affected the city in 1899, was promoted by Oporto's newspaper *Comércio do Porto* and resulted in three neighbourhoods, known as 'workers' colonies', with better health conditions than those found on the 'islands'. However, this philanthropist project wasn't simply moved by a preoccupation with the workers' living conditions and had an explicit normative goal. As the newspaper clarified, their quality of life was secondary in the face of other factors: 'The neighbourhoods weren't made to shelter indigent workers; they were built to gather the most skillful, most assiduous and most faultless workers, as a prize due to their merits rather than as help for their conditions of existence.' In order for this purpose to not be forgotten, the words 'Labour, Honour' could be found engraved in a tile panel in one of these 'colonies' (in Teixeira 1992: 72).

In the projects developed by industrialists, the identification of the worker with the company was something that was sought to be strengthened not only spatially, through the integration of the worker's housing in his workplace,

but also affectively and morally, through a series of disciplinary devices ranging from education to leisure and social support (e.g., by offering gifts to the children of the workers during festive seasons and by promoting intergenerational employability policies that integrated the children of the workers in the company and so on, thus deeply overlapping two forms of sociability—family and labour—and increasing the former's dependence towards labour). The life of the worker was thus integrated in a totalizing project in which, as was previously stressed, social integration took place precisely through labour. In Portugal, the best example of the development of this model was that of the *Companhia União Fabril* (Manufacturing Union Company), or the CUF, located in the city of Barreiro since 1907, with its first neighbourhoods being completed by 1909. Allied with the development of what would become the country's greatest industrial complex, Alfredo da Silva[23] created a city regulated by an enormous apparatus equivalent to a true state: It was self-sufficient and provided with countless stores, leisure spaces, public equipment, educational services and social assistance institutions (supplying medical care, food at accessible prices and other types of social support), which filled almost all of the aspects and needs of its workers' lives and allowed them to become completely dependent on the CUF—in some generations practically since the moment they were born,[24]

Just like the bourgeois utopias of great-scale urban planning, these projects weren't always successful in their purposes, as we've seen before and as shown by the strikes that took place against precarious work conditions in these private cities—strikes that often took on a violent expression and to which the employers responded with lockouts. To continue the example of the CUF, beyond the great strikes of 1911 and 1919,[25] in 1943 there were the greatest strikes in CUF history, the so-called 'hunger strikes', organized by the Communist Party, that led to the military occupation of Barreiro. Following this, a curfew was declared. The military headquarters were settled in the CUF facilities, with soldiers eating lunch in the same dining hall as the workers and with the tanks taking to the streets every afternoon. After the end of the military occupation, the exhibitions of strength did not cease: The quiet of the streets was then frequently disturbed by warlike exercises and the deafening roar of machine guns. The streets became the stage of daily parades of GNR military on horse, and dozens of legionnaires (of 'snitches') were admitted to the boards of the CUF, making all sorts of intimidation commonplace. With the support of Salazar's dictatorship, the city of Barreiro began to live under a true regime of exception (Morais 2008: 58–60).

The state's answer to these problems and to the housing crisis only arrived later, as was previously mentioned. Despite the discussion having been going on since the end of the nineteenth century, and various projects having been drafted, their achievement either happened too late or, when on time, turned

out to be incomplete and inadequate (with the prices of the houses built remaining too high for the working classes, due to the initial projects being afflicted by speculation and corruption). Until then, the special segregation of workers, arranging them ever farther away from the other classes, generally in neighbourhoods near the industrial centres, was the most efficient way to respond through urban planning to the growing social contestation and the conflicts driven by the worker movement. For this social and spatial segregation, the discourses that directly linked the popular classes to criminality were fundamental for its legitimation by allowing the avoidance of satisfaction of the social claims of these political agents and by reducing the importance that could be attributed to social factors for the resolution of these problems. In other words, since these classes were seen as intrinsically criminal, the solution couldn't be their social integration through the satisfaction of their claims but, necessarily, their separation from other classes to which they were subordinated (limiting the meeting between classes to labour contexts, e.g.) in order to contain their threat and create conditions for a more effective control.

In Portugal, the biggest public housing project was achieved during the Estado Novo, although it had been drafted and its construction started during the First Republic. It was the social neighbourhood of *Arco do Cego*, which was inaugurated with great splendour by the dictatorial regime. The final result of this project, a highly paternalistic model, corresponded to the values of Estado Novo dictatorship, namely due to the emphasis placed, on the one hand, on the ruralization as an antidote for the class struggle (by avoiding, as said in 1935 by the dictator Salazar, the 'great phalansteries' and 'the colossal constructions for worker housing', potentially dangerous because of concentration of workers in blocks of collective housing [Teixeira 1992: 80]), and on the other hand, on the family as a primary moral structure,[26] that is, as the key factor of the individual's integration in the social order, along with labour. Pedro Teotónio Pereira—one of the main designers of the corporatist policy of the Estado Novo—stated, 'We want independent houses, own homes, from whose fire the love of the family is heated and the ties of moral life are strengthened' (Ferreira 1994: 704). In addition to these two pillars, the respect for private property was added. According to Salazar, 'Family in itself demands two other institutions: private property and heritage. First, property—the property of goods that can be enjoyed and even goods that can yield ... But it's extremely useful that the instinct of property which accompanies man can be practiced in the ownership of his home' (in Teixeira 1992: 80).

The access conditions to these homes were in tune with those values and complied with a very demanding normative and disciplinary system. The distribution of homes was organized by the syndical corporatist organization to which the workers belonged, in accordance with the regularity of their employment, moral and professional behaviour, age, number and kinship

of the family members and salaries of the household. Respect was equally demanded for the 'norms of balance and social justice that are prescribed by the Sub-Secretariat of State of the Corporations and Social Providence' (INTP 1940).

The single-family home and the possibility of being owned by the worker within a few years served a clear moral and disciplinary purpose, fighting the 'collectivist tendencies' of the previous regimes of which the housing projects were an example, as well as the nefarious effects of industrialization (rescuing the individual from the city's pollution and promiscuity and reconnecting him with the harmony of the land and the country). The instinct of property, the respect for authority, individual independence and family integration, all of them reinforced by the catholic values of humility, sacrifice and work, were fundamental elements for the creation of the ideas of social order and the new man of the Estado Novo. The home, defined as the place par excellence for the development of all virtues, turned social housing into one of the central mechanisms for the process of affirmation of the regime's values.

*

Foucault said, 'The state is at once that which exists, but which does not yet exist enough' (2008: 4). The same can be said of the city. They both have an idea about what society should be and, thus, constitute projects with a clearly utopic dimension. In this text, we analysed some projects which were formulated with the objective of acting on what already existed in order to overcome its contradictions and turn it into what it yet wasn't but should be. A normative component that sought to nullify the conflicts that traversed the city in order to hegemonize a particular social order was generally inseparable from these projects. However, as we saw, during the materialization process of these projects, obstacles rarely allowed for the emergence of their full concretization. In the multiple living experiences, they came across frequent cases of antagonisms which conditioned and distorted them until they became practically unrecognizable.

Amidst the dark scenarios that portrayed the city as threatening and out of control, it wasn't quite a city lagging behind modernity and progress that was found, but rather an alternative city which defied the disciplinary character of the urban models regulated by the work and capital. The penetration of various political cultures, such as anarchism, among the subaltern classes, served to disseminate practices and ideas which developed egalitarian forms of sociability and spread a strong desire for emancipation. It was in the streets and spaces in which that culture was developed that the city reinvented itself and witnessed the birth of a new society. Only the dictatorship of Estado Novo was able to temporarily break the acceleration of this process

of revolutionary transformation which seemed to overflow from the areas of worker's and popular housing.

In short, in this chapter we sought to demonstrate that both the history of a political culture like anarchism and the history of city planning cannot be understood if we only take into consideration the totalizing narratives through which they are generally presented. Behind the coherence of those discourses often hides a history of conflicts which remind us that the realm of possibilities always remains wide open.

NOTES

1. For an essay that approaches the city in libertarian thought and that challenges the idea that anarchism was predominantly averse to the city, focusing mainly on the work of two of the most influent anarchist thinkers—one 'classic' and one contemporary: Élisée Reclus and Murray Bookchin, respectively—see Marcelo Lopes de Souza 'The city in libertarian thought' (2012).

2. It's through work that many of the contemporary disciplinary forms, connected to the city but not limited to it, are felt. It suffices to think that leisure time is determined by working time, and not the other way around, or even that access to many of the services and goods that the city offers have work as a fundamental condition, as we will see, for example, in the case of social housing.

3. The defence by some anarchists of the scientific organization of labour through taylorist principles can be seen as illustrative of this. The use that anarchists and its worker unions made of techniques frequently associated with the state, as statistics and workers inquiries, can also serve as an example of this anarchist governmentality; the main difference was that the anarchists didn't use these tools with the immediate purpose of better governing a population—whether it was in a factory or in the city—but they did it with the aim to propel and accelerate a successful revolutionary process based on 'general expropriation and collective management', according to anarchist-syndicalist moulds (see the words of Emídio Santana in Luís Salgado Matos 1981: 936).

4. The 'islands' started to emerge in Oporto in the second half of the nineteenth century. They were composed by rows of small houses, with only one floor and with areas rarely greater than 16 square metres, separated by a narrow street. Generally, entire families lived in those houses and the toilets were shared by all inhabitants. Between 1864 and 1900, the 'islands' represented 65 percent of the total volume of constructions in the city of Oporto, and, in 1899, they housed 50,000 people (Teixeira 1992: 67–69). In Lisbon, the 'patios' existed in smaller number and housed less people than in Oporto, even though the Portuguese capital had essentially twice the population. In regard to the so-called 'villas', they were constructions that offered slightly better living conditions and were, generally, the initiative of private or industrial owners who built housing for their own workers (Teixeira 1992: 69–70).

5. The book *Anarchism and the City: Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Barcelona, 1888–1937*, written by Chris Ealham, offers one of the most complete

works about the relation of anarchism, with the city in its multiple dimensions, and is a great reference for this chapter.

6. Granier de Cassagnac, a French journalist and politician, precociously translated, in 1838, what would become the predominant sentiment among the authorities years later, with the scientific legitimation of criminology, stating that the proletarians were a class of inferior men, products of the crossing of bandits and prostitutes (1838, in Benjamin 2007: 23).

7. The permanent razing of the popular neighbourhoods was a common suggestion in the last decades of the nineteenth century and even during the first decades of the twentieth century (cf. Silva 1989: 32). In 1908, for example, the republican newspaper *O Século* suggested that an 'avenue should pulverize that nefarious *Bairro Alto*, pitfall of bandits and with nothing of picturesque to distinguish it' (*in* Ramos 2001: 211). Some anarchists also shared this solution, even though they were more focused on the miserable living conditions of these neighbourhoods and less on the crime. In 1925, an article published in the libertarian magazine *A Renovação* underlined that places such as '*Alfama*, *Terramotos*, and even *Mouraria*, *Alcântara*, *Santa Apolónia* are formed of lairs that urge to be razed' ('Morrer devagar…', Nr. 1, 1 de Agosto de 1925)

8. For example Duarte, 'Everyday Forms of Utopia: Anarchism and Neo-Malthusianism in Portugal in the Early Twentieth Century' in Bethencourt, Francisco (ed.), *Utopia in Portugal, Brazil and Lusophone African Countries*. Oxford: Peter Lang (2015).

9. In an article entitled 'O operário e o álcool' ('Alcohol and the worker'), published in the newspaper *A Batalha*, the author shows concern about the offspring of the worker and the biological quality of the species, underlying that 'the more he alcoholises himself, the more strength he loses: produces descendants inoculated with the viruses of terrible diseases such as blindness, general weakness and a thousand and one other diseases that science with its research power has pointed as generating of the languish of the human race and, chiefly, of the working masses' (April 15, 1927).

10. A significant part of the redactors of the libertarian press was commonly composed of individuals belonging to a petty bourgeoisie or labour 'aristocracy', thus often socially disconnected from the proletarians and completely hostile to a certain *lumpen-proletariat* that populated the areas of popular housing. Some of the main figures of the libertarian and workers' movement recognized that difference and displayed criticism. Manuel Joaquim de Sousa, leader of the greatest Portuguese workers' union of anarchist influence, the CGT (Confederação Geral do Trabalho—General Work Confederation), referred to the newspaper quoted in the previous note—*A Batalha*, official organ of the CGT, published daily and that was at one point among the three top-selling newspapers in Portugal—as 'a school of journalism for the bourgeois press', criticizing the emergence of a 'class spirit, almost of caste' among some of its redactors (1989 [1938]: 28).

11. Emídio Santana (1906–1988), metal worker, was one of the most important and well-known militants of Portuguese anarcho-syndicalism. He was part of the Syndicalist Youths, was the head of the CGT, and was very active in the clandestine resistance during the first fifteen years of the Portuguese dictatorship proclaimed in 1926. He was one of the plotters of the attack against the dictator António de Oliveira

Salazar, which took place in July 1937. The attack was unsuccessful, following which Santana fled to England, where he was captured and extradited to Portugal in order to serve a sentence in jail. After the fall of the dictatorship, in April 1974, he published several books, of which one was dedicated to the aforesaid attack, describing the entire planning and the escape that followed (*História de um Atentado* [*History of an Attack*], 1976) as well as the book of memories quoted here (*Memórias de um militante anarco-sindicalista* [*Memories of an anarcho-syndicalist militant*], 1987).

12. For one of the works that best portray this effort to recover 'lost time' among workers, see *Proletarian Nights: The Workers' Dream in Nineteenth-Century France* by Jacques Rancière, 2012 [1981].

13. William Stephens arrived in Marinha Grande in the second half of the eighteenth century, transforming this small village in the centre of Portugal into the biggest hub of the national glass industry, which stays true practically until the present day.

14. In 'O operário e o álcool' in *A Batalha*, April 15, 1927.

15. We should, however, question the limits and nuances of this centrality, in the sense that taverns were mostly paces of male sociability.

16. The spaces of daily sociability aren't generally worthy of detailed note in the press and other documentation of the time, just as it hasn't always deserved great attention in the academic works dedicated to the worker movement. This can be explained by the fact that they are mostly focused in questions that refer directly to the organization of the worker movement and to exceptional events (such as strikes or violent conflicts). However, the fictional literature of the period, nearly ethnographical in many cases, is a good way to understand the centrality of these spaces. For example, in *Amanhã (Tomorrow)* (1901), one of the novels dedicated to the urban working class written by one of the most well-known novelists of the time, Abel Botelho, the tavern is precisely the first space in the book in which the workers gather to prepare a struggle.

17. Session nr. 24 of the Chamber of Deputies, February 10th 1896, p. 256 (online in http://debates.parlamento.pt—accessed on 10-02-2015).

18. Serafim Cardoso Lucena (1872–1943), shoemaker and one of the most relevant anarchists in the city of Oporto, hid various refugees in his workshop, among them Spanish anti-fascist militants during the period of the Spanish civil war (Freire and Lousada 2013: 79).

19. See, for example, *A Bomba Explosiva: depoimentos de diversos revolucionários* (The Explosive Bomb: testimonies of various revolutionaries) (1912), organized by José Maria Nunes.

20. Also, in 1920, during some of the strikes in March of that year, Sérgio Príncipe had offered his collaboration to the police (Ramos 2001: 552). In the context of the previously mentioned Employers' Confederation, he formed a team of 'investigation services', recruiting several police agents for that effect, whom he kept in office until 1922. In that same year, in September, Príncipe was stabbed in the street by two individuals, supposedly members of the *Red Legion*, a terrorist organization that operated during the first half of the 1920s, generally associated with anarchists, but more probably connected to pro-bolshevist dissidents of the Syndicalist Youths.

21. Ricardo Jorge (1858–1939), epidemiologist and hygienist, was one of the main promoters of public health measures in Portugal. After occupying several public

offices related to public health and hygiene, he became, in 1901, general-inspector of sanitary services and, in 1906, general health director, a position he held until 1928.

22. The book by Luis Baptista (1999) is still the best and most detailed account of the Portuguese public projects of social housing.

23. Alfredo da Silva (1871–1942) was the great ideologist of the CUF and the principal person responsible for the expansion and dimension that the company achieved. The great exponent in Portugal of the paternalist models, set on the idea of 'employer-father', he was regarded with respect by many of his workers. One ex-worker of the CUF, Maria Maurício Firmino, aged ninety-four years, stated that 'CUF was a home like no other in the Country. The boss was the father and the mother of all people in Barreiro' (in http://www.cmjornal.xl.pt/domingo/detalhe/a-fabrica-de-tudo-e-de-todos.html—accessed on 10-02-2015). Another former worker, Jaime Manuel Malacão, underlined that Alfredo da Silva was 'truly a "father", as fascinating as he was feared by a proud "CUF family"' (Morais 2008: 159). But necessarily, Alfredo da Silva was also the target of countless expressions of hate. In 1919, in July and November, he was the target of two attacks of gunfire and bomb. In 1921, he decided to abandon the country, only returning in 1927, when the military dictatorship that started in 1926 was already stabilized, and his safety could finally be guaranteed.

24. A quote by a former worker, Manuel Gomes Cerqueira, is exemplary in this regard: 'I am what Alfredo da Silva wanted me to have been. I was not born in a backyard, I was born in a CUF medical centre, I went to CUF's nursery, to CUF's school, to CUF's summer camp, to CUF's educational centre, to Alfredo da Silva Industrial and Commercial School (inaugurated in 1947) where I attended the industrial course' (in http://www.cmjornal.xl.pt/domingo/detalhe/a-fabrica-de-tudo-e-de-todos.html—accessed on 10-02-2015).

25. This one, in defence of the eight hours of work, is answered with a lockout and is severely repressed by the forces of order. However, it was successful and the eight hours of work law was approved in 1919. Alfredo da Silva, regardless, prevented the return of the main militants to the company ('the agitators that poisoned all the orderly and working mass', in Morais 2008: 54).

26. In article 11 of the 1933 Constitution, which established the fundamentals of the Estado Novo, family was presented as a 'source of conservation and development of the race, as a primary base for education, discipline and social harmony and as a foundation for all political order'.

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Chapter 6

The Global *Hiroba*

Transnational Spaces in Tokyo's Anti-Nuclear Movement

Alexander Brown and Catherine Tsukasa Bender

On June 11, 2011, three months after the Fukushima nuclear disaster, approximately 20,000 people gathered in a small plaza outside Tokyo's largest railway station to demonstrate against nuclear power. The event, which organizers dubbed 'No Nukes Plaza' (*Genpatsu yamero hiroba*), was part of a loosely coordinated series of protests called the 'Million Person Action Against Nuclear Power'. A total of 67,000 people took part in the day of action at 144 locations across Japan as well as in 13 other countries, including 32 separate actions in France and upwards of 200 in Taiwan. In 2010–2011, the idea of the plaza as a place of protest was popularized by democracy movements associated with the Arab Spring in North Africa and the Middle East, the anti-austerity movement in Europe and later the Occupy Wall Street protests in the United States.

Activists in Japan were well aware of these movements. They were also aware of the contested history of the plaza or *hiroba* as a form of public space in modern Japan. When they gathered outside Shinjuku station, they invoked memories of similar gatherings which took place there during the student and anti-war protests of the 1960s. In this chapter, we consider No Nukes Plaza as a transnational space, a 'global *hiroba*' where practices, ideas and images from other globally connected social movements circulated as part of a contemporary ideal of democratic space. While the global *hiroba* was transnational in this sense, it was also rooted in local practices and histories. We examine the intersection between the local and transnational geographies of public space at No Nukes Plaza and in the broader anti-nuclear movement in Tokyo.

Our analysis in this chapter draws on our theoretical and practical experiences as activists and intellectuals in and across Japan, Australia and the United States. Alexander Brown's experiences in the Japanese activist scene began in 2008 when he spent a year working as a teacher in an English conversation

school. This coincided with a Group of Eight (G8) summit in Hokkaido, which became the focus of international protests. By taking part in some of the protests against the summit in Tokyo, he was able to develop connections with movement organizers. Returning to Japan in 2011 for an eighteen-month studentship at a university in Tokyo, Alexander built on these relationships and became an active participant in anti-nuclear demonstrations. He has attempted to bridge the gap between his work as a research student and his long-standing involvement in anti-capitalist and anti-nuclear movements. KT Bender's upbringing between Japan and the United States led her to seek out alternative politics and spaces in Japan after experiencing the earthquake, tsunami and nuclear disasters of March 2011 while studying in Yokohama. After organizing with the Occupy movement at the University of California, her first visit to Japan as a doctoral student was during the height of the anti-nuclear movement in 2012, where she met Alexander and other activists at the *hiroba*.

In June 2011, when the No Nukes Plaza action occurred outside Shinjuku station, we both attended the Plaza action along with a number of other researchers while taking part in a two-day the Institute for Contemporary Asian Studies (ICAS) Conference, 'Emergent Forms of Engagement and Activism in Japan: Politics, Cultures, and Technologies' (http://www.tuj.ac.jp/events/2011/0611.html). Our experiences at the Plaza action inspired us both to continue our research and activism and to communicate about these experiences in both activist and academic literature. In 2012, when hundreds of thousands of people gathered outside the prime minister's official residence in Tokyo to protest against nuclear power, we once again experienced a powerful collective occupation of a public space in Tokyo. These actions made international headlines at a time when domestic mass media largely ignored the protests due to their uncompromising message which called the existing political establishment into question, which ultimately created the political and cultural space for the pro-democracy movements that followed in the years after. For us, the 'anarchist geography' we describe in this chapter has been as much a political project of developing relationships and connections through informal networks with activists in Japan, Australia and the United States as it has been an intellectual endeavour. We bring our insights from these connections in the growing anarchist commons (Jeppesen et al. 2014) to bear on our discussion of transnational activist space in the 'global *hiroba*'.

While a number of recent works have highlighted the connections between pro-democracy and anti-corporate protest in the Anglo-European world, with some mentioning Latin America and the Middle East (Juris 2008; Porta 2007; Routledge 2011), there is a paucity of research about the impact of anarchism and the global justice movement in Asia. Writings on the pro-democracy uprisings which took place in different parts of the world in 2011

have celebrated the horizontal aspirations and practices of globally networked resistance. They tend to neglect, however, the surge of publicly visible dissent at places in Asia such as No Nukes Plaza. As Tokyo-based activist and independent scholar Higuchi Takuro[1] (2012) points out, this is the result not only of a gap in the research but a reflection of the reality that, until recently, much of the so-called 'global' anti-capitalist movement was confined to the Anglo-European world with some connections in Latin America but very little in East Asia. This has begun to change in recent years. Protests against World Trade Organization talks in Hong Kong in 2005 (Lai 2010), against the G8 in Hokkaido, Japan, in 2008 (Egami 2000; Hamanishi 2008), and more recently the Occupy Central (Cheng 2014) and Occupy Central with Peace and Love (Branigan 2014) movements in Hong Kong and the Sunflower movement in Taiwan (Rowen 2015) are all examples of a growing integration of the region into the emerging global geographies of anarchist movements. In mainland China, we can find an anarchist infoshop in Wuhan which reminds us of the European social centre movement (Tang 2010).

Following the emphasis on emotion and praxis in the anarchist geography literature (Clough 2012, 2014; Routledge 2011), this chapter is an attempt to capture the 'anarchist geographies' of transnational space we have experienced and convey some of the excitement and feeling of freedom we felt at that time as similar forms of struggle emerged across a variety of issues in Australia, the United States and Japan. In the words of Iwasaburō (Sabu) Kohso (2009, 198), we write 'together with the "anti-authoritarian global revolutionary movement" and aim to construct thoughts/words while walking together'.[2] In order to further elucidate the theoretical concerns which underpin our analysis in this chapter, we begin with a discussion of the way anarchist geographies might be conceptualized in the context of recent social movements.

THE ANARCHIST GEOGRAPHY OF TRANSNATIONAL SPACE

In the late 1990s and early 2000s, a global movement against corporate globalization captured the headlines as activists around the world-staged protests outside the summits of organizations of global governance such as the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund and the World Economic Forum. Anthropologist David Graeber was an activist in the alter-globalization movement in New York in the early 2000s. These experiences led him to describe alter-globalization activists as the 'new anarchists', a term which he felt encapsulated the centrality of creativity, anti-authoritarianism, non-hierarchical organizing and participatory democracy in the movement (Graeber 2002). Graeber argues that far from being 'anti-'globalization, as the movement was sometimes called, it embraced its own, alternative concept of globalization.

> If one takes globalization to mean the effacement of borders and the free movement of people, possessions and ideas, then it's pretty clear that not only is the movement itself a product of globalization, but the majority of groups involved in it . . . are far more supportive of globalization in general than are the IMF or WTO. (63)

Graeber is not alone in his assertion of the primacy of anarchistic values and practices in the alter-globalization movement. Springer et al. (2012) have observed that the re-emergence of anarchist theory in academic and political discourse after decades of silence consistently invokes the central role of anarchist activist practices in the growth of globally networked resistance movements. Sabu Kohso argues that the 'new anarchism' is not a fixed ideology (2009, 7). Rather, it encompasses a 'hybrid, incomplete, variety of forms'. These forms are 'in the present continuous tense' in the sense that they are always changing and evolving in and through the process of struggle. Kohso, who lives in New York and whose activist and intellectual work draws transnational connections between Japan and other sites of radical action, distinguishes the 'new anarchism' from the classical anarchism of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Historically, he observes, anarchism was often defined negatively, such as in its opposition to Marxism. Following De Angelis (2007, 245–247), however, Kohso (2009, 12–13) suggests that contemporary movements incorporate anarchist, socialist and communist 'phases'. Each phase reflects the changing strategic and tactical considerations which inform different movements over time rather than being mutually exclusive. As has been stressed in the anarchist geography literature (White and Williams 2012), Kohso identifies the 'new anarchism' not as an ideology but as a set of 'anarchistic basic principles' including autonomy, voluntary association, self-organization, mutual aid and direct democracy (10–11). While the alter-globalization movement lacked an overarching organizational structure and its participants deliberately avowed ideological hegemony, the principles identified by Kohso and Graeber provided a common basis for action and collaboration between people and groups who share these values.

A number of political philosophers have suggested that these shared ideas and practices might constitute a new kind of 'common'. Historically, commons were often rooted in highly localized spatial practices. In Britain, for example, common rights to the forests and fields were enshrined alongside Magna Carta in the Charter of the Forest (Linebaugh 2008). Kohso (2009) points out that in the 'new anarchism', the common extends beyond these place-based localities into immaterial resources, practices and imaginaries of a basis for social reproduction beyond private property. This interpretation of the common enables us to identify and build on the shared principles

between existing movements even when they are embedded in particular local circumstances. The anarchist commons expresses the possibility of greater articulation of shared understandings and experiences across unique social movements and geopolitical contexts rather than trying to build a singular resource or institution that strives to spread a strictly defined set of anarchist principles. It is 'more than just a sum of its parts. It is a deep seated political project prefiguring a constantly evolving alternative political form based on principles of collective autonomy, self-determination, and self-organization put into practice in the pleasure, work, everyday living, and activist organizing that make up all our lives' (Jeppesen et al. 2014: 897).

In a world where the barriers to the movement of people appear ever greater and more violent, the geographical connotations of the notion of the common are still far from being realized. Nevertheless, the recognition that space is an important dimension of social struggle is increasingly evident not only in informal spaces of knowledge production, like the anarchist commons, but also in the 'spatial turn' in academic literature (Soja 1989). The influence of geography as an academic discipline includes its long historical association with anarchist thought (Springer et al. 2012). The nineteenth-century anarchists Peter Kropotkin (1978) and Élisée Reclus (Reclus et al. 2004) conducted important geographical work that continues to be highly influential in activist and academic spaces. Indeed, Reclus' understanding of a kind of participatory travel (Dunbar 1978) resembles our own peregrinations through activism in three continents.

Fundamental to this project of writing an anarchist or radical geography is the understanding that these practices are political acts through which we remake the world. Contrary to the popular image of anarchism as singularly advocating violent destruction of the state, this 'new anarchism' aligns with the cultural materialism of Raymond Williams (1982, 85), who pointed out that the aim of such a project of remaking the world is 'not to make despair convincing but hope possible'. Anarchist geography makes the case for radical and relational understanding of politics that helps us move beyond the failures of past movements by working against presumptions about singular political subjectivities, such as the industrial worker or charismatic movement leaders, and beyond particular spatialities, such as scale, place, mobilities or networks (Springer 2012). Instead of seeing incoherence in the lack of a single structural answer to the continued exploitations of contemporary global capitalism, anarchist geographies draw on the contributions of poststructural, post-Marxist and feminist thought and the inspiration of existing social movements to explore a variety of alternatives (Castree et al. 2010; Clough 2014; Gibson 2014).

The uprisings of 2011 provoked innumerable reflections on the possibility for a renewed understanding of the temporality, spatiality and conflicting

ideologies of struggle within and across the movements (Kaika and Karaliotas 2014). The alter-globalization movement, which captured the global imagination with the Battle in Seattle against the WTO in 1999, had laid the ground for deepened transnational networks and coordinated actions. These connections were not strong in Asia at that time, but were deepened by activists in Japan through the 2008 protests against the G8 (Higuchi 2012).

While it is clear that past and present connections exist between these geographically diverse movements, real local differences cast doubt on claims that these protests constitute a global movement. Recognizing the interdependence of the hopeful imaginary of a globally inclusive movement of movements, the actual transnational relationships, including visa and language issues, and the specific, translocal connections between these movements, we use the terms 'global', 'transnational' and 'translocal' interchangeably in this chapter. For all the recent talks of cosmopolitanism and global flows, there still exist real impediments to the mobility of significant numbers of individuals between these global sites of resistance. Instead, what is more visible is the circulation of ideas, symbols and tactics which are transmitted through networked digital forms of communication as well as the direct exchange of conversations, books and other interactions and media between activists who are able to make the journey.

Their sense of spatiality resonates with Springer's (2012, 1607) manifesto for anarchist geographies, which are 'kaleidoscopic spatialities that allow for multiple, non-hierarchical, and protean connections between autonomous entities, wherein solidarities, bonds, and affinities are voluntarily assembled in opposition to and free from the presence of sovereign violence, predetermined norms, and assigned categories of belonging'. Anarchist geographies transcend national boundaries and connect urban insurrections to a global movement through the circulation of ideas, images, people and practices (Ince 2012; Springer 2011). In the next section, we examine the ways in which 'No Nukes Plaza' in Japan became a transnational space, connected to the global movement of movements that erupted in 2011 and 2012 through a series of common practices, images and imaginaries.

THE GLOBAL *HIROBA*

The call-out for the No Nukes Plaza demonstration promised that the plaza would 'appear' at 6 p.m. in front of the Alta building outside the east exit of Shinjuku station. Details were vague beyond the suggestion that 'something incredible will happen!!!!! will be made to happen!!!' (*tondemonai nanika ga okiru !!!!! okosu !!!!!*) and a short list of speakers. Organizers were determined to remain in the square throughout the evening, something which

would not normally be possible under Japanese law. In order to get around these restrictions, organizers took advantage of rules permitting a standard march and demonstration as well as formal political campaigning in public spaces. The organizers arranged for public address vehicles belonging to a number of sympathetic political parties to be parked outside the station. These vehicles have a speakers' platform and public address system mounted on the roof and are used for street spruiking during election campaigns. Although the presence of these vehicles gave a legal pretext to the gathering, during the No Nukes Plaza action they were only one component of a festive action involving music, dancing and chanting which kept the energy high in the open space outside the station. Activist and No Nukes Plaza organizer Amamiya Karin addressed the crowd of 20,000 demonstrators from the roof of one of the public address vehicles. She later described the scene on her blog at the progressive online publication *Magajin 9* (Magazine 9):

> Groups of demonstrators, who had left Shinjuku Central Park at 3 o'clock, began to arrive outside the Alta building one after the other. From here on in it was more than just chaotic noise. This place (*ba*) became 'No Nukes Plaza' and all of a sudden a 'liberated zone' (*kaihōku*) appeared in the middle of the bustling streets outside the station! When I climbed up onto the *gaisensha* and looked around I was blown away. As far as the eye could see for 360º there were people, people, people. The ranks of the demonstration continued on and on into the far distance, and people were overflowing from the *hiroba* in front of me. From all around came the call 'We don't need nuclear power' ('Genpatsu iranai') which reverberated across like a rumble from the ground, the sound of drums, the sound of sirens, the dizzy faces of person after person and balloons inscribed with 'Genpatsu iranai', countless placards, flags and banners. It was a sight that made you wonder 'is this Tahrir Square?' (Amamiya 2011)

Amamiya's reference to Tahrir Square indicates the organizers' strong interest in the uprising which was taking place in North Africa and the Middle East that year, and that inspired the action to occupy the plaza. They saw the coordinated occupation of public space as an effective means to gather together people from different backgrounds to associate freely, joined by the common cause of opposition to an oppressive government. A few days after the protest, activists celebrated the success of No Nukes Plaza in the mock newspaper front page shown in figure 6.1. Echoing Amamiya's words, the subheading in yellow on the right of this 'newspaper' proclaimed that the action was 'just like Tahrir Square!!!' Public squares and plazas played a powerful symbolic and practical role in many of the uprisings of 2011 from Tahrir Square in Egypt (Souza and Lipietz 2011), to the Spanish M15 movement's occupations of urban plazas (Castañeda 2012), to the Occupy

Figure 6.1 Nantoka Shimbun. *Source*: Yukiko Harada.

Wall Street movement in New York's Zucotti Park (Mitchell 2012). In these and a host of similar movements in 2011 and 2012, public squares became sites of commingling, engaging a plurality of actors whose presence directly challenged the existing management of those spaces. As Luisa Martín Rojo (2014, 586) has observed, the occupation of 'not just any urban space but the main squares of cities on practically every continent' in 2010 and 2011 was important because the choice of location itself 'contributes to the meaning of the protest message, and in another sense, it transforms urban space and the experience of its inhabitants'.

The activists who organized No Nukes Plaza had followed these global developments closely. Many had personal connections with the global activist networks which organized many of these urban uprisings. Japanese activists travelled extensively in Europe, North America and other parts of Asia in the years prior to 2011 where they forged links with activists in anti-war and alter-globalization movements. In 2008, these connections were further consolidated when the G8 held its annual summit in the northern Japanese island of Hokkaido (Higuchi 2012). Activists in Tokyo helped coordinate a convergence of alter-globalization activists from around the world who travelled to Japan to protest against the G8 and hold their own, alternative summits. After Fukushima, these links connecting urban activists in Tokyo with their counterparts in other parts of Asia and the Anglo-European world were

strengthened by solidarity actions and activist exchanges, such as through the Million Person Action Against Nuclear Power. In Australia, too, anti-nuclear activists responded to the Fukushima disaster by organizing in solidarity with the people affected by radiation. As Vera Mackie (2015) explains, these actions stemmed from long-standing networks of solidarity between peace and anti-nuclear activists in the two countries.

Anti-nuclear activists from the group which organized the No Nukes Plaza action travelled to meet anti-nuclear and democracy activists and share their experiences. A month before the June 2011 No Nukes Plaza, for example, two of the organizers had travelled to Taiwan where they took part in anti-nuclear protests which were in part inspired by the Amateur Revolt group's creative protest tactics and everyday anarchist practice. In September, when Occupy Wall Street protests in New York's Zuccotti Park captured world attention, many activists and intellectuals from No Nukes Plaza travelled to the Occupy camp to share their experiences of anti-nuclear organizing (Matsumoto et al. 2012). These activist journeys reflected an earlier phase of the alter-globalization movement, which was characterized by activists travelling across the globe to protest outside the summits of global organizations such as the World Bank. The 2008 anti-G8 protests in Hokkaido brought about 300 international activists to Japan, strengthening international solidarity networks. As the alter-globalization movement grew, however, many activists rejected so-called 'summit-hopping' as an organizing tactic, preferring instead to focus their efforts on community-based organizing. The results of this tactical shift can be seen in the movements of 2010 and 2011. While activists remained rooted in place, they continued to communicate with one another, even visiting one another's occupation sites. This was in part facilitated by the increased use of Internet communication technologies. Occupy Wall Street in New York became particularly well known for its online media production which helped to spread the movement across the United States and around the world. Activists in Tokyo, too, wove electronic webs in and through physical sites of occupation and protest, with much of the promotion of many of the protests circulating online through blogs and platforms like Twitter and Facebook.

The use of media also facilitated the sharing of imagery, reinforcing the sense of a shared struggle among activists in different parts of the world. The photograph in Figure 6.1 visually referenced a series of similar photographs of occupied squares and plazas in North Africa, the Middle East and Europe which were circulating through social media and global news websites at this time. As Mackie (2014, 228) observes, when we read images we do so through a series of intertextual links with other, similar images which we have encountered in the past. As images of square occupations from Tahrir Square to Spain's M1 movement circulated more and more widely in alternative

and mainstream media, activists could signal their commonality with these protests by creating similar photographs. As Rojo (2014, 587) suggests, 'The slogans, signs of protest and murals that flooded the streets of the cities during the protests were symbolic manifestations of this space, but also powerful mechanisms in their production.'

In the publicity for the June No Nukes Plaza event, the organizers used a photograph of the M1 encampment in Catalonia Square in Barcelona on their Tumblr blog. In addition to the photograph, references to the global democratic uprising in the text, reflected protest organizers' desire to situate their action within this global democracy movement. For Lefebvre, space is produced culturally through three overlapping practices: spatial practices, representations of space and representational spaces. Representational space, he explains, 'overlays physical space, making symbolic use of its objects' (Lefebvre 1991, 39). Over the banal space of a consumer paradise in Shinjuku, the creators of the image in figure 6.1 laid a representational space which spoke to shared transnational activist culture. Like the shared practice of square occupation, the creation of representational spaces enabled activists to produce a global imaginary about the desires for democracy and transnational solidarity that were so clearly manifested throughout the world in 2011. Through visual tropes like the photograph of the June No Nukes Plaza demonstration depicted in figure 6.1, activists created a global visual grammar of 'what democracy looks like', which was easily shared and reproduced using social media.

A third important component of the construction of a transnational space at No Nukes Plaza was the circulation of radical ideas in and through the space. Gonoi Ikuo (2012, 12) emphasizes below the way in which ideas are translated and transmitted around the world:

> Just as the comic book version of Martin Luther King's exposition of civil disobedience was translated into Arabic and was adapted into the repertoire of the non-violent occupation of a square, Cairo's Tahrir Square and Spain's Puerta Del Sol in Japan became the No Nukes Plaza at Alta-mae and 'Liberty Square' in New York's Zuccoti park.

For Gonoi, however, it is not only a common protest repertoire that is transmitted through global activist networks but, more importantly, the courage to move from a sense of injustice to throwing one's body into action, actively putting freedom into practice. Pointing to the influence of the Russian philosopher Tolstoy's ideas of non-violence on the young Gandhi, studying in what was then British South Africa, and in turn their manifestation in the Indian independence movement, Gonoi emphasizes the global circulation of radical ideas that underlies modern protest movements (Gonoi 2012, 12–13).

Konishi (2013), in his examination of the links between Russian anarchism and the cooperative movement in Japan in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, suggests an alternative 'anarchist modernity' which exists parallel to better-known narratives of imperialist rivalry between Russia and Japan. Tracing the links between practices, images and ideas in the alter-globalization movement, we can make out the outline of an anarchist geography of globalization which exists in tension with the more familiar geographies of capitalism.

Taking these ideas of what a liberated life might look like and putting them into practice is centrally important. One powerful idea which has developed in the interchange of ideas between activists in North America, Europe and Japan is that of the 'Temporary Autonomous Zone' (TAZ) which circulated around the world through the movement against capitalist globalization (Bey 1985). TAZ is not the only tactic which has developed along with the networks of the alter-globalization movement. The attempt to 'liberate' space and create a temporary zone which is autonomous from the usual restrictions governing urban space is an important part of the direct action philosophy of the 'new anarchism'. In Amamiya's account quoted above, she celebrates the *hiroba* at No Nukes Plaza as a 'liberated zone' where people could freely associate and express themselves in ways that seemed out of reach of everyday life in the global capitalist city of Tokyo. Through the *hiroba*, they created a different kind of urban landscape, one that was about the practice of liberation and freedom instead of commodification and global profit.

The circulation of ideas in the global *hiroba* also took place through books and websites. Sabu Kohso, whose ideas on the global 'new anarchism' we discussed above, was one of a number of activist-intellectuals who worked to translate texts between Japanese and English in support of the anti-nuclear movement in Japan. They created a website *Japan Fissures: Cracks in the Planetary Apparatus*, which acted in support of the physical manifestations on the ground at No Nukes Plaza and elsewhere. Later, as anti-nuclear activists visited Occupy Wall Street and deepened their connection with them, books appeared in Japanese discussing the Occupy Movement (Writers for the 99% 2012), and Japanese writers grappled with the significance and relevance of the movement for their own struggle (Gonoi 2012; Kohso 2012; Sono 2012).

The global uprising which began in Tunisia in late 2010 and swept across the Arab world, Europe and North America and into East Asia in 2011 made it possible for activists in Japan to imagine their protest as part of a global political movement. The occupation of urban public space was a common tactic across a variety of local contexts during the uprisings of 2011 and 2012, suggesting an increasingly transnational practice of urban space in contemporary social movements. The circulation of shared imagery and ideas further

contributed to this sense of a transnational space at No Nukes Plaza. Yet, as Rojo (2014, 586) reminds us, while the square became a powerful transnational space, not 'all squares hold the same value, given that the design and planning of cities is something that happens at different historical moments and under the influence of different ideologies and cultures'. In the next section, we consider the ways in which the local history of urban public space in Tokyo manifested at No Nukes Plaza.

THE LOCAL *HIROBA*

Shinjuku station is the busiest train station in the world, with over 3.6 million people passing through it each day. The small east exit plaza outside Shinjuku station is, however, an unremarkable place which bears the equally unremarkable name 'Shinjuku East Exit Plaza'. It contains little other than a small stage for musical performances and product promotions and some uninspiring gardens. The plaza is overshadowed on all sides by the tall, neon-lit buildings and loud advertisements of Shinjuku's shopping and entertainment districts. Why, then, did organizers choose to conclude the day's activities in this pedestrian thoroughfare in Shinjuku?

An answer to this question requires an exploration of the local histories of urban space in Tokyo. The Shirōto no Ran organizers of the No Nukes Plaza demonstration have had a long-standing interest in the idea of reclaiming the city from the spectacle of consumption. As we discussed above, the notion of a 'liberated zone' or a 'Temporary Autonomous Zone' was one with which the No Nukes Plaza organizers were already very familiar. Over many years, members of the Shirōto no Ran network had staged actions in Shinjuku and other parts of Tokyo which sought to question the arrangements of urban public space. Shirōto no Ran activist Matsumoto Hajime, for example, suggests that the point of demonstrating is less to contest a particular issue and more a means of making irregular use of the public streets. The attempt to create an open *hiroba* at No Nukes Plaza was a continuation of Shirōto no Ran's long-standing tactic of intervening in public space to create 'liberated zones' and repurpose public space for contentious politics. In the group's 'Smash Christmas' action of December 2007, for example, a small number of activists gathered near Shinjuku station and attempted to have a hotpot party. When the police arrived to move the group along, Matsumoto challenged them, asking what was wrong with their sharing food in the street. This concern with pushing the boundaries of what is possible in urban public space is one of the key questions underlying much of Matsumoto Hajime and Shirōto no Ran's activism (2011).

In questioning the limits of public space, the group continually found itself coming up against the police and legal restrictions placed on political

demonstrations, revealing real limits on political freedom in a supposedly democratic nation. Typically, street protests in Tokyo begin with a protest rally held in a public park. This is followed by a march through the streets which then dissolves at a designated end point where participants are asked to disperse. Legal restrictions require protest organizers to file for permission with the public safety authorities at their local police station prior to the protest. In order to do so, they must designate specific starting and dissolution points for the march. For the organizers of No Nukes Plaza and the Genpatsu Yamero Demo, however, demonstrating is about more than marching through the street chanting slogans; it is about praxis, putting directly into practice what they see as necessary for living freely. The Amateur Revolt group which formed the nucleus of the Genpatsu Yamero organizing group were interested in the idea of reclaiming public space and making irregular use of the city as a political tactic. At an earlier Genpatsu Yamero demonstration in Shibuya in May, for example, they attempted to avoid having to dissolve the protest immediately following the march while still outwardly complying with police directives to clear the streets. The organizers prepared a large flag with the word 'dissolve' (*kaisan*) emblazoned upon it. At the conclusion of the demonstration, the flag was unfurled at the centre of a marching band performance, creating the spectacle of 'dissolving' the demonstration while actually tempting participants to linger and partake in ecstatic music making and dancing (Leser and Seidel 2011).

Shirōto no Ran's tactical interventions into urban public space were motivated in part by its members' engagement with the history of public space in Japan. The histories of *hiroba* in Japan are inevitably bound up with the archipelago's late modernization and its complex relationship with the ideals of democracy imported from the imperialist states it came into contact with in the nineteenth century (Sand 2013). In the aftermath of the Second World War, liberal and Marxist theorists sought an explanation for the rise of fascism in Japan in the lack of mechanisms for citizens to participate in the polity. Many were concerned that, despite the tragic course on which the pre-war political leadership had steered Japan, many of the institutions and practices which had led to the development of fascism remained in place. Political scientist Maruyama Masao was one of the best-known proponents of the view that democracy and modernity in Japan were incomplete due to persisting elements of Japan's authoritarian rule, such as the emperor system (Sasaki-Uemura 2001). For Maruyama, the continued deference to elite authority reflected the absence of an active civil society. His conception of democracy, like that of Jürgen Habermas, posits the centrality of a public sphere through which citizens could exercise rational deliberation in order to influence the workings of the state. He saw the totalitarian ideology of pre-war and wartime Japan as the ultimate expression of a 'system of irresponsibility' that arose

due to the lack of a distinct public realm. Under the Meiji Constitution, the general population were positioned as subjects in the *kokutai*, the symbolic identity of the mythical Japanese national body, instead of citizens of a democratic polis. This collapsed the Habermasian distinction between the space of public deliberation and the state and made a fertile ground for the rise of Japanese fascism.

While initially compelling for many, Maruyama's stagiest view of development, which carried an underlying demand for Japan to 'catch up' to the democratic institutions of the West, was condemned in the student uprisings of the late 1960s. Students rejected liberals like Maruyama, who they saw as preaching about democracy while maintaining all the trappings of their privilege as members of an intellectual elite. The students who occupied universities such as Maruyama's own University of Tokyo risked their bodies while they sought to realize individual experiences of freedom in the liberated zones (*kaihōku*) of the occupied campuses (Kersten 2009, 232–237). They disavowed liberal democratic conceptions of the public sphere and the fetishization of institutionalized spaces for democratic relations. Instead, they tried to enact more radical theories of urban public space, practicing freedom directly. When they were eventually thrown out of the occupied universities by the riot police in 1968 and 1969, students joined anti-war activists and musicians who gathered in the west exit of Shinjuku station. There the so-called 'folk guerillas' held largely spontaneous gatherings where they joined together in sing-alongs, debates and fundraisings while attempting to create a new kind of *hiroba*, one premised on an active anti-hierarchical conception of public space rather than the static conception of the liberal democratic plaza (Eckersall 2011; Sand 2013).

Like the east exit that became the site of the No Nukes Plaza in 2011, the west exit is a banal place. Nevertheless, built in preparation for the 1964 Tokyo Olympics, the West Exit Plaza, with its 'organic flowing lines, mezzanine levels, smooth-running transit points, and strange pod-like air vents', was 'a striking vision of science fiction Metabolist-inspired modernity' (Eckersall 2011, 103). The ideal of a civic space encapsulated in the term 'plaza' was, however, a largely symbolic one which the folk guerrillas attempted to transform into a living practice. Following the expulsion of the folk guerrilla's from the West Exit Plaza by riot police, the railway authorities officially renamed the Plaza the 'West Exit Underground Concourse', removing even the linguistic trace of the idea of the *hiroba*. To this day, posted rules warn against any congregating and even of stopping in the area *(tachidomari kinshi)*. This renaming confirmed growing debates about the limits of liberal democratic formations and the notion of the *hiroba* as an institutionalized status. This historical juncture, like that of the global wave of protest movements in 2011, was influenced by the transnational

circulation of critical urban theory and practice. Henri Lefebvre's history of the Paris Commune was translated and published in Japanese in 1967 and 1968, and his critique of the urban, especially the idea of the great festival at its heart, inspired activists in the 'liberated zones' *(kaihōku)* behind the barricades built by students in their occupations of universities around the country (Sand 2013). In these circles, the ideals behind the use of the term *hiroba* and public sphere espoused by liberal thinkers like Maruyama and Habermas were cast aside in favour of recreating the insurgent, festive element of the liberated space of the commune and emerging understandings of urban space beyond the city.

The No Nukes Plaza activists in 2011 were well aware of the history of the station as a site of protest. Their attempt to create a genuine *hiroba* alive with political debate, dance and song explicitly referenced the legacy of the folk guerrillas. In a promotional video for the June 11 action, one activist appeared with a guitar slung around his neck on a beach in the disaster-affected area of Tōhoku singing Okabayashi Nobuyasu's 'Tomo yo' (My friend). This popular folk song was the anthem of the folk guerrillas. Introducing the video, the performer calls on the older generation of protesters who lived through the heady days of the late 1960s to bring their grandchildren and once again take to the streets in protest. References to the folk guerrillas were also made during the march which led up to the No Nukes Plaza action. Leading one section of the march was a flatbed truck with a sound-system mounted on the back. There a number of bands performed folk and rock songs as part of a 'Folk Guerrilla Bloc'. Through their anarchic occupation of public space, the No Nukes Plaza activists spoke to the historical legacy of the folk guerrillas. Their ideals of a joyful, festive kind of public space seemed more relevant than the notion of a liberal public sphere contained in the writings of Maruyama Masao. The political actions at the named *hiroba* at the west exit of Shinjuku station in 1969 and the 'global *hiroba*' at the east exit in 2011 underscore the importance of spatial practice and the spirit of the act of taking over unsanctioned political space rather than a fetish for the literal built space of the plaza. In Lefebvre's influential ideas of the production of urban space, cities are no longer understood as independent bounded places, but as particular sites in and through which global capital is accumulated and circulated. The insurgent use of public space and the celebration of the global *hiroba* carry with them an implicit critique of liberal democratic society as an answer to authoritarian regimes and highlight the way structures of oppression are enacted through the regulation of space and time in the city. No Nukes Plaza was an extension of an established strategy for the subversive occupation of public space for the purpose of democratic political expression.

By weaving these local histories together with the transnational practices, images and ideas of the 2011 uprisings, the activists in No Nukes Plaza

performed a 'global *hiroba*' which spoke to both international and local concerns.

CONCLUSION

In this chapter, we have developed the notion of a 'global *hiroba*' to refer to the transnational connections and imaginaries which were mediated through the occupation of public space in the Japanese anti-nuclear movement of 2011. We have argued that ideas, tactics and symbols developed in locally rooted, 'everyday' movements are connected to the highly visible moments of public contestation through global networks of resistance. In addition to making the struggle visible in the streets, organizers advanced the intellectual activism of anarchist geography by identifying commonalities in theory and practice which exist across global struggles and national borders. Drawing on some of the existing work on the mass movements in 2011 and 2012 by both scholars and activists, we have shown how the reclamation of urban public space for political protest became a common tactic, which also connected these disparate sites with an archipelago of global resistance In Japan, these practices were articulated through global networks, as well as through local histories of public space as a site of resistance. We also considered the way No Nukes Plaza was situated in Japan in the context of the tensions which exist between the local, national and global histories. We conclude that the 'global *hiroba*' is a necessarily incomplete project, but one which opens the possibility of common images, languages and tactics deepening and extending global activist networks through the articulation of local struggles.

No Nukes Plaza came into being in Shinjuku for just a few hours on June 11, 2011. The success of the *hiroba* as a tactic inspired activists to hold similar actions again three months later and again the following year. These actions are necessarily temporally limited as the 'global *hiroba*' returns once more to a banal space of consumption and commutation. Longer-lived occupations such as the Occupy Wall Street camp in Zucotti Park also came and went during the course of 2011. Yet, these temporary liberated zones produce resonances through the shared practices, images and ideas of a global protest movement. Kohso argues, in a commentary on the Japanese-language edition of the Occupy Wall Street publication *Occupying Wall Street*, that the camp in New York City was part of a broad global 'tendency' which transcended any one movement or group. The 'movement' known as Occupy Wall Street was not the whole movement, but it was a part of this broader tendency (Kohso 2009, 246). Against narratives of singularity and inevitability, this movement of movements, or tendency, is one also of hope over hopelessness. Sabu Kohso argues that 'new anarchism' cannot delineate 'a single, fixed

object' but rather an 'incomplete, hybrid thing which encompasses a great variety of forms which are "present-continuous" and in the process of development' (Kohso 2009, 7). The insurgent practice of the *global hiroba* dares to provoke and enact an alternative relationship to existing spaces, demonstrating symbolically and practically that a different story can be made and told.

Like Occupy Wall Street and many of the global democracy movements which occurred in 2011, Genpatsu Yamero was not 'the movement' but a manifestation of a tendency. Over the course of 2011 and 2012, the movement grew, eventually producing demonstrations with a crowd exceeding 100,000 people (Oguma 2013). When we conceive of the Genpatsu Yamero *Hiroba* as part of this broader tendency, we can see how the temporary *hiroba* outside Shinjuku station serves as a node in a global *hiroba*, part of the anarchic geography of resistance in today's globally connected democracy movements.

NOTES

1. Japanese names are rendered in this chapter with the family name first and the given name second as is the usual practice in Japan.
2. This translation and all following translations from the Japanese are our own.

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Chapter 7

The Battle for the Common Space, from the Neo-Liberal Creative City to the Rebel City and Vice Versa

The Cases of Athens, Istanbul, Thessaloniki and Izmir

Matina Kapsali and Charalampos Tsavdaroglou

Cities are strategic sites for neo-liberal experimentation, yet, at the same time, they constitute the terrain for the emergence of well-networked social movements and urban uprisings. Since the 1990s and especially in the 2000s, in a context of increasing urbanization, neo-liberal urbanism was established on the basis of new urban developmental policies and enclosures, making space the pivotal area for growth and profit through privatizations, gentrification, new types of housing development and processes of surveillance and securitization (Harvey 2012; Jeffrey et al. 2012; Merrifield 2013). Under the complex and unpredictable context of today's urbanized world, cities aspire to become 'global', 'entrepreneurial', 'resilient' or 'creative'. Nevertheless, neo-liberalization is not a monolithic project but a process, always experimented, translated and implemented but also always contested and challenged (Springer 2010; also see among others Brenner and Theodore 2002; Wacquant 2012). Urban social movements, urban struggles and riots destabilize the neo-liberalization of urban space and indicate that contingency, unpredictability (Stavrides 2014) and misfitting (Holloway 2010) have to be taken into account in the conceptualization of space production. In particular, the plethora of movements, waves of protest and forms of everyday resistance that emerged recently in cities worldwide is directly or indirectly connected to an anarchist and libertarian framework based on such principles as horizontality, self-management, mutual aid and freedom. Thus, following the thinking of several contemporary urban scholars (Vasudevan et al., 2008; Hodkinson 2012; Hart 2004) and of anarchists geographers (Bektas 2013; Dalakoglou and Vradis 2011; Souza 2010; Springer 2011; Souza

2012a) we begin from the premise that a specific focus should be given to spatial histories of neo-liberalism which take due consideration of the broader politico-economic canvas and specifically explore the complex configurations through which neo-liberalism and urban movements are intertwined.

This chapter attempts to trace the parallel processes of neo-liberal urban restructuring in terms of culture-led regeneration and revanchist urbanism and of urban insurgencies in terms of their potential to produce anarchist visions of the society grounded in the quest of freedom, cooperation and emancipation in and through the common space. In doing so, we examine Turkey (Istanbul and Izmir) and Greece (Athens and Thessaloniki) as living laboratories, adopting an intersectional and postcolonial comparative urban thinking. During the last few years, researchers have tended to either focus on the recent urban insurgencies in Greek and Turkish cities, that is, the December 2008 uprising, the indignant squares 2011 and the Gezi Park uprising (Arampatzi and Nicholls 2012; Dalakoglou and Vradis 2011; Karaman 2013a; Yalcintan 2012), or explore the neo-liberal strategies employed by the Greek and Turkish governments within a process of fast neo-liberalization and urban restructuring (Binark and Bayraktutan 2012; Dündari 2010; Enlil 2011; Maloutas 2007; Penpecioglu 2013). In this chapter, we wish to develop a more comprehensive reading on these parallel process and recognize the (im) balances between them. We do not view the processes that we are focusing on as disconnected and isolated. Rather they must be understood as moments that are linked 'to the broader assemblage of "global" contestations over "the right to the city" and alternative urban futures' (Springer 2011: 527).

We choose to examine the case of these four cities, that is, Athens, Istanbul, Izmir and Thessaloniki, as they are situated around the Aegean Sea, which is between Europe and Asia, global north and global south, and East and West. The inter-articulation of the plethora of urban social movements in the fields of race, gender and class, the neo-liberal urban policies and the mixed cultural practices produce novel, unique and hybrid urban spaces. Of course, the following findings and analysis provide a schematic attempt wishing to constitute the starting point of a deeper comparative understanding of the current and the future battles on urban space.

The structure of the paper is as follows. The first section lays out the methodological approach and charts the conceptual framework, offering a more nuanced understanding of the use of culture and creativity in the neo-liberal urban restructuring and the production of the common space through the recent insurgencies. The second section constitutes the core of the empirical analysis of the paper. It examines first the Turkish and then the Greek cities, commencing with an analysis of the way that the cities under scrutiny are figured as exemplary places for neo-liberal cultural policies and mega-events and continues with the examination of the production of common space

through the recent insurgencies. Finally, the last section attempts to draw some preliminary conclusions and make some key theoretical notes.

COMPARATIVE, POSTCOLONIAL AND INTERSECTIONAL METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH

Enquiring into the role of urbanization and the meaning of the urban is not something new. Today, we live in a highly urbanized world where the majority of the world population live in cities (Kaika and Swyngedouw 2014). Planetary urbanization is the key driving force for today's urban development and 'creates a whole new spatial world (dis)order' (Merrifield 2013: 2). Based on the most recent thinking on comparative urbanism, we commence by 'thinking across different urban experiences' (Robinson 2011: 2) in order to build a new and more situated knowledge (McFarlane 2011). What matters in our analysis is that comparative research could assist a move towards a 'cosmopolitical urbanism' where patterns of urban development such as gentrification or creativity would be translated multiply while moving around the world. Further, the following analysis is inspired by the 'variation-finding' comparative method (Robinson 2011), as a point-by-point comparison between the cities under scrutiny is not the point of this chapter.

At the same time, we draw attention on intersectional approaches (Crenshaw 1991; Hooks 2000; Collins 2009 [1990]; Lykke 2010) that examine the crossings, interferences and diffractions of the multiple systems of domination, oppression and discrimination such as race, class, gender, ethnicity, sexuality, religion, disability, age, culture, body size, education level and citizenship. According to the anarcha-feminists Volcano and Rogue (2012), intersectionality is a tool which allows us to think of the above categories not as independent from one another but as mutually constituting.

FROM THE RIGHT TO THE CITY TO THE PRODUCTION OF THE COMMON SPACE

In recent decades, a considerable body of literature attempts to think spatially around issues of democracy, (in)justice and politics. Here, politics is understood as a world-building and space-making process (Dikeç 2013a). More specifically,

> [S]pace becomes political in that it becomes an integral element of the interruption of the 'natural' (or, better yet, naturalized) order of domination through the constitution of a place of encounter by those that have no part in that order. The

> political is signalled by this encounter as a moment of interruption, and not by the mere presence of power relations and competing interests. (Dikeç 2005: 172)

Public space is the terrain for the emergence of radical claims, as it constitutes the 'space of appearance' (Arendt, 1958) and the 'space of encounters' (Merrifield 2013). The key process of radical visibility is the one through which urban actors act in and through public space, constantly challenging and (re-)defining both their identities and the spatial meanings. This is also a basic argument in the theorization of Lefebvre (1974) on public space, that is, the social constructedness of urban space. Following Lefebvre (1974), space is not a dead vacuum that is filled with actions, images, relationships and ideologies, but it is a complex social construction which affects spatial practices and perceptions. According to the three-part analysis of Lefebvre, space differs in physical-mental-social space, spatial practice-representations of space-representational space and perceived-conceived-lived space (op.cit.).

Based on the above conceptualization of space, Lefebvre published in 1968 his famous work *The Right to the City*, in which he argues that 'the city [is] the place of confrontations and of (conflictual) relations . . . , the city [is] the 'site of desire' . . . and site of revolutions' ([1968]1996: 109). Furthermore, Lefebvre clarifies that the 'right to the city' is not a typical right to nature but 'in the face of this pseudo-right, the right to the city is like a cry and a demand' (op.cit.: 173). Ever since this book was published, it served as a great inspiration for several scholars, researchers, academics and activists. Being the point of departure for various urban movements, it contributed to a wave of resistance and destabilization of sovereignty in many parts of the western world during the turbulent decades of the 1960s and 1970s.

However, during the last decades, diverse actors, such as municipal authorities, political parties or NGOs, appropriated the revolutionary and innovative rhetoric of the right to the city (Brenner et al. 2009; Leontidou 2010; Mayer 2009). A bulk of reformist discourses emerged, reducing Lefebvre's radical claim for the right to the city to a fashionable slogan. Used as an umbrella term, the right to the city is reduced to claims for better housing, higher wages or lower rents in the context of today's capitalist city (Souza 2010). According to this, the right to the city is presented as 'the right to a better, more "human" life in the context of the capitalist city, the capitalist society and on the basis of a ("reformed" and "improved") representative "democracy"' (Souza 2010: 316).

In contrast to the reformist rhetoric around the right to the city and beyond its interpretation from previous forms of urban movements, during the last few years we witnessed a rising tide of urban revolts and mobilizations that attempted to reinterpret it. In the late 1990s' 'Reclaim The Streets movement', in the 2005 Parisian banlieue uprising, in the 2006 Oaxaca commune, in the 2008 Athens uprising, in the 2011 London riots, and in the recently occupied

squares of Cairo, Madrid, Athens, New York and Istanbul, the protesters did not just claim the city from the sovereign power but rather they occupied and tended to transform it. Indicative is the passage from the famous slogan of the 1960s' movements 'be realistic, demand the impossible' to the recent Occupy movement slogan in the United States, 'occupy everything, demand nothing' (Deserlis and Dean 2012). Besides, as Souza (2010: 330) points out, 'Social movements must continually reinvent themselves, their strategies and tactics, and finally their language, in order to avoid the coloni[z]ation of radical slogans and concepts (such as the "right to the city") and to cope with new and old challenges'. The diverse and heterogeneous characteristics of these movements bring them close to an anarchist and libertarian approach, as they always attempt to remain beyond and against the state and create free and horizontal networks of mutual aid.

At the same time during the last few years, a range of radical authors, such as Springer (2012), White and Williams (2012), Graeber (2002), Ealham (2005), Souza (2012a; 2012b; 2014), Newman (2011) and others have expressed a renewed interest in anarchist ideas gleaning insights from poststructuralist theory. Indeed, they followed the great anarchist tradition—until recently largely ignored by geographers—from Reclus (1876–1894, 1905–1908) to Kropotkin (1978 [1885], 2002 [1899]) and Bookchin (1974, 1992, 2005 [1982]). Yet, the post-anarchist or neo-anarchist radical thinkers reject the essentialist and naturalistic dimension of classical anarchism and adopt a libertarian approach that often takes under strong consideration the spatial dimension. In particular, in the field of urban studies, we are witnessing the emergence of the so-called 'new anarchist geographies' (for instance, Barker and Pickerill 2012; Clough 2012; Ince 2012), which emphasize 'a "do-it-yourself" (DIY) ethos of autonomy, direct action, radical democracy, and non-commodification' (Springer 2013: 53) and 'employ an explicitly anarcho-geographical perspective' (ibid.: 56). It is exactly at this point that a radical conceptualization of common space as a space of freedom becomes central in our analysis.

Beyond and against understanding of the commons as resource for economic exploitation (see, among others, Coase 1960; Hardin 1968; Ostrom 1990), autonomous Marxists (Caffentzis 2010; DeAngelis 2007; Hardt and Negri 2009) understand common space as the space that is created by the interaction among the space of common pool resources, the commoning and the space of community. Following the Lefebvrian vocabulary and the autonomous-Marxist approach, the common space could be conceptualized as following: The perceived space of common pool resources is produced through the process of emancipatory commoning, which is the spatial practice of collective sharing of the means of (re)production. In parallel, commoning takes place in the lived social space through the process of setting up the communities of commoners. The commoners are those who

self-organize non-commercial ways of sharing common pool resources. Based on this three-part definition of commons, it can be argued that commons do not exist *per se* but that they are made in times of social struggles.

Although autonomous Marxists contribute significantly to a radical conceptualization of the commons, we have to note that there is a significant weakness. As we mentioned earlier, autonomous Marxists reject the centrality of resources, replacing it with the centrality of social forces (Caffentzis 2010; DeAngelis 2013; Hardt and Negri 2009). However, following the analysis of Jeppesen et al. (2014: 881) on the 'profeminist anarchists commons', the focus on social forces often leads to an 'economistic' and 'deterministic' approach, reducing all forms of oppression in labour–capital antagonism. According to Jeppesen et al. (2014), the multiple systems of domination in the fields of race, gender or culture should not be put as secondary categories added to the central category of class but should be examined in parallel. They are 'overlapping, complex, interacting, intersecting, and often contradictory configurations' (Volcano and Rogue 2012: 1) that are played out in the everyday life in complex ways.

So, here we wish to develop a comparative and intersectional conceptualization of the common space in order to explore the everyday struggles for freedom. These struggles constitute attempts to produce visions of post-neoliberal anarchist societies in the here and now. As McKay (2008: 21) highlights, anarchism is, and always has been, '[m]ore than just a means of analysis or a vision of a better society. It is also rooted in struggle, the struggle of the oppressed for their freedom'. Through anti-authoritarian struggles, activists produce the common space wherein they embody their particular experiences, expanding the spatial and temporal horizons of actions (Routledge 2003).

Based on the framework analysed above, we emphasize the need for a shift to the epistemological focus of radical urban research from social forces and powers to social relations, modes of communication and social praxis. All in all, following the contemporary anarchist and libertarian literature (Anarchist FAQ 2012; Jeppesen et al. 2014; Volcano and Rogue 2012), we suggest to surpass the classical dipole 'structure' versus 'agency' and to rethink common space in a relational approach. Based on such an approach, common space is a complex social system where culture, class, gender, race, etc., are interacting, intersecting and producing contradictory and unpredictable spaces.

THE NEO-LIBERAL CREATIVE CITY AND THE ENCLOSURE OF THE COMMON SPACE

The neo-liberal urban policies include several mechanisms like privatization of the municipal public sector and public infrastructures; gentrification-led

restructuring of city centres and inner-city housing markets; new strategies of territorial development that expose localities to global market forces and encourage business (re)location through special zoning incentives; and privatization and intensified surveillance of public spaces and creation of new, privatized spaces of elite and corporate consumption both governed by zero tolerance and discriminatory social control (Brenner and Theodore 2002). In modern cities, culture is used as a central tool for economic development. Cities worldwide strive to enter the inter-urban competition through diverse strategies, such as the branding of the image of the city, the hosting of mega-events, the investment on cultural facilities (like museums), or the association of the city with cultural icons. The aim of these strategies is to produce positive urban representations or, in other words, to present 'a straightforward representation of a city as a place of opportunity, success [and] leisure' (Rossi and Vanolo 2012).

The concept of creative city has been a core concept of many urban cultural policies around the world. It preoccupied academics and researchers (among others Bianchini and Parkinson 1993; Montgomery 1990), it became the epicentre of urban policy debates and it was practised by policymakers, mayors and urbanistars. As Chatterton (2000: 393) puts it, '[c]reativity . . . is all around us in the "ordinary" city'. Embedded in a context of entrepreneurial urban governance regime, it aims to promote cities as interesting and safe places through the employment of a toolkit of buzzwords such as 'innovation matrix' and 'creative lifecycle'. The creative cities agenda are warmly embraced by authorities worldwide, something that 'work[s] quietly with the grain of extant "neoliberal" development agendas, framed around interurban competition, gentrification, middle-class consumption and place marketing' (Peck 2005: 740–741).

Several scholars (Araghi 2009; Blomley 2008; Chatterton 2010; Jeffrey et al. 2012; Pasquinelli 2008) have felicitously criticized the neo-liberal urban policies and the rhetoric on 'creative city' as a result of the 'rent gap' (Smith 1987; Smith 1996), the 'permanence of the so-called primitive accumulation' (Bonefeld 2010; DeAngelis 2007; Federici 2004), the 'accumulation by dispossession' (Harvey 2003; Harvey 2005; Harvey 2012) and the 'socio-cultural characteristics and motives' of the gentrifiers (Ley 1994). Here, it is crucial to note two things: (i) we understand that neo-liberal urban enclosures have social, relational and intersectional articulations in the fields of race, class, gender and culture (Souza 2015; Rouhani 2012; Volcano and Rogue 2012) and (ii) we recognize the important role of the state, the religious and the fascist or the so-called 'neoconservative turn' in urban policies (Peck et al. 2010). So, we argue that neo-liberal policies aim to enclose—that is, to commodify and privatize—the perceived space of common pool resources, to appropriate the social relations of commoning and to split the communities of commoners. Within the context of rapid and intense neo-liberal urbanism, forms of revanchist urbanism, such as urban walling, criminalization

of certain population groups, forced evictions, land grabbing and so on, are not only consistent with policies of culture-led creative regeneration but they complement each other. Nevertheless, urban social movements, uprisings and struggles resist, reclaim and seek to (re)create emancipatory common spaces.

FROM THE NEO-LIBERAL CREATIVE CITY TO THE REBEL CITY AND VICE VERSA: ISTANBUL, IZMIR, ATHENS AND THESSALONIKI

Based on the above framework, the following section unearths the processes of neo-liberal urban restructuring of the four cities under scrutiny, starting from the Turkish ones and continuing with the Greek ones. The urban imaginaries that emerged during the last decades for each of these cities are highly contingent upon its historical, geographical and political background, and thus they will be shortly analysed for each case.

NEO-LIBERALISM AND ISLAMIC BIOPOLITICS IN ISTANBUL AND IZMIR

Since the 1980s, neo-liberalization and urbanization have constituted the driving forces for the production of urban space and capital accumulation in Turkey. In the 1980s, the neo-liberal government of the Motherland Party engaged in a process of urban restructuring through the decentralization of urban planning powers, the restructuring of the municipal system and the development of the construction sector (Penpecioglu 2013). In 2002, the Justice and Development Party (AKP) came to power and adopted an even more interventionist role. The transformation of urban space ('war on space') and the 'Islamic biopolitics' ('war on body') are two of the core aspects of AKP's vision of the new Turkey (Karaman 2013a; Moudouros 2014; Tan 2013). During the last few years, Istanbul and Izmir experienced a radical change, moving fast towards a neo-liberal direction, which attempts to combine effectively global aspirations and growing internal contradictions and difficulties. AKP ambitions for Istanbul and Izmir could be seen as a demolition and resettlement of the city, a proper process of normalization of both the urban economy and cultural practices (Lovering and Türkmen 2011).

The neo-liberal Islamic biopolitics expressed mainly by the ideological campaign for the so-called Holy Islamic Family was accompanied by decrees and laws intended to take greater control of women's bodies. The government has recently made shockingly arrogant and insensitive statements about the number of the children each woman should have and the processes of abortion

and caesarean sections. At the same time, the number of women murdered in Turkey skyrocketed from 66 in 2002 to 847 in the first nine months of 2013 (Tolunay 2014). According to Tekay and Ustun (2013: 3), '[d]uring this period, policies have been implemented, which directly seek control over the female body, reducing it to a site of biological and labour reproduction. With these policies, the female subject has been denied the space to exist with all her complexities but reduced to a monolithic passive entity of patriarchal political hegemony'. Moreover, Turkey in 2013 had one of the highest murder rates for transpeople in the world, and the pogroms against sex workers and transsexuals are a daily routine in the streets of Istanbul and Izmir (TDOR 2013).

Since the 1970s, Istanbul came at the epicentre of the Turkish development efforts, and the city has entered the international urban competition (Enlil 2011). In the 1980s, the economic basement of Istanbul started to change (Aksoy 2012) something that was materialized in urban space. One of the central elements of this period's agenda was the branding of the city internationally for cultural, tourism, business and other organizations. During the period 1984–1989, Istanbul's mayor Bedrettin Dalan moved to rapid transformations, such as the opening of wide avenues along the shores of Marmara, the cleansing of the inner-city housing for the expansion of Tarlabasi Boulevard and the cleansing of industry from the shores of the Golden Horn. In parallel, many areas were characterized as 'tourism centres', and high-rise business towers, luxurious hotels and new transportation nodes were constructed (Enlil 2011).

In recent years, urban transformation constitutes a top priority for the AKP government, and a plethora of large-scale urban redevelopment schemes are set up as part of the city's development, in terms of tourism, culture and finance. The current agenda differs from previous efforts of the city's redevelopment as it constitutes a holistic project and not separate, small-scale initiatives (Karaman 2013b). The ongoing redevelopment of the city is based on 'a highly authoritarian form of neoliberalism, in which global discourses and policy models are combined with local traditions and institutions to rationalize a radical—conservative project to rebuild the city and its socio-cultural characteristics' (Lovering and Türkmen 2011: 73). Land grabbing and gigantic projects are planned for the future. The most emblematic of these being the expansion of the city to the north, to the Black Sea, resulting in the creation of two new cities, namely New Istanbul No. 1 and No. 2 ,with a capacity of four million inhabitants. Moreover, big infrastructural projects such as the Third Bosporus Bridge, a new airport, the Bosporus underway project and many highways coupled with other developmental projects—such as the largest mosque in the world or the circuit for Formula 1 racing—aspire to thoroughly transform the city. Additionally, gentrification processes (see figure 7.1) range from large-scale interventions such as the design of new business areas

with skyscrapers to smaller-scale ones such as the pedestrianization of Istiklal Boulevard and the establishment of many fancy cafés, cinemas, restaurants and antique stores in Beyoglou for the 'new cultural classes' of the city and its visitors (Enlil 2011: 21).

As Wolf (2005; cited in Enlil 2011: 21–22) supports, 'By the mid-2000s, Istanbul was not only "the hottest destination for property investors in Turkey"; it was the "rising star" of the entire Middle East for real-estate and property investors.' It is worth noting that the gentrification of the area includes the religious conservative attacks on the street life of bars and cafés like a law banning indoor smoking in 2009 and a law banning outdoor tables in 2011, as part and parcel of the AKP's desire to transform the city into a modern yet conservative Islamic Disneyland (Bektas 2013). Moreover, Istanbul invested in the hosting of major international and regional cultural events such as music, theatre and film festivals, the Istanbul Biennale, and so on and several major athletic events (i.e., it was six times Turkey's candidate in the country's bid for the Olympic Games). Since the hosting of the 2010 European Capital of Culture, creativity was placed at the centre of the urban governance agenda and a wide range of initiatives took place (Salman 2010).

In a parallel but different trajectory, Izmir is the 'silent storm'—as characterized in the title of the 2010 International triennial of contemporary art—of the creative cities. It is the third-largest city of Turkey and is situated at the Aegean Coast. It is the most important Turkish port, and its natural and cultural characteristics make it an important destination in Turkey. Izmir 'constitutes a unique case in terms of its tendency to adopt culture-driven strategies of development' (Penpecioglu 2013: 165). The narratives around this city revolve around a 'cosmopolitan city of different cultures' for the multicultural 'Smyrna' of the past to 'the western gate' of Turkey during the last decades (Dündari 2010: 56).

Since the 1980s, neo-liberalization processes in Izmir have intensified, leading to the increase of urban polarization. On the one hand, the drastic cuts on social expenditures and the economic deregulation resulted in the increase of urban poverty and unemployment, the rise of inequalities, the destruction of the social safety nets and the expansion of the informal sector to meet the needs of a growing marginalized and excluded population. On the other hand, new consumption patterns and new luxurious lifestyles were adopted by the more affluent urban population (Gönen 2013). In a nutshell, 'Izmir became a post-industrial city, with an emphasis on the service sector and an expanded informal economy' (Gönen 2013: 88–89).

From the 1980s and during the last few years, Izmir has become one of the unique cities in Turkey in terms of its governance practices. Concepts such as participation and collaboration were set up at the epicentre of the agenda in order to achieve citizen participation in decision-making (Eraydın et al.

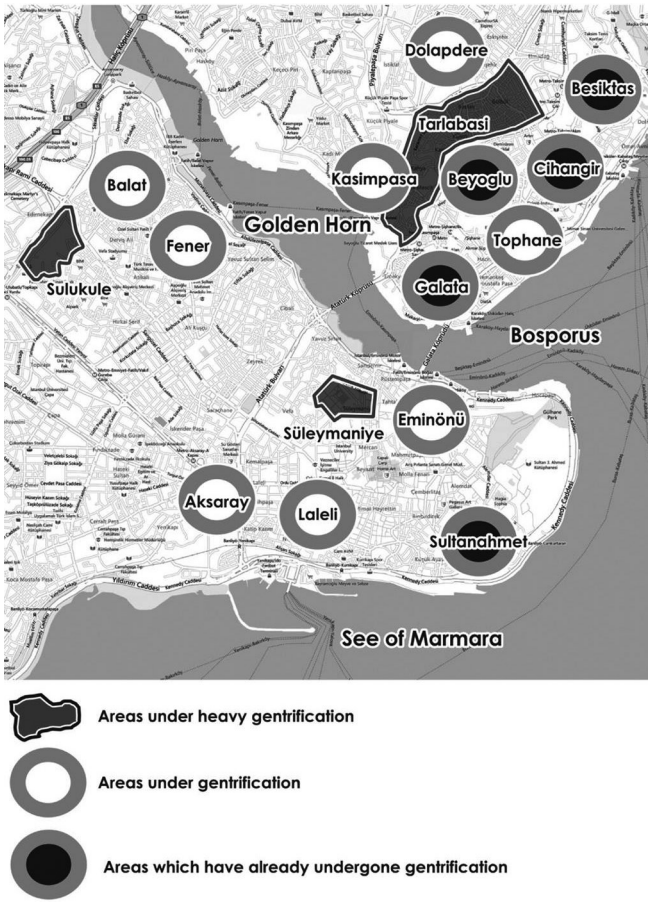

Figure 7.1 Istanbul, the Neoliberal Restructuring of Istanbul's Neighbourhoods. *Source*: Authors' own elaboration.

2008). Moreover, new legislation was introduced towards the reformation of the public administration (Eraydın et al. 2008). Recently, the city experienced many urban development and redevelopment experiments (Penpecioglu 2013) which are projected both at the material terrain (through transformations of the physical space) and at the symbolic terrain (through the use of discoursal practices internationally). Izmir is trying to acquire a high status among the cultural destinations internationally, through the hosting of national and international festivals (i.e., candidate city for EXPO 2015 and 2020) but mainly through its projection as a youth and vibrant city.

The neo-liberal restructuring of Izmir, as it is presented in figure 7.3, is not only achieved through culture-led regeneration policies, but it is intensified

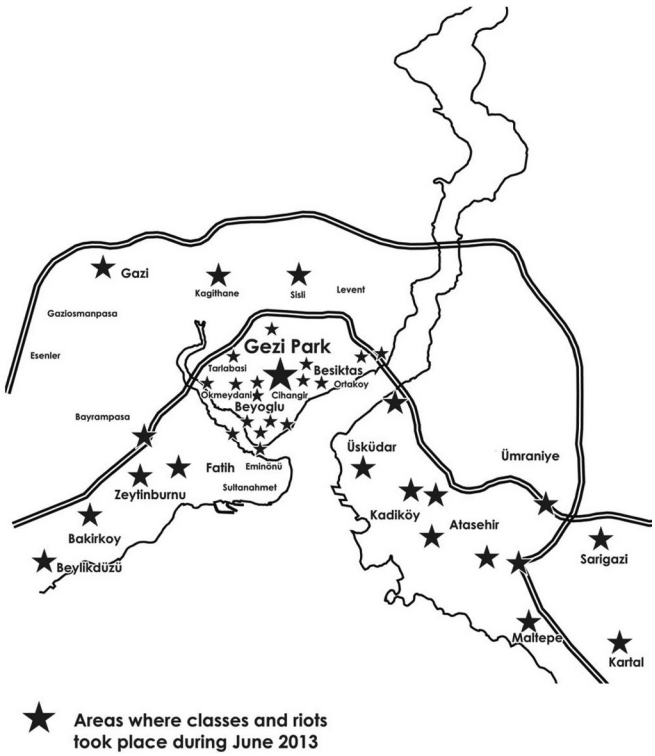

Figure 7.2 Areas of Clashes during the Gezi Uprising. *Source*: Authors' own elaboration.

by policies of surveillance and control. In 2006, Izmir experienced a restructuring of its policing strategies and technologies, which was based on the 'zero-tolerance' policing of New York's Mayor Rudy Giuliani and aimed to increase the control over the urban poor and vulnerable population and to clearly separate them from the 'respectable and innocent citizens' (Gönen 2013: 87). Throughout this, the role of the Izmir Police was crucial in order to effectively perform the 'fight against crime', criminalizing the marginalized urban population, especially the Kurdish migrants (Gönen 2013).

REBEL CITIES I: THE BATTLE FOR THE COMMON SPACE IN ISTANBUL AND IZMIR

As the above analysis manifested, since the early 2000s, the Turkish government, from the national to the local level, are striving for a holistic urban restructuring ranging from gigantic urban restructuring projects to small-scale

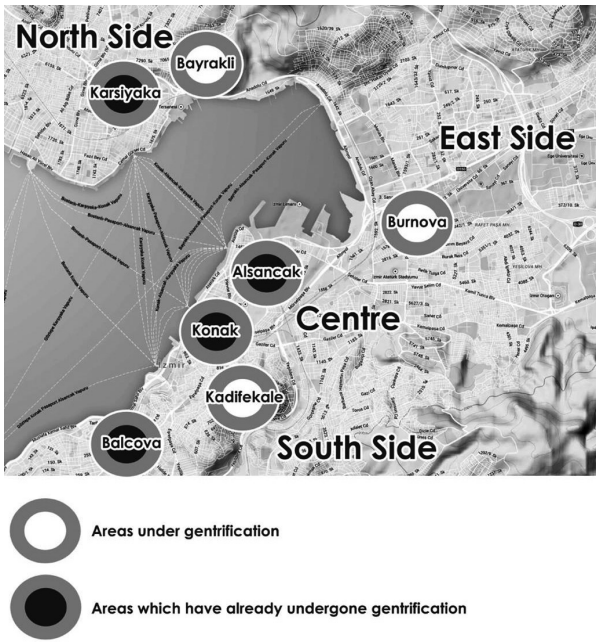

Figure 7.3 Izmir, the Neoliberal Restructuring of Izmir's Neighbourhoods. *Source*: Authors' own elaboration.

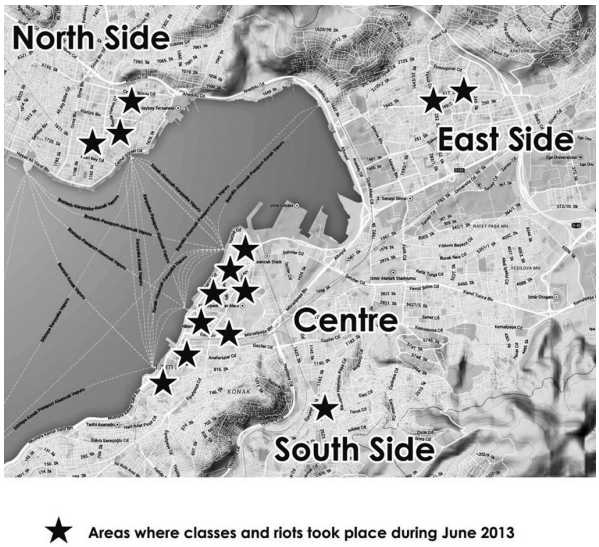

Figure 7.4 Areas of Clashes during the Gezi Uprising. *Source*: Authors' own elaboration.

gentrification processes. Nevertheless, AKP's successful articulation of neoliberalism and Islamism did not remain uncontested, a fact that is characterized by the détournement of a popular Islamism slogan from *Huzur Islamda* (one finds peace in Islam) into *Huzur Isyanda* (one finds peace in revolt) (Dikeç 2013b).

The people in Turkish cities rose against their democratically elected government, manifesting that 'politics is the business of anyone and no-one in particular, with no privileged subject, specific time or pre-determined space' (Dikeç 2013b: 1). The protests were not only expressions of the indignation emerging through the years of authoritarianism, repression and erosion of civil rights but also a spatial demonstration that urban space could be produced by the city's inhabitants in the here and now horizontally and democratically. One of the most unique periods during which the making of neo-liberal creative cities of Istanbul and Izmir (along with other Turkish cities) was challenged is the period of recent insurgencies, initiated from the Gezi Park (2013) in Istanbul (see figure 7.2). Gezi protests marked a new era of urban mobilization in Turkey. They not only redefined the notions of identity (collective or personal) and urban space, but did it by redefining the notion of democracy. From then onwards, claims about the right to the city revolved around the actual transformation and occupation of the urban space and the production of the common space based on a radical conceptualization of democracy and an ongoing challenging of given identities.

Gezi Park and Taksim Square are spaces with high symbolic importance (Karasulu 2014) and have become since many years spaces of experimentation for a wide range of urban practices aiming to challenge the imaginaries around Turkey's greatness. So, Gezi resistance could be read as a questioning of the hegemony of this model and of the transformation of Istanbul into a global city with certain homogenous characteristics (Moudouros 2014). Even more impressive than the spatial extension of the revolt in the neighbourhoods of Istanbul (see figures 7.3 and 7.4) was the spread of the uprising in about sixty-seven cities in Turkey (including Ankara, Izmir, Bursa, Eskisehir, Antalya, Antakya and Adana). The protesters in most cities occupied the central squares and attacked the offices of the ruling AKP and police stations. At this point, the stance taken by Izmir's municipal authorities, who refused to give water to police breezes, and by the Kemalist city mayor, who supported the protests, was notable. Though, ultimately, the protest was (violently) ended by the government police forces, the tactic support given by the local authorities allowed the revolt to extend well beyond the central regions, stretching as far as the disobedient neighbourhoods of Karşıyaka, Bornova and Kadifekale.

In and through these urban insurgencies, a thorough challenging of the oppressive aspects of the Turkish state is evident. In recent years, a social transformation can be seen, particularly through women becoming more

openly politicized than men and more politically active. This change poses a direct challenge to the deeply patriarchic Turkish state, so much so that '[w]omen's bodies and lifestyles have turned into an ideological battleground' (Shafak 2015: 2). During the Gezi protests, half of the protesters were women, and the majority of the critical campaigns in Turkish social media are led by women. Moreover, the recent incident of the attempted rape and murder of a young student by three men triggered an unprecedented storm of protest in many Turkish cities (Shafak 2015; Tekay and Ustun 2013; Tolunay 2014). As Shafak (2015) points out, today women in Turkey are divided between those who defend silence, thus maintaining the hegemonic status quo, and those who raise their voices and become active against the growing gender violence.

What matters here is that the recent insurgencies in Turkish cities are not taking place in a period of economic hardships, and, of course, they are not limited in the spectacular protests and demonstrations. In fact, they are part of the everyday life of the urban inhabitants who raise their voices against the state-led neo-liberalization and the ever-increasing repression. These anarchist-inspired movements are cutting across social, gender or religious divides, opening up political spaces of contestation and dissent.

NEO-LIBERALISM AND CRISIS IN ATHENS AND THESSALONIKI

In the mid-1980s, Greece experienced a period of remarkable growth, through the adoption of neo-liberal urban governance policies, stimulating urban entrepreneurialism and liberalizing land markets. The basic narrative of the period was the creation of 'a modernized, de-balkanized nation that even though small and maltreated by "powerful elites" could revive the "deeds of its ancestors" in the body and soul of celebrated modern Greek "heroes", the athletes, the pop singers and the yuppie entrepreneurs' (Kompatsiaris 2014: 6). The urban development projects of this period included the hosting of mega-events (like 1997 European Cultural Capital in Thessaloniki and 2004 Olympic Games in Athens), the development of new commercial and cultural districts, the construction of office buildings and gentrified housing districts and large-scale infrastructural projects. All these served as catalysts for the central developmental goals of this period, revolving mainly around the reinforcing of Athens' position in the inter-urban competition in the European Union and the promotion of Thessaloniki as the 'Metropolitan City of the Balkans' (Labrianidis 2011; Maloutas et al. 2009).

However, since 2008, Greece has been hit by an unprecedented turmoil, which is expressed socially, politically, economically and spatially. After

entering the 'supportive' mechanism of the Troika (IMF, European Central Bank and European Commission), Greek governments imposed severe austerity measures. The ongoing crisis marked not only continuous and devastating economic measures but also a 'wholeshare radical restructuring of life' (Douzinas 2013: 11). The austerity measures were coupled with a reinforcement of the rhetoric on competitiveness and entrepreneurship. Both of these were projected as means to transgress the crisis and achieve the 'major national goals' such as the debt payout and the attainment of growth. The basic goal of all the reforms is the development of an appealing environment and a flexible framework for large-scale investments (Vatavali and Kalatzopoulou 2013). Within this context, new urban policies such as gentrification and fast-track policies, degradation and flexibilization of environmental legislation and commodification and privatization of public infrastructures were introduced. Moreover, the crisis was expressed biopolitically, targeting the bodies and the existence of certain population groups, as we will explore in the following part.

Athens, the major socio-economic and political centre of the country experienced a period of general euphoria and growth during the Olympic period. The image of the city was successfully improved through mega-projects and small-scale inner-city projects but was simultaneously allowed a number of 'clearance operations' against vulnerable groups such as immigrants, homeless or drug addicts. The venues of Olympic Games included an upgraded transportation system (Athens metro, Attica road and new airport), many large-scale buildings and tourism infrastructure. Moreover, the Olympics worked symbolically in the rebranding of Athens.

During the crisis, the regeneration of the city was happening in parallel with the imposition of severe austerity measures and the dismantling of the previous welfare state, and a radical shift was noticed on the dominant rhetoric around the centre of Athens. From a city that discovered its metropolitan lifestyle with gentrified areas through its multicultural development, it turned to be presented as a ghetto and a highly polarized city (Chatzikonstantinou et al. 2012; Encounter Athens 2011; Koutrolikou and Siatitsa 2012). Based on this image of the city, targeted interventions for the reappropriation of the city centre were promoted. Key vehicles of gentrification were big-scale regeneration projects, such as ReMap, ReActivate and ReThink Athens, and inner-city regeneration projects, such as the pedestrianization of Panepistimiou Street and the planning of the model neighbourhood of Kerameikos (Kapsali and Tsavdaroglou 2014). Moreover, the reappropriation of the city centre, which was incorporated in a context of revanchist urbanism, aimed to create housing for specific population groups such as young couples, students and other 'desired' groups of citizens (Vatavali et al. 2011). Overall, touristic

development and economic growth are promoted as the only viable model for Athens and should be fulfilled in parallel through the regeneration of inner-city areas for 'desired' citizens and visitors and the removal and exclusion of the 'undesired' groups.

So, in parallel to the increase of the city's competitiveness, policies of control and surveillance are organized, targeting the constantly increasing vulnerable population. These processes aim to form two distinct groups in Athens during the crisis-driven restructuring: those that deserve their presence in the city as they are linked to economic growth and those that do not deserve and stay marginalized and deprived (Vatavali and Siatitsa 2011). It is worth noting that the austerity urbanism and gentrification policies are not only formally operated by police forces and real estate speculators but they are also informally exercised by the fascists Golden Dawn (for a more detailed spatial analysis, see figure 7.6). Through its exclusionary urban politics, Golden Dawn occupy urban space in many Athenian (and not only) neighbourhoods and exclude (through violence) the targeted 'undesired' groups.

In parallel, Thessaloniki, located at the north fringe of the Thermaic Gulf, is the second largest city of Greece and has for many decades attained the role of the cultural and youth centre of the country. During the period of its economic development (1990s), it hosted and organized many cultural events, with the most important being the 1997 European Cultural Capital. Yet, Greece is a highly centralized country, and the urban development projects of Thessaloniki could be characterized as a small-scale reflection of the Athenian projects: 'Olympic Games in Athens, EXPO 2007 in Thessaloniki, the financial hegemony of Athens, the "opening towards the Balkans" with Thessaloniki' (Labrianidis 2011: 1808).

In the midst of the crisis, Thessaloniki seeks to promote its image internationally and to increase its extroversion taking advantage of its multicultural history and its immaterial capital. Thessaloniki's central priorities are touristic development, cultural regeneration and the promotion of tolerance, multiculturalism and citizen's participation. From 2010, the media projected the city's mayor, Yannis Boutaris, as a hope for the re-democratization, modernization and Europeanization of the city (Papadimitriou 2014). As Boutaris emphasized, 'We create opportunities, we bring international events in Thessaloniki, making the city an international destination in the cultural, touristic and economic level' (WOMEX 2012). Furthermore, Thessaloniki is renowned as the cultural capital of Greece and hosts many festivals, such as the annual Thessaloniki International Trade Fair or the Thessaloniki International Film Festival or the mobile cultural events such as the 2014 European Youth Capital, the Biennial of Young Artist of Europe and the Mediterranean or the WOMEX World Music Expo. Moreover, it is projected as an important city

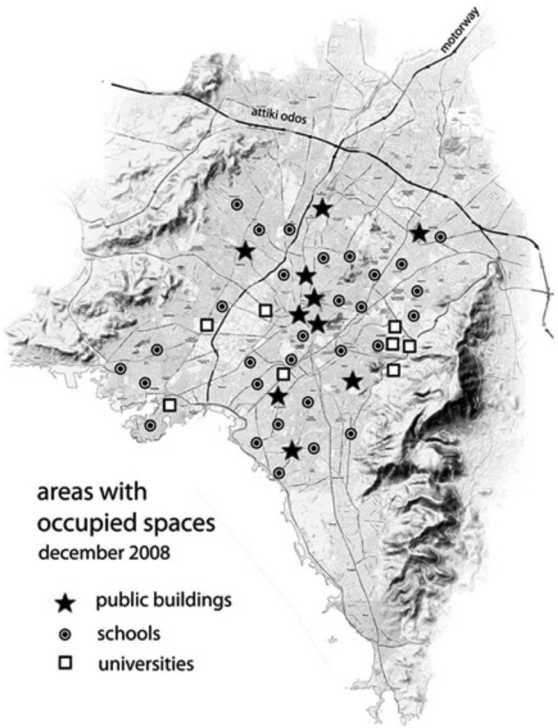

Figure 7.5 Athens, Areas with Occupied Spaces during December 2008 Riots. *Source*: Tsavdaroglou and Makrygianni (2013).

break destination, holding important nominations and titles such as one of the top tourist destinations (*National Geographic* 2013) or one of the best mid-sized European city of the future for human capital and lifestyle (Financial Times [*fDi*] 2014). Indicative of the emergence of Thessaloniki as an important tourist and cultural destination is the increase of the airplane lines with many European cities and with Russia, Turkey and Israel coupled with the intensification of the movement of cruise ships in its harbour and the restructuring of many open spaces through gentrification processes (see figure 7.7).

REBEL CITIES II: THE BATTLE FOR THE COMMON SPACE IN ATHENS AND THESSALONIKI

The fast neo-liberalization of the Greek cities in 1990s and 2000s gave birth to a number of important urban mobilizations. In the late 1990s and early

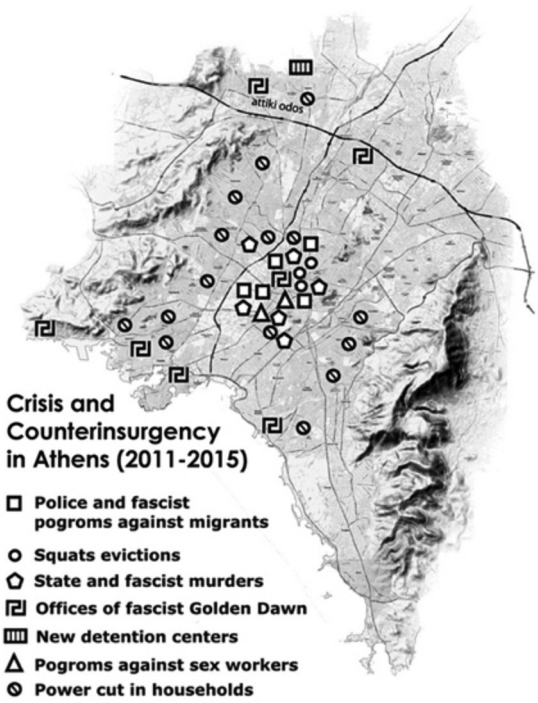

Figure 7.6 Spaces of Counterinsurgency during the Period 2011–2015. *Source*: Tsavdaroglou and Makrygianni (2013).

2000s, the majority of the mobilizations revolved around particularistic issues, such as environmental concerns (Arampatzi and Nicholls 2012). Yet, during mid-2000s, the neo-liberal urbanization was intensified and provoked another round of urban mobilizations around issues such as the public debt, the retrenchment of public services and the heavy taxation (Portaliou 2008). During 2010–2014, which was a period of experiments in (re)production, massive struggles, 11 general strikes and hundreds of regional and sectoral strikes against austerity measures happened. The two intense moments of the December 2008 riots and the 2011 Indignant Squares operated as driving forces for the production of a common space which was constituted across the urban fabric of Athens and Thessaloniki.

December 2008 constitutes an eruption of the previous urban protests in Greek cities. As a response to the police killing of Alexis Grigoropoulos, millions of activists demonstrated in the centres of Athens and Thessaloniki, erecting barricades and occupying key public buildings. Although December 2008 is often characterized as a youth uprising, there was a flammable mix

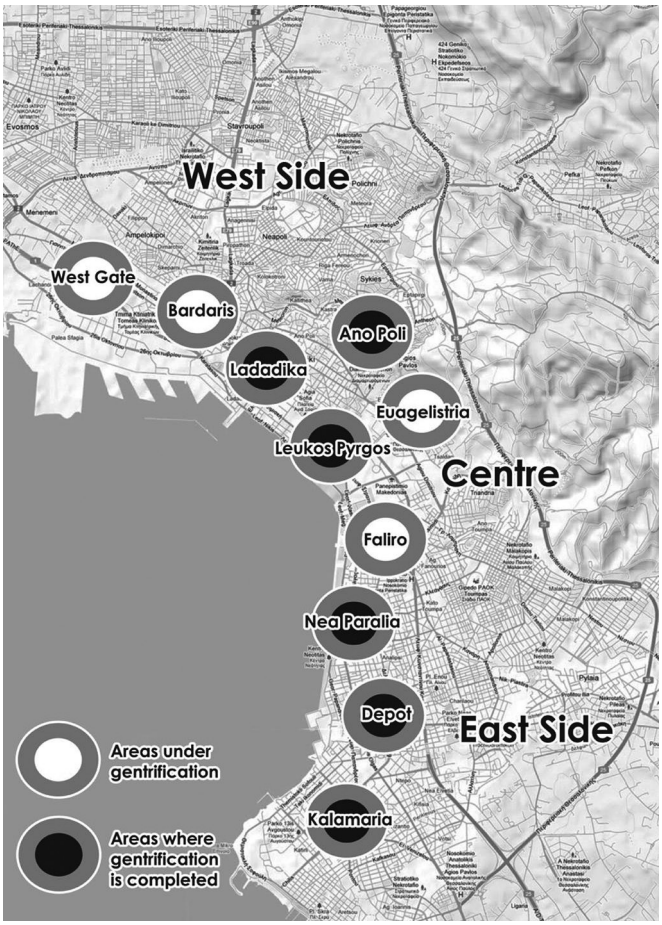

Figure 7.7 Thessaloniki, Areas of Neoliberal Restructuring and Gentrification. *Source*: Authors' own elaboration.

of anarchist, libertarian and other anti-authoritarian groups, women, students, migrants, working people, unemployed and so on who participated. In fact, December 2008 signifies a turning point of radical politics in Greece. Although the motive was the killing of a young boy, it immediately turned to an uprising struggling for the right to free expression in 'free' public spaces. As Petropoulou (2010: 217) characteristically mentions, December 2008 uprising was 'possibly the first urban uprising for free time and free expression in free space'. The first moments of burning and looting soon turned to become a process of redefining the everyday life and to open up spaces of freedom and egalitarianism. One of the main crucial characteristics was that

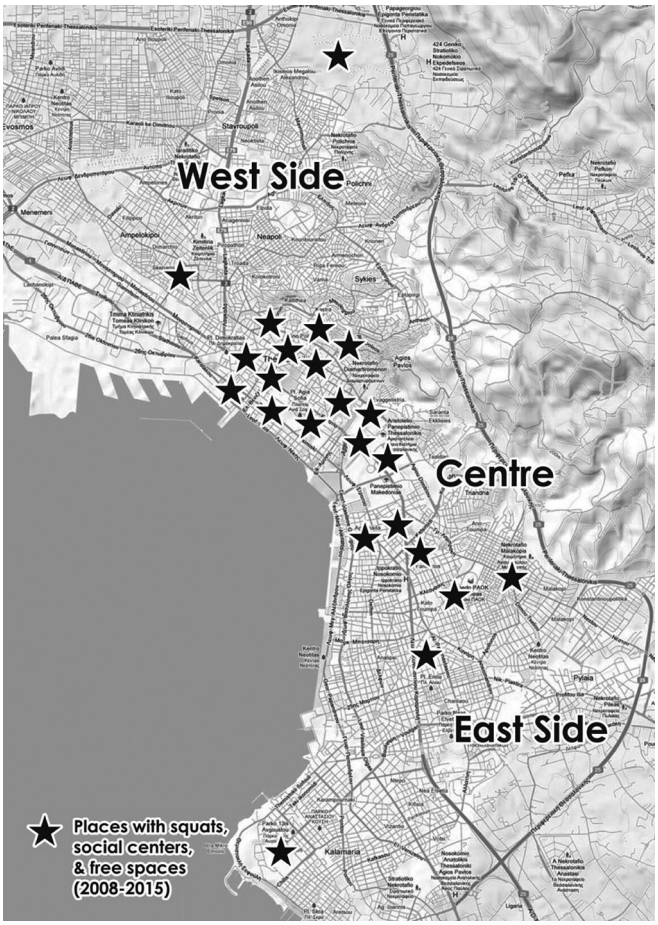

Figure 7.8 Squats, Social Centres and Free Spaces. *Source*: Authors' own elaboration.

the paradigm and the essential characteristics of the anarchist squats, that is, self-organization, horizontal organization, antifascism, sexual gender diversity and disobedience to state and capitalism spread all around the country. The numerous occupied buildings acted as nodes of a decentralized network and served as places of encounter and counter-information, and strongholds for clashes (Tsavdaroglou and Makrygianni 2013).

From the mobilization of December 2008 and onwards, the 'urban justice' discourse was put in the centre of the mobilization mottos and agenda and became the basis for a process of 'relational identity awareness' (Stavrides 2009: 7). This attained a strong urban character as it was translated into the right to reappropriate urban space through the occupation of state and municipal

buildings, such as schools or universities for a long period (Petropoulou 2010; Dalakoglou and Vradis 2009). As a result of the articulation of December 2008 riots (see figure 7.5) and the anti-austerity struggles, a number of crucial processes have been taking place in Athens and Thessaloniki. As a response to the shrinkage of the welfare state of the previous period and the continuing diminishing of the quality of life, a number of urban and social (re)productive structures and commoning procedures emerge from different points of departures, that is, radical leftist and anarchist perspective, neo-liberal—creative class perspective, patriotic left perspective and conservative–fascist perspective.

The first symbolic appearance of this plural character of socio-spatial commoning was the Indignados ('Aganaktismenoi' in Greek) movement, during the summer of 2011 in the two-month occupation of Syntagma Square in front of the Greek Parliament and of White Tower Square in Thessaloniki. At the same time, Indignados occupations took place in central squares in more than fifty Greek cities. The 2011 Indignant squares marked a new era of the urban insurrections in Athens and other Greek city centres. Their significance lies exactly at the fact that they put urban space at the centre of the political practice and gave birth to new, radical, and many times contradictory imaginaries (Kaika and Karaliotas 2014).

But what is the legacy of these moments of urban uprisings, such as the December 2008 and the Indignant squares of 2011? The spirit of these revolts not only included the spectacular clashes with the police but it centrally focused on imagining and performing a different urban reality (Stavrides 2009; Stavrides 2014). Through these, people commenced to experiment with different ways of being-in-common in the urban space. Several self-organized initiatives—from collective kitchens to squatted factories—emerged, trying to answer to the crucial question of social reproduction (see figures 7.5 and 7.8).

All the aforementioned processes can irrefutably be seen as structures of a networking common space in Greek cities, especially in Athens and Thessaloniki. What is important for all these initiatives is that they mark forms of production of the common urban space through the materialization of radical imaginaries of collective reappropriation of everyday life. Moreover, the diverse struggles of the last few years are highly connected to each other. For instance, struggles against the illegal castigation of HIV-positive sex workers (2012) evolved in parallel to struggles of solidarity to immigrants working under inhuman conditions in Manolanda (2013).

COMPARING THE TWO PARADIGMS

The recent urban processes in the four cities reasserted the fact that urban space is central both at establishing the neo-liberal hegemonic politico-economic

and social narratives and at challenging them, advocating freedom and egalitarianism and producing the common space. As we highlighted in our introduction, the cases of Istanbul, Izmir, Athens and Thessaloniki are used as heuristic examples in order to develop a certain understanding of urban space.

Comparing the two countries, we note that both of them are experiencing a fast process of neo-liberal urbanization and a thorough—but uneven—social and spatial restructuring. In the Turkish case, neo-liberalization is a process embedded in a context of increasing authoritarianism and Islamism, which intensifies social, gender, religious and other oppression. On the other hand, in Greece, neo-liberal restructuring is taking place against a background of austerity urbanism where a vicious cycle of recession and growth is used as an 'adequate justification' for the exit of the crisis and the attainment of growth. Aiming to avoid easily extracted conclusions about a 'harder' neo-liberal process in Turkish cities and a 'softer' one in the Greek cities, we emphasize that neo-liberalization is a historically contingent and internally contradictory process, expressed both through revanchist and creative policies.

Concerning the way that neo-liberalization is challenged and common space is produced, we wish to highlight two points. First, in Greece, since 2008, we observe the emergence of a hybrid and heterogeneous urban movement both in terms of its participants (i.e., from students and unemployed to immigrants and anarchists) and in terms of its forms (with the emergence of new social networks anchored in social centres, anarchist and other squats, or newly emerging spaces). This is different from the previous era's movement which mainly revolved around more fixed entities like syndicalist or trade unions and resembled more to the way that the movement is recently articulated in the Turkish cities. On the other hand, in Turkey, the recent insurgencies operated as a driving force for the emergence of a renewed way of thinking and acting politically. People understood that they could raise their voices against the authoritarian neo-liberal state, reappropriating the urban space and after all producing the spaces and times for their everyday lives. Of course, these emerging heterogeneous movements are constantly changing and may incorporate diverse characteristics, ranging from xenophobic and racist elements to a democratic and egalitarian urban politics.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

In the previous sections, we attempted to uncover the multiple meanings of urban space in the context of today's planetary urbanization. The point of the above analysis was not to extract solid conclusions but to point out key processes of neo-liberalization and urban contestation. Through the parallel examination of the four cities, we wish to draw some preliminary conclusions

around the socio-spatial processes that took place during the last few years and that constitute a period of intensification of social antagonism.

As Clough and Blumberg (2015) point out, a crucial task of contemporary's radical theory is to trace the linkages between theory and praxis in order to push both of them in new directions. So, through the exploration of the geographies of the recent insurgencies, we encourage a re-reading of the 'right to the city' and a re-conceptualization of the concept of the commons. While the mainstream position in autonomous-Marxist theory has read the concept of commons as an antagonistic issue between social forces of capital and labour, we adhere to the fact that it is crucial to develop a comparative, postcolonial and intersectional conceptualization of the common space. That means to shift the epistemological focus from the social forces to social relations, modes of communication and social and emancipatory praxis. Besides, according to Souza (2015: 432), '[e]mancipatory political action (praxis) is as necessary for deep critical reflection as the latter is necessary for coherent political action'.

Drawing on the above analysis, we manifested that both the establishment of neo-liberal socio-economic and political narratives and the production of the common space and of anti-authoritarian struggles are fundamentally spatial questions. In this vein, we argued that urban space should be understood as relational and the process of space production as an inherently political process. In other words, the production of space is 'an open, active and ongoing process, engendering liberating experiences, and possibly experiences of closure and domination' (Clough and Blumberg 2015: 342–343). Through the comparative examination of the four cities, we could recognize not only the important role of capital, culture, gender and race but also how the previous are articulated with the state, religious and fascist urban policies and practices.

Furthermore, the significance of urban struggles and uprisings lies in the fact that the activists give birth to new imaginaries and highlight the emerging possibilities of imagining and performing a different urban reality. In the above analysis, we described how during the current rising tide of urban revolts, rebels do not just claim urban space from the sovereign power, thus destabilizing and delegitimizing it, but they occupy and transform it to emancipatory common space, through horizontal and self-organized practices. These anti-authoritarian and anarchist-inspired struggles target domination manifested in any social relation (May 2009), 'challeng[ing] the boundaries between the private and public, work and home, society, state and economy' (Clough and Blumberg 2015: 337; see also Breitbart 1978). They embody a socio-temporal emancipatory dimension as they seek to reinvent daily life as a whole, 'creating and enacting horizontal networks . . . based on principles of decentralized, non-hierarchical consensus democracy' (Graeber 2002).

Although the anarchist-inspired struggles share a common repertoire of commitments and ideas (Gordon 2007), the particular practices employed each time vary significantly. This heterogeneity of practices comes as a result of the participants' different experiences, sex, race, class as well as of the broader social, political and economic context (Breitbart 1978). However, the continuous struggle for creativity and the multiplicity of actions create a 'growing panoply of organizational instruments' (Graeber 2002: 9) that enables people to experiment with different ways of being-in-common in the urban space. These vibrant, heterodox and creative practices demonstrate that anarchism is not a utopian vision of the future. On the counterpoint, it is structured as a mosaic of everyday practices of egalitarianism, mutual aid and freedom through direct action, horizontal decision-making and direct democracy (Goodway 1989; White and Williams 2012).

Closing, it is undeniable that there are much further issues to be explored. The examination of the battle for the common space offers us the lens through which we could critically understand the overlapping, complex, interacting and often contradictory processes of space production. Yet, a fuller account of the actors that are interconnected globally and locally coupled with further research on the multiple identities of the urban subjectivities and aspects of their everyday lives remain to be explored. Nonetheless, we maintain that writing with this kind of ambition has opened our politico-intellectual imaginations in ways that have generated new questions and possibilities for future theoretical and political intervention.

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Chapter 8

Spatial Anarchy in Gezi Park Protests

Urban Public Space as Instrument of Power and Resistance towards an Alternative Social Order

Murat Cetin

INTRODUCTION

This chapter explores the spirit of revolt that was evident in Istanbul's Taksim Gezi Park protests. Paying particular attention to the contested nature of space, and the question of spatial anarchy, the main aim of the chapter is to offer greater understanding as to how anarchist spaces are produced. To this end two guiding questions are addressed: First, to what extent do anarchism and anarchists influence these movements, waves of protest and, particularly, *spatial* forms of resistance? Second, what types of praxis have been evident, in the realms of self-defence, and the micro-spatial alternative and emancipatory production of space? Viewing the Gezi Park protests as an excellent example of how broader questions of social identity and power struggles are conducted in and through public spaces, the chapter will also elucidate the nature of struggle between powerful elites and the broader publics in the organization of the urban realm. The argument will demonstrate that the spatial strategy of this elite (who hold significant power in conducting the specific dimensions of finance, legislation, as well as technical aspects of urban 'architecture') is significantly contested by the practices of (spatial) resistance at the micro-geographies of the body, and through 'anarchy-tecture'. Both the idea of, and the spatial and architectural mechanisms behind, this type of guerrilla architecture will be explored in more detail.

Throughout the chapter it will be emphasized how successful negotiation over, and transgression of, boundaries of public and private space are crucial when struggling against any dominant power. In particular, I argue that opposing approaches towards architecture and urbanism should be seen as key spatial dimensions of an ideological war between different interest groups

within cities. This battle manifests itself in many ways, for example, between the urban rich and poor, the powerful and weak, and corporate and public sectors where governmental planning acts as a means of capitalist control over urban (public) space (Springer 2011). Seen in this light, there is a real need to more successfully capture and critically understand the underlying geographies of an 'alternative architecture'. Addressing this gap, the chapter tackles the issue of the 'resilience of cities', focusing in particular on the agitation of public reaction towards neo-liberal urban policies of governance. It is this battle for public space which may include an array of guerrilla tactics and which can be seen as consistent with an 'anarchy-tecture'. In summary, by focusing on a range of alternative spatial practices within the urban realm, and paying attention to how these are created by different actors, the chapter seeks to contribute to the explicit resurgence of anarchist praxis that can be seen within contemporary geographical thought (see Springer et al. 2012).

AN OVERVIEW OF THE CONTESTED SOCIO-SPATIAL GEOGRAPHIES OF THE GEZI PARK PROTESTS

Following a series of laws and regulations restricting civic life, the central government's final decision to demolish one of the rare urban parks in the centre of Istanbul, and to build a shopping centre instead, was clearly an attempt to breach the freedom of the public to have access to open public space, and to a green area where people from all segments of the society could meet and express themselves. This decision, which would deliberately initiate the transfer of a public property into a private ownership, was seen as the culmination of a series of attacks by those in power to erase public space in the city. The decision came in May 2013, shortly *after* the municipality suddenly started to illegally demolish the trees surrounding the park. The public protest to protect their freedom in the urban realm turned into one of the biggest urban movements in the history of Turkey. This was a direct consequence of the government response, who then, in turn, exacted (more) violence on the protesters by using the police force.

In the two days that followed the violent eviction of a peaceful sit-in protest (by a group of approximately fifty campers) at Gezi Park, the number of protesters both in the park and Istiklal Street (a nearby social hub of Taksim in Istanbul) swelled to tens of thousands of people, and at its highest totalled around 100,000 protesters. The first day after the eviction, more than 1,000 people come together in Besiktas to walk towards the park. This group was subjected to police violence, causing massive casualties. While this was happening, around 5,000 people gathered on the Asian side of Istanbul to cross the Bosphorus Bridge on foot. The bridge had been closed to vehicular traffic

to prevent people from reaching Gezi Park: This group was also stopped at the exit of the bridge by police.

As a matter of fact, 3.5 million of Turkey's 80 million people are estimated to have taken an active part in almost 5,000 demonstrations across Turkey in connection with the original Gezi Park protest. A total of 11 people were killed, approximately 8,000 were heavily injured and more than 3,000 were arrested (de Bellaigue 2013). Approximately 150,000 tear gas cartridges and 3,000 tonnes of water had been used (bursadabugun.com, 14 June 2013). The range of the protesters was broad, encompassing both right- and left-wing individuals (Letsch 2013). Kotsev (2013) from *The Atlantic* described the participants as 'the young and the old, the secular and the religious, the soccer hooligans and the blind, anarchists, communists, nationalists, Kurds, gays, feminists, and students'. *Der Spiegel* (2013) noted that protests were 'more than students and intellectuals; but families with children, women in headscarves, men in suits, hipsters in sneakers, pharmacists, tea-house proprietors—all are going to the streets to express their displeasure from the government'. Moreover, the absence of political party leadership was also noticeable. According to *Der Spiegel*, 'There have been no party flags, no party slogans and no prominent party functionaries to be seen. Kemalists and communists have demonstrated side-by-side with liberals and secularists.' Members of opposition parties were also told not to participate, leaving those who joined in doing so as private individuals.

The park was defended by the public (drawn from almost all age groups, social classes, political organizations and ethnic groups of the society) and protected by barricades for about three weeks. During this time, a self-maintaining and self-governed communal micro-urban setting was established as an anarchist praxis in the urban realm. Thus, urban space and architecture became the object and medium of struggle for public freedom. During this period, the struggle for capturing the public space was multifaceted in nature. That is to say, on the one hand, there was a physical struggle between the government forces and protesters to occupy the space. On the other hand, there were also intense struggles across virtual space. Here both TV broadcasts and social media such as Facebook and Twitter became the medium for larger public groups to be organized in ways to support and participate in the protests. In short, the government was trying to manipulate the public perception of these urban protests. At the beginning, for example, TV stations were stopped from broadcasting any of the protests. It was only later, as a result of the news getting out through alternative sources (the Gezi Park protest was disseminated across social media), that the government started to use all media as a tool of propaganda. This included TV broadcasts painting a powerful image of these protesters as a group of unorganized loafers and terrorists. The government called the protesters çapulcu, a downgrading

expression in Turkish which approximately means 'looter' or 'marauder'. In response to this negative caricature, protesters cleverly subverted and appropriated the insult by linking the identity of protester with the name çapulcu, and turning it into a new word, *chappuller* (which means someone who deliberately becomes a looter against the pressure and violence of the government). *Chappuller* was then promoted widely, principally through social media. At the end of three weeks, the protesters were forcibly evicted by means of extreme police violence. Importantly though, the protest didn't go away; rather, smaller groups dispersed into all public spaces of the city (particularly small urban neighbourhood parks) and identifed themselves as Gezi protesters (in other words, as *chappullers*).

While this was taking place, it is important to note that other forms of creative protests were evident across the city (indeed in the whole country), including 'standing-man protests' and 'painting stairs with colours of the rainbow' (with direct reference to Lesbian Gay Bisexual and Transexual (LGBT) groups who took active part in the protests). These groups were all manifestations of the strong public support to defend their public realm and public space, even if they were forcefully dismissed from specific places of protest. Protesters and the(ir) public space (both physical [urban and architectural] space and virtual space) were united to champion the rights of people to access all (public) spaces of the city. This coming together is discussed in this chapter by drawing attention to 'resist-space'. 'Resist-space' is used here to refer to a public space that has been transformed as a place of struggle through a range of (alternative) organization tactics. These may include the strategic positioning of human bodies and micro-spatial architectural initiatives ('anarchy-tecture'), designed explicitly to confront a central authority who abuses the rights of people in the public realm.

The events at Gezi Park and beyond clearly demonstrate the level of complexity for the issue of 'identity–place relationships'. It could be suggested that the Gezi Park political resistance, from May 27 onwards, not only revealed the complex rhizomatic character of the public space particularly in regard to its relations to the virtual environment but also proved that the relation between place and identity has extended beyond its traditional geographical definition. As discussed above, the physical space of struggle was extended into another dimension through the use of communication technologies and the use of social media (Facebook and Twitter) by both protesters and government, and it became another important site of struggle during the protests. In this sense, Gezi Park gained a character of 'heterotopia' (Foucault 1986), which will be discussed below in detail. Despite the lasting unease of the events of May 1 when working classes were prohibited from entering Taksim Square, Gazi Square is an excellent example of the importance of seeing place and identity as co-constructive, wherein identity is powerfully

perceived and understood as a territorial phenomenon. This complex relationship is discussed in more detail by, first, interpreting Taksim Square from the perspective(s) of conflicting political identities and, second, through critical assessment of Taksim Square project. While discussing this, particular attention will be paid to the reconstruction of barracks and the underpass tunnels, as understood through the wider lens of political transformation during the last three decades in Turkey.

Before continuing, it is necessary to highlight some key concepts and phrases that will be used in this chapter. The term *anarchy-tecture*, for example, refers to the 'architecture of anarchism' or the 'spatial configuration of anarchist praxis' in the urban realm, and will be used to describe the realization of transgressing borders in ways that resist the multiple forms of suppression exerted by the powerful actors of the city. Like many contemporary social movements and forms of protests, it will be seen how practices of freedom in the urban realm exhibit a leftist character, and libertarian nature, against both capitalist and state elites. 'Freedom in the urban realm' is understood as a spatial manifestation of various actors within the city with regard to their stance against the (capitalist power implemented through central and local states) power in urban space. Such a diverse, complex and, thus, conflicting coexistence of spatial configurations constitutes the salient characteristics of this 'anarchist' type of architecture or 'anarchy-tecture'. Importantly, focusing on anarchy-tecture can also potentially be meaningfully extended to capture other forms of anarchist praxis within the city. For instance, a multiplicity of spatial configurations within the city can defiantly challenge the singularity and, thus, the dominance of power over the urban realm in the first place. Moreover, the possibility of choice given to all actors within a city in terms of their spatial experience of the urban realm will provide further freedom. At the very least, anarchy-tecture brings with it the promise of new spatial paradigm in terms of the representation of 'other' actors (hitherto outcasted from the urban scene), as well as their participation within the urban realm.

In this chapter, 'resistance' is understood as those life strategies and critical interventions developed by communities that actively oppose those government policies that are designed to re-configure urban space to the exclusive benefit of an elite section of society, at the direct expense of the majority of urban citizens. In the political context of aggressive socio-economic segregation and polarization, attempts by disadvantaged urban actors to address highly specific developmental problems, to establish new relationships with a living planet, and, perhaps most importantly, to establish a sense of respect through diversity is analysed from a spatial perspective. The study attempts to show that architecture and urbanism can be considered as spatial dimensions of an ideological war of different interest groups in cities. This

struggle manifests itself most explicitly as a polarization between the tyranny of the corporate sector and the anarchy embedded within the public sector. Governments that use planning as a means of capitalist control over urban (public) space contribute to such polarization.

Referring to the major urban protests (such as 'Occupy' initiatives and other grassroots movements) and their body–spatial dimension, the issue of the 'resilience of cities' in the framework of public reaction to neo-liberal urban government policies is crucial. The manipulation of public space via various guerrilla war tactics of anarchy-tecture (i.e. micro-urbanism in urban-leftovers [which can be defined as the spaces left out of the planned configuration of urban space by the state or the spaces that are not yet capitalized by the corporate bodies], third spaces, queer spaces, reclamation of landfills and ephemeral architecture particularly at body scale) is essential in understanding the power relations within a global (and thus capitalist) city such as Istanbul. This study is an endeavour to reveal the underlying nature of 'anarchist architecture' with specific reference to public protests for resistance against the 'Taksim Pedestrianization Project 2013', which includes conversion of a public green park into a private shopping mall by demolishing Gezi Park next to Taksim Square in Istanbul. Having built its arguments on Ward's (1989) views on the relation between architecture and anarchism, and on people's capacity and power to reshape their physical setting within the city against the power either from the state or from the corporate bodies, the chapter attempts to reassess professional values, develop methods and techniques for professional engagement and interrogate the ethics associated with architectural and design practice. In parallel with Ward's (1996) suggestion, this chapter intends to show that architecture and urbanism can be considered as spatial dimensions of an ideological war of different interest groups in cities.

SPACE AS A STRATEGY FOR RESISTANCE AND PRAXIS OF FREEDOM

Direct human interaction within and through space is a crucial form of practising freedom—of representation *and* of participation—within urban space. Practising freedom becomes particularly important and necessary, given these communities—to a large extent—not only have lost the right to meaningfully influence the policy decisions concerning their surroundings, but indeed are increasingly prevented from making any physical contact with 'their' urban environments. Part of the reason for this disconnection can be attributed to the specialization of professions such as architecture, urban planning and engineering. Accordingly, transgressing the (physical and social) boundaries of space can be considered as a basic act of resistance to the exercise

of authoritative power in urban space. An authoritative power, needless to say, that fuses the political with the economic, insofar as the imposition of this power by central authorities is designed to extend and enforce capitalist power in urban realm.

Within this context, the intrinsic and organic power of the oppressed communities becomes of great interest, particularly from the perspective of the role of 'resist-space' in the struggle against the central power of the authorities. Sharp et al. (2000) argue that the 'workings of power is wound up in countless processes of domination and resistance which are always mutually constitutive of one another'. In the light cast by Sharp et al.'s arguments, public intervention by means of resisting the decisions of central authority on the use of public space shows the power of community, although it can be considered as the 'other', one to be oppressed by the government. Such an intervention by a community, I argue, often emerges as an anarchist act against dominating power through architecture. Therefore, the (successful) transgression of spatial boundaries represents an excellent strategy to resist and undermine the oppression by powerfully positioned actors within the urban realm.

Access to space boundaries can be interpreted on many levels as a war between the powerful and the (so-called) oppressed. Recognizing the intrinsic power of the community is crucial as it enables an anarchist architecture and urbanism to be made possible. What they encounter is an elite who exercises power through mutually reinforcing spatial tactics wherein those who control state power (particularly of rules through legislative and financial means) deploy macro-strategies (such as urban planning by the state agencies) to remove other actors from valuable spatial zones. In contrast, those who are resisting have had to adopt micro-strategies (such as occupying public space and altering it against the will of central authorities and corporate bodies that intend to appropriate the public space for the benefit of urban elite). These must, at a minimum, involve 'off-track' instruments of staying in their own zones (such as resisting to eviction and gentrification) and therefore remaining in the spatial war to sustain their freedom.

NEO-LIBERALISM, STATE POWER AND URBAN TRANSFORMATION

In modernist urban studies, where new urban models are intended to be shaped up by top-down decisions of the experts, the ongoing urban models are actually very complicated. This complication means that all decisions are (to some degree) influenced by the input of a range of other actors and not just the few urban elites who gained the power to make the decisions with respect

to the formation of urban spaces. Eventually, the rise of neo-liberal policies, to inform methods of exerting control over the organism of the city, and shape urban transformation, became dominant. One of the principal mechanisms here is that of privatization, which gives the right to transfer the public ownership (of particularly public space and public land) into private ownership. Another mechanism, which is pointed out by Koolhaas and Mau (1997), is the idea of 'bigness', which allows the corporate bodies to purchase small portions of land and unite them as very big assets in determining the way the spatial configuration of the city will be decided. Effectively this means that a small group of urban elites will have considerable power and opportunities to determine the decision-making mechanisms of the city find the chance to control the city.

Such a state of affairs draws attention to how neo-liberal urban development policies emerge as part of a larger framework of free-market economies and sociocultural dynamics. To be more exact, the land use and real estate development policies are mainly determined through the influence of powerful actors in the city such as the corporate sector. Due to the abundance of financial sources, technical know-how and the support of a legislative framework that is provided by the politicians (who are sponsored by the very same corporate bodies to a great extent), the main leading forces in the shaping of urban space appear to be land speculation, socio-economic segregation and gentrification mechanisms that are driven by powerful urban elites. However, as an organism, the (people's) city can be seen to have immediately developed counter-strategies. In this context, Hamel and Keil (2015) discuss how governance regulates the creation of the world's suburban spaces and everyday life within them. Similarly, Hackworth (2006) explores the impact that neo-liberalism has had on urbanization in the United States where the American inner city is seen as a crucial battle zone for the wider neo-liberal transition. Brenner (2009) questions the critical social theory of the early twenty-first century, which requires sustained engagement with contemporary patterns of capitalist urbanization. Instead, he suggests that critical urban theory also has determinate social–theoretical content in addition to its descriptive character, based on the tradition of post-1968 leftist or radical urban studies. Later, Brenner et al. (2012) also explore the consequences of neo-liberalism and its ramifications in the urban environment. Robinson (2006), too, argues that all cities are best understood as 'ordinary' and questions the two major framing axes of urban modernity and urban development. Moving from the existing literature on neo-liberal urbanism, it is plausible to suggest that the neo-liberal urban development policies bring with them their own strategies (and counter-strategies) to impose themselves on the ordinary lives of ordinary people within the city. In turn, this forces alternative (i.e., non-elite) actors to develop more effective ways with which to respond and

react to this imposition. This relationship of aggression and resistance will be focused on in the next section and illustrated with reference to Gezi Park as an anarchist micro-city.

GEZI PARK AS AN ANARCHIST MICRO-CITY

It is important to ask the question as to how space becomes a means for a strategy of urban resilience. MacKinnon and Derickson (2012) provide a theoretical and political critique of how the concept of resilience has been applied to places, and certainly space is a major asset in all strategies regarding the city. This is appreciated not only in terms of real estate value but also in terms of symbolic representation. In this context, while the powerful actors concentrate on accumulating the largest amount of urban space possible, the public as the main but less powerful actors reclaim their own rights to the city by infiltrating undefined spaces in between. These are done in ways that tangibly alter (and deconstruct) the coherence of the 'top-down' spatial configuration devised and rolled out by urban political and economic elites. The reorganization of Gezi Park as an anarchist micro-city during the siege epitomizes such an alteration of spatial configuration: a manifestation of democratizing the urban realm by the people themselves. Gezi Park (during 2013 protests) can be considered as an anarchist space for multiple reasons. First of all, the space was reorganized by people themselves in direct opposition and resistance to the government's will to transform it into a shopping mall. Second, people were self-organized to run this new urban space through direct action on the basis of mutual aid. Moreover, larger masses of people were organized through voluntary associations to maintain the occupation of the park by the protesters in the field. The people were provided with all the materials and goods to continue living in the park. People donated tents, clothing, blankets, water, food, cooking tools, medicine, refrigerators, books and other items to sustain the daily practices of life in the park. For instance, neither agriculture nor education nor leisure was ignored in the park. A small segment of the park was allocated for growing plants. There were workshops and training sessions, particularly for children. There were spaces used for leisure activities such as exercises, concerts, performances, open-air movie shows, public speeches and discussions. Furthermore, distribution of all these goods and activities was collectively managed and spatially organized within the occupied territory of the park. The park was nearly converted into a small-scale ideal city, including areas for accommodation in tents, a free-market place, various health centres, several libraries and many stalls for distributing free food and free clothing. All these spatial arrangements were made by very simple (and even primitive) materials and methods.

Acknowledging the dangerous nature of resisting authority and taking back power (and space) in this way, people occupying and protesting in the park were also equipped with basic tools to help defend themselves against police attacks. They were provided with gas masks, helmets, gloves, swimming goggles, medicines to be protected from tear gas attacks, as well as raincoats and shields against water-cannon attacks. They were also supported with tools to build and reinforce barricades against police forces. The whole spatial configuration—for protection and as a defendable space—was akin to that seen on an army battlefield, yet was done instinctively with very simple tools, and enacted through the presence and direct action of the protesters. In addition to indirect involvement of their bodies, in constructing this new and temporal physical setting, protesters were directly involved through their bodies in creating this new type of space for resisting. Sometimes they used their bodies to form human shields, sometimes to define certain spaces (such as prayer areas, etc.), and occasionally to channel human movement (particularly in case of carrying injured people to the first-aid tents). As can be seen, the anarchist strategies of creating spaces for resistance were accomplished through micro-scale interventions using simple daily tools and the bodies of the protesters themselves.

As discussed earlier, while neo-liberal policies have chosen 'bigness' (Koolhaas and Mau 1997) as a key strategy to direct the growth of the urban realm, the counter-strategies that are exemplified in this chapter have their focus on a 'micro-spatial scale' as the preferred medium of resilience, and *the* site of struggle that stands the best change of undermining neo-liberal instruments of urban domination. In other words, while the urban space is easily transformed by a small number of urban elite holding the ownership of very large portions of urban land, large masses of people developing counter-tactics at the scale of micro-spaces can defend their space and maintain their position within a contested urban realm. At this point, the question is whether it is possible to resist against sophisticated and precalculated strategies and tactics of powerful and organized actors at an urban scale by micro-spatial manoeuvres, particularly at the scale of the body. Clearly, the Gezi Park protests and the micro-spatial strategies developed in the park at the body scale epitomize the notion of resistance through a theoretical framework of embodied geographies, which can be found in the works of scholars such as Teather (1999), Weiss and Haber (1999), Harris (2004) and Rohrer (2006). Studies of Burkitt (1999), Foucault (1978), Bourdieu (1990) and Lakoff and Johnson (1999) argue that the body is the basis of our being and that intervention at the level of embodiment through ritual can create a form of subjectivity that is resistant to modern discourses of power.

Such reflection also draws critical attention towards wider debates regarding 'the right to the city', and the broader political and strategic appeals by

either left-libertarian or communalist approaches to the urban realm. In particular, Souza (2010) has argued that 'the right to the city' should be considered as a kind of 'contested territory', to avoid the danger of vulgarization of the term by the status-quo-conforming institutions. Souza (2010) points out Bookchin's (2004a) argument against domination and hierarchy within the libertarian framework of thinking. According to Souza (2010), free association, horizontality, mutual aid, communes, networks and confederations are essential tools to overcome class exploitation and oppression. Bookchin's (2004b) conception of 'the right to the city' is aligned with those libertarian tools. Lack of hierarchy and horizontality of the evolution of Gezi Park protest allow us to put this uprising within a libertarian context. In fact, the micro-scale anarchist tactics deployed during Gezi Park protests are in parallel not only with Bookchin's (1992) views about the citizenship in neo-liberal cities but also with aforementioned tools utilized against the power of urban elite. Indeed, a more critical reading of spatial protests and occupy movements more generally will undoubtedly show further evidence of the crucial role(s) that micro-scale spatial transgressions play in successfully reclaiming the right to the city.

As emphasized in the beginning, urban space is a space over which complex battles are conducted by various actors in the city. The political and material ability to influence or manipulate the distribution of urban space that powerful actors possess (Sennett 1992), as well as the legislative frameworks that define their ability for movement, are key determining factors in the complex and difficult battles performed in public space. Nonetheless, time and again we see that the spatio-political strategies that are deployed are of vital significance in resisting the enemy and, thus, in winning this war. Neo-liberal urbanization policies, macro-plan decisions (both as their means and products), choices of locations for infrastructural and social paraphernalia, economic incentives, zoning and density decisions, and other similar technocratic and bureaucratic instruments have long been spreading from global to regional scales and from urban to architectural scales. Consequently, oppression can be seen both at the *human* scale and though wider structural changes, for example in reorganizing (privatizing) public space in ways that can only benefit the interests of the powerful. Hence, the scale of resistance to dominating forms of power (whether local or global) and the spatial policies that are enforced appear to have dropped down to an embodied scale in order to be able to reclaim the natural rights from a public space, particularly in an era in which conventional forms of opposition have already become ineffective. When interpreted this way, the only means to win this territorial battle of providing access to public space for the so-called weaker urban actors appears to be a resistance at the scale of the body.

THE EMBODIED PRACTICE OF FREEDOM AND 'ANARCHY-TECTURE' AS ITS SPATIAL FORM

Foucault's spatial analysis of power and knowledge in modern social formations, which Tally (2013) refers as *cartographics*, plays an important role in understanding the ways in which *spatiality* not only emerges but also continues to exert its subtle, yet pervasive, force in social dynamics (Tally 2011a). In other words, our era represents a historical moment that has come to be dominated by spatial rather than temporal considerations. This 'spatial turn' in the humanities and social sciences recognizes that space and spatial relations are not merely a backdrop or setting for events (Foucault 1980), nor is it an empty container waiting to be filled. Instead, space should be understood as both a product and a productive process in which we, as people, are produced (Lefebvre 1991). Foucault defines Bentham's *panopticon* prison model as a device of spatial control that was set over the convicts by the authority (Foucault 1975). Koskela's (2003: 292) term *urban panopticon* draws our attention to how urban planning helps the purposes of surveillance and control, particularly with the assistance of technology. From a historical perspective, Napoleon III's comprehensive urban–spatial transformation realized via Hausmann's intervention against strong public resistance at the end of the nineteenth century with his political–military intentions epitomizes the spatial dimension of the resistance of the public against government (Dovey 2010). Today, one of the best examples of architecture and urbanism being used as a weapon against ethnic minorities is Israel's policy on public works, housing and urbanization in Palestine. Graham (2011) and Weizman (2007) have revealed the incomprehensible dimensions and techniques of these strategies in all of their ugliness. It is clear that *space* holds a very essential position between individual and the authority. Therefore, within this spatial battle, architecture can assume various roles ranging from advocating for the public to playing dirty tricks that extend from gentrification to ethnic cleansing. Such dimensions can be seen quite visibly in the connection between the military operations in the south-eastern regions of Turkey (i.e., operations conducted after the November 2015 elections) and the need for massive urban gentrification projects developed for certain districts (as voiced by the government authorities in Turkey). As much as space can be a weapon for the powerful, it can also be a means of resistance for the oppressed especially when used in an anarchist manner (Springer 2011). The term 'anarchy-tecture', therefore, accentuates the oppositional and thus, alternative ways of creating architecture and transgressing the boundaries of public–private space. One of the main features of such alternative praxis of architecture is its ephemeral and immaterial nature. Another feature is its potential to operate effectively and meaningfully within, and between, micro-scales. As mentioned earlier,

the scale of resistance to neo-liberal urban policies, to which the disciplines of architecture and urban planning have almost entirely yielded, has shifted from architectural and urban space to body–space. To offer another example in the Gezi Park protests, I could highlight the individuals who put their own bodies against the water cannons to protect their territorial advantage against the police forces during the occupation of the park. The important, indeed heroic, actions of these individuals stand as important strategies of resistance against the government, and a firm rejection of the wider neo-liberal policies conducted in Istanbul.

These pressures and reactions (as can be seen in occupy movements all over the world) have been recurring in many locations within the last century. Concepts like queer spaces (Betsky 1997), third space (Bhabha 1990) and phenomena such as micro-urbanism (Madanipour 1996) have already emerged in the literature as counter-spatial tactics against orthodox macro-planning approaches in recent decades. The ephemeral, light, sustainable and highly public character of these ideas is not a coincidence, nor is the spatial scale at which they operate: namely, the scale of the body. The fact is that what is seen as societal has been constructed and fictionalized over the notion of the 'body': a process that has coincided with modernity (Judovitz 2001: 9). In this way, it should come as no surprise that criticism against what is societal and rebellious is being performed over the body.

We can see this shift of scale represented by the bodies of the lone protester-resisting tanks in Tiananmen Square; the protesters in Tahrir Square (particularly in subspaces formed by their bodies in tents or in front of military vehicles); the people resisting water cannons in Gezi Park protests in May and June 2013, as well as the body of the 'standing man', whose protest performance emerged as a new, silent, peaceful and actually as a very threatening form of resistance against the government forces after they violently pushed the protesters out of the Gezi Park. On the first day of the Gezi protests against the 'Taksim Pedestrianization Project 2013', the use of their legal 'parliamentary immunity' by few members via physically putting their 'bodies' in front of government forces, construction vehicles and police vehicles to stop the attacks, epitomizes the public reaction given at the embodied scale in response to the authoritarian imposition through architecture at the urban scale.

TRANSGRESSION OF THE BOUNDARIES OF PUBLIC REALM FOR RESISTING NEO-LIBERAL URBANIZATION POLICIES

Contemporary urban planning and architecture should be perceived as a medium of struggle that directly influences the physical space and operates at

the scale of the body. Along this path architecture could easily evolve from a macro-scale professional field of practice (as it is currently practised) into a micro-scale field of knowledge. While the former serves to a city that can be planned by a single hand at a single time, the latter presents the spatial tools of a city that organically grow in a piecemeal manner. In Turkey, the recent law regulating 'urban transformation' authorizes the Central Administration of Mass Housing (TOKI), which is directly related to the office of the prime minister, as the essential (and perhaps the only) actor in shaping the city with unlimited power. This specific law, thus, fully unites the processes of land allocation, planning, financing and contracting in a single hand for controlling the city. No matter how much the public has been inactivated by these central mechanisms in determining its own position in urban space, the public's request for reclaiming their urban rights starts to occur on a different scale: namely, the body.

Seen from the viewpoint of controlling urban space and citizens, neo-liberal urbanization policies can be seen as an extension of macro-strategies to restrict body politics that liberate individuals in urban space and, thus, liberate people, at large, in public realm. Indeed, anti-democratic political regimes focus on the body politic to be able to control individuals through disciplining their bodies from a very early age. Thoreau (2013 [1849]), for instance, asserts that strategies of the political regimes to create military workforce and citizens through indoctrination from the earliest age from the monasteries and state schools to boy scouts, sports teams, factory, prison, military and eventually conforming to the narrative of 'good' citizens within public daily life (Bröckling 1997). In this reading, institutions are deliberately and strategically used to discipline people by restricting their freedom at body scale, all in the name of 'ideal citizenship'. Discipline as a practice of establishing authority not only exerts constant and systematic pressure on the 'body' but also extends to the politics of space to control the freedom of body in urban space. Today, this pressure seems to have reached the level of controlling individuals (in addition to masses) within public urban spaces such as Gezi Park. The discrepancy between central authority and larger masses of people causes an increase not only in disobedience, particularly in a field where the powerful cannot infiltrate (Thoreau 2013 [1849]: 22), but also in direct action of resistance. The tactical dimension connects the strategies and the acts of resistance.

According to Foucault (1986), unlike the 'hierarchical ensemble of places' of middle ages, spaces of our time are a joint experience of 'utopias' and 'heterotopias' rather than 'spaces of emplacement'. He defines this new space by the relations of proximity between points and elements. Referring to phenomenological theory, he suggests that we do not live in a homogeneous and, thus, empty space. In his definition of the third principle of heterotopias, Foucault

argues that heterotopias possess the capability of juxtaposing a single real place with multiple places. Giving the examples of a cinema hall and Persian garden, he emphasizes the constant transformation of space. In regard to the fourth principle of heterotopias, he notes their ability to be linked to slices of time and their accumulation. Again, by giving the example of fairground sites, he emphasizes the notion of the 'heterotopias of festival'. Gezi Park during the protests and occupation displayed major characteristics of the third and fourth principles of heterotopias. Moreover, the fifth principle regarding the entry rites to heterotopias also reminds us of the slogans by the demonstrators that occupied the park as a common site to appropriate the site as anarchist praxis.

It would not be wrong to suggest that while the proposed renovation of the once-demolished artillery barracks (resuscitated in form of a shopping mall) is a spatial manifestation of discipline and strategy, the dynamism, fluidity and lightness in the ephemeral formations of Gezi Park resistance appear as the representation of the heterotopia and its tactical nature through the aforementioned principles.

THE EMERGENCE OF 'RESIST-SPACE' AND GEZI PARK

Based on Dovey's (2008) and Graeber's (2007, 2009) theories with respect to the direct relationship between space and power (and by the same token, between space and resistance through direct action in urban space), this section will develop the notion of 'resist-space' with specific reference to Gezi Park during its occupation by the citizens. The Gezi Park events, as suggested, can be meaningfully interpreted as a typical example of a spatial struggle between the dominant governing classes and 'other' actors. The events that emerged from the initial peaceful demonstrations against the project to the police violence against the demonstrators display a familiar character of a mutual (yet increasingly aggressive and violent) negotiation in regard to the transgression of the boundaries of public and privatized realms. I would like to argue that the concept of 'resist-space' is helpful in drawing attention towards the relationship between people and the space transgressed under such contested terms of negotiation.

The Gezi Park protests against 'Taksim Pedestrianization Project 2013' stand as an excellent example of *social resistance struggle that is conducted over public space* (Tanyeli 2013: 3). This process has provided yet another powerful example that space is itself a (potentially) powerful instrument of resilience, one capable of accommodating multiple identities in a fixed location (i.e., the park itself), on the one hand, and fragmenting the identity of 'disobedient' actors, across in multiple spaces (neighbourhood parks) on the

other. During this process, it can be seen how the complex rhizomatic structure of the public space (particularly with the aforementioned contribution of Internet and social media as the agents of technology) is transformed onto a strategic dimension: even onto the scale of 'the body'. The phenomenal and rapid extent to which Gezi Park protests grew was a clear indication of an accumulated unrest against the macro-policies that have negative impacts on the body politic of the society. Indeed, until the events broke, the society was not only extremely passive in terms of political involvement and participation but also highly insensitive in regard to economic, cultural and social dynamics that gradually affected the chemistry of the society. In their daily lives, people were pushed into the artificial and sterile spaces of shopping malls to a large extent. People were also pushed to passive involvement in social issues through intensive activity in social media (i.e., Facebook, Twitter, etc.). Meanwhile, the central and local governments were gradually taking a series of specific decisions (ranging from those regarding ban on drinking and selling alcohol and kissing in public spaces to gender-based regulations such as ban on abortion and female dressing in public space) that would restrict the daily freedom (of choice and action) of people in the public realm.

By the time the municipality decided to demolish the public park (which to a large extent had become used to accommodate marginalized [homeless] people and drunk looters, especially at night), people felt that these unfair decisions were far beyond tolerable. Therefore, this attempt was seen as a breaking point for public patience against those in power. Consequently, people decided to 'take back' these real and natural spaces of the public realm, as a means of reasserting their rights in the urban realm—in central Istanbul. In this way, after a long period of time, people through their spirit and means of organization can be seen to have brought a revitalized anarchist praxis back to urban realm. They decided to go out from their artificial and sterile spaces and from their virtual environments of social media, and to the actual scene where urban struggle (always) occurs. This shift in perception and praxis shows the evolution of counter body politic into the 'resist-space'. Indeed, it is no leap of the imagination to suggest a similarity and solidarity between the citizens who first organized those cultural events to keep their urban spaces and, when subjected to violence, managed to establish an alternative ideal micro-living and social order are reminiscent of Paris Commune (March 18–May 28, 1871). In both cases, it was the uprising of the citizens within the urban public realm that became a great threat for the existing corrupt and unfair system enforced by an authoritarian government. In both cases too, these citizens were violently attacked. This was probably the first riot that started over a specific public space and architecture. Thus, the reaction to the anomalous appropriation of a public space by private entities as a result of

neo-liberal urban policies has expressed its resilience again via spatial instruments, which is interpreted here as 'resist-space'.

In this context, the timeline of activism within the Gezi Park resistance both shapes and is shaped through direct engagement with the 'spatial'. First, public reclamation and physical invasion (occupation!) of the park space led to (i) a subsequent physical transformation (through tents and other lightweight structures), (ii) the invasion of police forces and (iii) ultimately the retransformation of the park as originally intended by the municipality. Although it may seem as a defeat for the resist-space that occurred in Gezi Park, the protests were an important catalyst of anti-government events that spread across the city and beyond. The form of these protests, I argue, continued in a new and unexpected ways. This can been seen especially in the form of public forums as well as of humorous and peaceful protests in the streets and parks of all neighbourhoods. As seen from the perspective of non-hierarchical nature of public resistance in anarchist geographies (Springer 2014), the Gezi Park protests grew horizontally in a rhizomatic manner. Meanwhile, the organization of an alternative grand political meeting by the government in an alternative urban space during the time of protests shows the degree of spatiality of this resistance. The government was trying to veil the powerful impact of these protests by holding a grand meeting for its supporters in Kazlıcesme Square, a recently built plaza outside the centre of the city. This plaza was promoted as one of the great achievements of the government to gather masses of people for political rallies. The aftermath of Gezi Park protests provided a great opportunity for government to celebrate its power in a totally new spatial setting. Thus, government was spatially responding to a massive protest, at the heart of which was a significant urban space.

During that period, Gezi Park was reorganized in a manner similar to traditional cities, which included a central core where a public performance stage, public market, public kitchen and public library could be found as described above. Elsewhere, public farming areas, public workshop and training areas especially for kids, mini-forum areas and public infirmary, as well as small exchange shops, were established by the people themselves. All these were surrounded by public tents for the accommodation of protesters. The rhizomatic nature of the Gezi Park due to the movements of human body and dynamics in this new and self-organizing space with ever-increasing tents on a daily basis have been the messengers that herald a new flexible and ephemeral urban–spatial phenomenon which can be called anarchy-tecture.

When considered from the perspective of power–space relationships (Dovey 2008), it can be projected that the dominance of the authority over the park space via conventional means and methods cannot be permanent; and urban space will be transformed into public realm again by means of contemporary devices such as android cell phones and networks such as

social media. Recalling Springer's (2014) discussion on 'human geographies without hierarchy', it would not be wrong to suggest that the social and anarchist content of urban space leaps into another dimension. In other words, resist-space unfolds into itself under the pressure of authoritarian power and enlarges in geographical space.

All of these are the indicators of the fact that resist-space is an essential aspect of a strategy of war, which can be fought through the presence of 'the body/ies', and without appealing to conventional aspects of architecture. The relationships of bodies are seen not only to the urban networks (i.e., physical spatial configuration of the city and transportation networks) in which they are physically present but also within virtual networks (i.e., specifically social media networks such as Facebook and Twitter that played a major role and caused government recently to introduce an Internet censorship), as well as operating new technologies (i.e., smartphones that interact with the virtual networks). In Gezi Park protests, these technologies and possibilities given by social media are fully exploited by protesters not only to communicate among themselves but also to ridicule the government as an enemy. This was part of a psychological war in addition to the territorial battle conducted all over the geographical space at the scale of the whole country. Thus, resist-space expanded beyond its physical limits as a manifestation of anarchist transgression. It must also be acknowledged that Gezi Park functions as an urban park in the very centre of the city. The government could not (yet) dare to resuscitate the Taksim Project.

ANARCHY-TECTURE AS AN ALTERNATIVE SOCIAL ORDER IN PUBLIC SPACE: DRAWING SOME CONCLUSIONS

Interpreting the transgression of spatial boundaries within Gezi Park as a demonstrably anarchist act of protest against the exertion of power in the urban realm, this chapter has shown how the top-down spatial strategies designed by those in 'formal andprofessional' positions of power (in relating to finance, legislation and technical aspects of architecture and design, for example) are confronted with the practices of (spatial) resistance at the scale of the body through 'anarchy-tecture'. With specific references to the case of Gezi Park protests and their social as well as spatial ramifications, 'resist-space' at the scale of the body, as the micro-scale of spatial resistance, is seen as a new type of spatial typology that negotiates the level of transgression of spatial boundaries. The non-territorial battle witnessed in the Gezi Park protest was characteristically one of humour, artistic production and performance. This reality lends further support to Scott's (1990) arguments about embedded cultural mechanisms and about how these are creatively developed

by the public in protest against forms of domination handed down by the authorities. Indeed, subordinated segments of a community surely develop aesthetic means of struggling with such dominance. In this way, a significant non-territorial—and thus almost intangible—context of Gezi Park struggle emerges as a manifestation of those 'hidden transcripts': transcripts that serve to reinforce the tangible aspects of the resist-space.

Within the framework of spatiality and urban ethics in relation to power relationships within urban space, resistance at different scales and the leaps among these scales play crucial roles in negotiating the city rights among different parties within the public realm. Springer (2014: 402) says that 'Marxian central hierarchy deems horizontality inappropriate when jumping scales'. Thus, from Springer's perspective, such leaps among different geographical scales may seem problematic in the establishment of anarchist geographies. Despite the level of truth in his argument, particularly considering the relative failure of the resistance against the government, the leap of scale in Gezi Park protests displays a unique character of being the first social and spatial uprising that challenges the government in Turkish history. Therefore, the fact that rhizomatic spread of protests could not be fully understood and exploited could be excused (as a missed opportunity) in the path towards establishment of an alternative anarchist socio-spatial order in the urban realm. Micro-spatial tactics deployed towards such negotiations are significant means to understand the processes of resistance in urban spaces.

Like the Gezi Protests in Istanbul against the 'Taksim Pedestrianization Project 2013', many examples of resistance throughout history have shown that people use social media to maintain connections with people outside of the immediate context of resistance. The protesters in Gezi Park cleverly performed their battle against fully armed and equipped police forces and secret intelligence networks. When the security forces of the central government eventually quelled this resistance, which they saw and propagated as a violent (and even terrorist) urban riot, 'standing man' performed another form of silent and passive protest, with his own body in the middle of Taksim Square. His effort spread by being replicated all over the city and the country, and new forms of protests were inspired, such as people playing their pots and pans from their windows.

What is important for the argument presented here is an appreciation for how urban space is organized with respect to the freedom of the people. The Gezi Park protests, like many others simultaneously occurring around the globe, are demonstrative of the fact that when public authorities exert their forces on the people who are directly involved in the territorial battle, these groups will respond by engaging in forms of anarchist praxis within the urban realm. The inherent mechanisms of this anarchist praxis can be summarized as follows:

a. Territorial battle to occupy and to appropriate urban space,
b. Micro-scale and 'primitive' architectural intervention to redefine spatial setting according to communal principles, and
c. Practice of counter body politic to ensure the appropriation of 'resist-space'.

Aesthetic expression of the counter-power of communality against the central power using available means and technologies.

These primary mechanisms of Gezi Park protests challenge the spatial arrangements foreseen for the community by those in power. In that sense, they serve as primary means of transgressing the boundaries enforced by the authorities.

In conclusion, like many urban protests and occupy movements, the Gezi Park protests of 2013 in Istanbul reveal the inherent mechanisms of transgressing the boundaries of public space. In other words, first, the spatial arrangement proposed by the government's project; second, the boundaries of the artillery barracks reconstruction instead of the park; and, finally, the loss of the boundaries of occupation (at the end of the forced eviction from the park) were all overcome by these mechanisms conducted by the people as a praxis of anarchist urban architecture. It can be suggested that these mechanisms occur at the scale of the body and in a piecemeal manner. In regard to the self-organizing nature of aforementioned mechanisms, the spatial counter-tactics that are deployed display a rhizomatic character against the complexity of neo-liberal urban development strategies. Despite Springer's (2014) remark on the problematic nature of vertical organization, the interaction between different geographical scales (ranging from body to urban) could be assumed to perform as a counter-mechanism against the notion of 'bigness' (as discussed above), which is used by those in power to implement neo-liberal urban policies through instruments of macro-planning. What can be called 'resist-space' facilitates significant potential towards developing new morphologies of 'anarchy-tecture' that constitutes the spatial container of an alternative social order. The character of the anarchy-tectural morphology of resist-space can be defined as ephemeral, flexible, irregular and collectively self-organizing. It constitutes an immensely powerful and deceptively simple, primitive, instinctive and organic expression of architectural language, and one that captures the essence of left-libertarian and communalist conceptions of space.

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Chapter 9

Banging on the Walls of Fortress Europe

Tactical Media, Anarchist Politics and Border Thinking

James Ellison

INTRODUCTION

This chapter will explore the border in transnational aesthetico-political practice and the role of art as a tactic (as well as a strategy) for intervention in the struggle against fortress Europe. It will make reference to examples of tactical media, outlining two possible themes, decolonial aesthetics and anarchist politics, within tactical media projects aimed against European frontier restrictions. Through the work of Heath Bunting, Tanja Ostojić and the No One Is Illegal (NOII) campaign, the notion of the border proposed is deeply connected to Europe's relationship with colonialism and is explained through examples of aesthetico-political dissent. These tactical interventions reflect a radical 'anti-state' challenge to the exclusive notion of political subjectivity linked to the discourse on citizenship, or the access to rights used to control the flow of people into and through Europe.

The first half of this chapter introduces tactical media and anarchist politics, positioned in a struggle against fortress Europe,[1] concluding with a critical look at the notion of solidarity in aesthetico-political interventions against the state. The second half outlines the notion of border thinking in relation to decolonial aesthetics and asks what anarchist politics can (un)learn from a proximity to the politics of decoloniality.

AESTHETICO-POLITICAL DISSENT AND THINKING *FROM* THE BORDER

The border is a between, a space bounded by two ways of being or knowing. To experience a border, between two countries for instance, means seeing the common on either side, in effect combining the disciplinary regimes through a boundary locality. State borders are 'demarcation circuits' (Balibar 2002) built on structural hierarchies of subjectivity. They are solidified for some and free-flowing for others. For some, transgressing borders can constitute a continuation of integrity, but for others crossing frontiers is far more challenging. These distinctions may not be obvious at first but being conscious of the border as a place of being and knowing implies a process of uncovering. There is no way to set out a concrete understanding of what the border is but only to discover it upon the way. No matter how exclusionary a border may appear, it is never fully solidified; the border is always a permeable membrane. In geopolitical terms, it is possible to identify a state border, on a map or in person, but this is only where the frontier begins. Stretching into either side of a bounded state there are traces of border crossings everywhere, streaking inside apparently homogenous disciplined formations. This reality disputes the definition of homogeneity, the border is a territory of interference covering and spreading its way across what is constituted to be separate and whole. This critical approach is a form of 'thinking *from* the border' (Mignolo 2000a) and is most apparent when examined in conjunction with the construction of the nation state through modernity. By situating knowledge, it is possible to identify the borders of and critically deconstruct singular notions of a 'European identity'.

As well as border thinking, another important theme for this chapter is the concept of the 'aesthetico-political'. This term bridges a theoretical gap, bringing together the discussion of art within politics and vice versa, combining perspectives which examine these categories as two sides of the same coin. The examples referenced in this chapter include the work of Net.Art artist Heath Bunting's *BorderXing Guide* (2002) and *Status Project* (2007), the 'NOII' campaign from Documenta X (1997) and the video and performance artist Tanja Ostojić's film *Sans Papiers* (2004). It is not wise to try and define the extent of the aesthetico-political, but these campaigns, networks, shared projects and visual media fit well under this heading. By considering these examples through their political and artistic consequences, this analysis remains faithful to their nature as 'tactical' interventions against the politics of fortress Europe. The consequences of these aesthetico-political interventions are codified through a discussion of dissent, a challenge to a preconceived order of the aesthetic and the political. Dissent is not simply the antonym of consent but has an affective quality; it

is defined by a feeling of unease. It is not just a political category but is in fact an emotional and ontological state (Thompson 2010: 3). Dissent refers to the desire to constitute artistic production as a form of political unsettling, driving a wedge into the order that precedes it. Through these examples it is possible to imagine dissent as an emancipatory move, an attempt to construct transborder solidarity. These tactical interventions against fortress Europe coincide with anarchist politics, pushing against the homogenous order of the bordered state and its structural violence. Connecting these distinct aesthetico-political examples within a frame of anarchist politics positions them within a broader movement for mutual aid, direct action and solidarity against the state and its borders.

It may seem strange to discuss transnational solidarity through the lens of art but there is a certain appeal to framing the political in regard to the aesthetic. Because art has the ability to go beyond, bring people together and offer new ideas to create campaigns that reach across borders, this makes it a suitable frame for anti-state politics and the contestation of frontiers. Not all artists or artworks perform this role, but this chapter will connect a few examples that do. The question should be asked as to why artists find purpose in offering their creative output to directly political ends, repurposing the resources of the artworld and using the art context as a platform for political organizing. Certainly, the instrumentalization of art as a tool for social change, not just as a form of propaganda but as a practical element within a political struggle, reflects a tactical relationship with the space and resources offered by art and its associated institutions.

An example of the repurposing of art and artistic contexts for political ends is the practice of tactical media. As a term, tactical media originates from the 1997 *Next 5 Minutes* conference in the Netherlands and proposes the reuse of everyday technology for interventionist politics. The *Next 5 Minutes* conference brought together—under the heading of tactical media—a set of divergent practices used by artists and cultural producers to subvert the use of new media technology, by activating them for explicitly political ends. Tactical media has been compared with the Situationist International's theory and practice of detournement as a do-it-yourself form of 'culture jaming'. With the arrival of widely available networked technologies, tactical media became a political philosophy associated with several Net.Art practitioners. Prolific in the 1990s, Net.Art consisted of a group of artists whose practice developed through the use of the Internet as artistic medium. A key element to this philosophy of 'tactical media' is the democratic proliferation of consumer technology, making it easy for anyone to express and broadcast their politics through temporary interventions with readily available materials. In this respect, the media sphere, successfully dominated by the output of large corporations, became a site of radical aesthetico-political dissent.

The philosophy of the tactical, developed from Michel de Certeau's theory of resistance within the everyday, represents a 'making do', a form of dissent that works by chipping away and slowly digging underneath the foundations of authority. This theory allows for a wriggling movement within the system of media and spectacle; it is a 'biting the hand that feeds you' critique that survives on the technical institutions and apparatus that it subverts. De Certeau (1988: 37) described the tactic thus: '[t]he space of the tactic is the space of the other. Thus it must play on and with a terrain imposed on it and organized by the law of a foreign power. . . . It is a manoeuvre "within the enemy's field of vision"'.

This is an incarnation of dissent within the systems of power already prepared for us. The effectiveness of such a tactic can be questioned, but tactical media goes beyond passive critique. It reasserts itself as a political project against the hierarchies of cultural production. As Joanne Richardson (2003: 124), a Romanian-American tactical media theorist and practitioner, states, 'Maybe the most interesting thing about the theory of Tactical Media is the extent to which it abandons rather than pays homage to de Certeau, making tactics not a silent production by reading signs without changing them, but outlining the way in which active production can become tactical in contrast to strategic, mainstream media'. One of the points where the tactical approach has been prolific is through its contestation of state borders.[2] The networked potential of new technology lends itself well to an overcoming approach to frontier politics, supplanting itself across and against border regimes.

When tactical media is focused on and against border regimes, it comes into contact with an anarchist politics of transnational solidarity against the state. This is not to say that every practice concerned with border insurgency is anarchist, but animosity towards the limitations of the state, non-hierarchical approaches to social formations and transnational solidarity are all part of what David Graeber (2002) has described as 'new anarchism'. Maybe by insinuating a broadly 'anarchistic' interpretation of tactical media, this 'strategic' political outlook goes against the philosophy of the tactical but out of all the left political perspectives, anarchist politics is the one that has been most open to the concerns of the tactical and that is why it seems well suited to this analysis. For example, border insurgency is not just a characteristic of contemporary anarchist politics but has been a concern of anarchists since the heyday of anarchism in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. In this regard, it is useful to reference the anarchist and geographer Élisée Reclus, whose ideas from the late eighteenth century, on the socially constructed nature of the border, are still relevant today: '[Reclus] goes so far as to say that there is no such thing as a "natural border," for natural features must be given social meaning through human action' (Clark and Martin 2013: 54). This critical perspective on the nature of the border is an integral

part of anarchist politics today or what Brian Holmes (2005) has termed, the 'no border libertarians'.

Here is the initial point of contact for border politics, anarchist solidarity and aesthetico-political dissent. If the politics of the 'no border libertarian' is inserted into the practice of the artist and particularly artists interested in the potential use of new media as a form of aesthetico-political dissent, then it produces the kind of art that fits well with anarchist politics, subverting the resources and the know-how of the new media practitioner as part of a movement against the borders of fortress Europe. This form of artistic intervention is an attempt to reach beyond the stultifying confines of the art world, becoming a form of political direct action that works against the latent forms of neo-colonial and state violence needed to support the insular realm of artistic production. In these terms, creating examples of aesthetico-political dissent, individual artists or groups can subvert state border regimes, 'hack' frontiers and explore the border as the subject of transnational art practice.

HEATH BUNTING: THE ART OF SUBVERSION AND THE SUBVERSION OF ART

The subset of tactical media, purposed against state frontiers, has been constituted as 'borderhacking' by Rita Raley (2009: 20). An artist whose work epitomizes the borderhack is Heath Bunting. A member of the Net.Art movement, Bunting's work is often concerned with borders and transnational migration. His artwork in this regard includes the *BorderXing Guide* (2002) and *Status Project* (2007). Built on a knowing practice of solidarity, civil disobedience and transnational activism, Bunting's *BorderXing Guide* (see figure 9.1) was a response to a new regime of European border control instituted at roughly the same time as the piece was commissioned. After receiving funding from the Tate Gallery, London, Bunting embarked on a mission to breach every border in Europe, recording his journey. In this artwork, Bunting's aim was to document each border crossing and afterwards, using his skills as a web-based artist, he created a database of instructions for those who wished to repeat his border crossings. In a reversal of the privileged access to global resources associated with citizenship within Europe, Bunting limited the availability of his database to IP addresses in the 'global south', also including a limited number of locations in Europe, mostly art galleries and universities. Bunting's work, by reserving access to the database to those in the 'global south', symbolically undermines the system of privilege associated with the access to rights inherited through being a citizen of the 'global north'.

Collating all this sensitive but tactically useful material led Bunting to develop workshops on the information he had acquired. During these

Figure 9.1 Heath Bunting, BorderXing Guide, Digital Image, 2002.

workshops, Bunting would discuss the *BorderXing Guide* with people in and around border zones, directly intervening within the flows of transnational migration into and within Europe. Bunting's practice operates through a process of action, normally illegal but here constituted as civil disobedience, the collation of data and the communication of the information gathered for reuse by others. This systematic and empirical perspective to art produces a political outlook similar to the processes of transnational solidarity engaged in by other no border libertarians. On the notion of illegality, Bunting's transnational solidarity—the dissemination of information about digital identities and border crossings—has meant that his own legality has come into question; he is now seen as a threat to the state because of the artworks he has created (Dekker 2011). Thus he breaches the line between 'legal' and 'illegal' citizen, creating a transborder subjectivity for himself. This is a symptom of much transborder solidarity. As soon as one attempts to subvert the privileged aspects of the European citizen, by working against border regimes, the state's disciplinary forces start to kick in, penalizing any attempts at meaningful solidarity with undocumented people. One thing that borders produce, as machines within the state and capital, is dissenting subjects. What Bunting's work does is to tap into the production of dissenting subjects by

state borders, diverting the 'energy' generated by these machines of restriction for aesthetico-political ends.

Heath Bunting's second piece, *Status Project* (see figure 9.2), validates the claim that his practice is documentation of certain acts of civil disobedience for dissemination as solidarity activism. *Status Project* is a formula for the creation of a digital British identity. It relies on the ability to create a 'false' identity, without the need to prove one's 'real' identity. This includes obtaining a mobile phone, signing up for a borrower's account with a library, attending a local leisure centre and gaining access to other everyday facilities taken for granted by regularized 'citizens' within Britain. Bunting lays out a plan for accessing different aspects of a 'false' identity. The purpose of the piece is to show how easy it is to participate in many of the social services available in Britain, without having a precedence to these services in the eyes of the law. This is the kind of subversive aesthetico-political practice that agitates conservative nationalist sentiments and unlike BorderXing Guide was not funded by the Tate Gallery.

This form of solidarity counters Bunting the fugitive; he not only challenges the role of the state but also provides the tools to repeat his actions. There is then a process of duplication flipped back onto the border, which he attempts to experience and embody rather than represent. On a separate level, he seems to incarnate the globalization that underpins a critique of the border, and he effectively replicates the flows and patterns of global capital but from a bottom-up perspective.

> In the western world today the more easily money and goods flow between nations, the more those nations close their doors to border crossers, whether they are fleeing persecution or seeking a change in their luck. Bunting's *BorderXing Guide* acknowledges this paradox, evoking the everyday experience of illegal border crossers in a process of reverse authentification. (Schneider 2002)

This leads to the conclusion that the imitation of forms of global capital are repeated through the infernal paradox of the transnational in art. This may be an assumption, reaching the limit of this enquiry, but is the free process of dissemination and explication that Bunting practises recognizable in the philosophy of the larger hacker movement? The free exchange of information, horizontally, through a means that may directly affect people is something Heath Bunting's art provides. It is an examination of how the structural violence of the border is problematized within artistic production.

This tactic of borderhacking has been especially apparent in many artworks of recent years but what Bunting has achieved, through these projects, is interaction with the border and associated subject positions in a way that is based on a critical notion of solidarity.[3] More than a depiction of the border

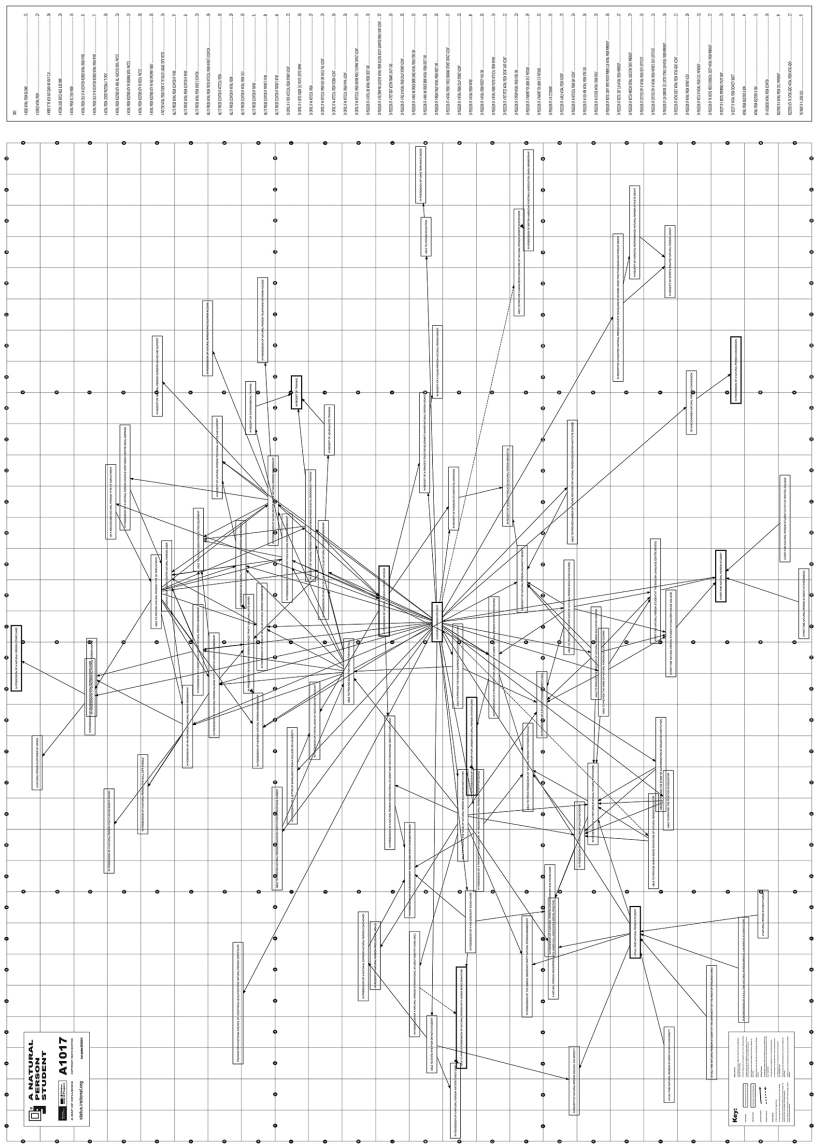

Figure 9.2 Heath Bunting, Status Project (A natural person/student), 2007.

that revolves around the semantic, *BorderXing Guide* and *Status Project* relate to the use of subversion and direct action as an artistic medium. Both involve the transfer of information accrued, through proliferation against borders, and the construction of a space where any visual representation becomes part of the process of emancipated learning through networked connection. A criticism of this process could be the instrumentalization of art practice. To justify the resistance against the border through creative ends, a disruption of the ethical imperative of artistic exclusivity needs to be referenced. The art context is a specific form that can be easily challenged but not so easily overcome. Bunting's work in the *BorderXing Guide* and *Status Project*, by reaching beyond the production of the artwork, points at the material conditions of inclusion and exclusion implanted on different members of society by the state. It expresses a form of cynical artistic production, shining a light on the structural violence needed to support its own production.

An appealing aspect of Heath Bunting's work is how effective it is for those, like this author, who do not suffer the severe precarity of the undocumented person and who might fall into the trap of accepting their freedom of movement as a given. There is a potency to an artwork that demonstrates the fragility of this privilege. In this respect, Uri Gordon's argument for the living practice of activists as form, or the use of art as a tool within anarchist politics, sums up the role aesthetico-political practices play in reference to a wider anarchist movement.

> What convinces people much more effectively than theory is ideological communication: propaganda, slogan, cartoons, and, perhaps, more than anything, *the living practice of activists,* which most directly inspires people by way of example. It is doubtful whether anyone has ever been won over to a political position on the strength of a well-constructed argument or appealing theory. It is likely that people come into their positions on the basis of a personal process that takes place not only on an intellectual/theoretical level, but also on the basis of emotion, conviction, and belief. [Emphasis added] (Gordon 2007: 279)

The way that Bunting's practice presupposes and expresses an active politics of equality across borders demonstrates a commitment to militant politics. In reference to this discussion of the border as a place to realize these inspiring moments, it is through creative dissent in the case of art and militancy in the case of politics that it is possible to dislocate the border in social relations. Through an interaction between the two, aesthetic and political, mitigated by the social, we can create what Gloria Anzaldúa (1987) describes as a community '*sin fronteras*—without borders'. What this community may look like is entirely up to us.

TACTICS VS. STRATEGY: A FALSE DICHOTOMY

The tactical relationship between media, politics and art, which has just been described, doesn't lack criticism. Staughton Lynd and Andrej Grubačić (2008: 89) ask a question, 'Does the avoidance of representation blinker the practice of anarchist "tactics" into looking towards the "Big Event" ending with nothing: no local movements' and so containing no way of continuing a 'strategic' struggle? On the discussion between 'tactical' and 'strategic' political philosophy, No Borders militant and anthropologist Marianne Maeckelbergh gives an example of a possible distinction between different anarchist interpretations on the subject. She contends that certain anarchist political philosophers, specifically the post-anarchist author Todd May, need to reconsider their opinion on the relationship tactics has with strategy, for anarchists. For Maeckelbergh (2009: 92), 'May does not provide enough of an argument for the elision he makes between the lack of a singular central problematic, the multifarious interpretation of power, and a lack of strategy.' The role of representation is important then, but only as a 'tactic' for building and mobilizing people for action. The 'strategy' of building cohesive and strong networks is not something alien to tactical media; it just takes a secondary position within the politics of this form of artistic production. For example, a transnational tactical media–based campaign against border regimes reliant on strategic examples of political and aesthetic representation is the NOII campaign. The problem with this false dichotomy between the strategic and the tactical, within the aesthetico-political, comes from an inconsistent reading of the work of Michel de Certeau. The division of any politics into a purely tactical side of political philosophy, including anarchism, disallows any form of strategic action by groups who prefer the utilization of tactical forms. This is part of a common misunderstanding of the relationship of tactics with strategy and vice versa; they are not binary opposites, and this separation is a serious misconception which needs rectifying.

The role of tactical media in creating and formulating explicitly strategic connections against borders can be explained through the example of the NOII campaign (figure 9.3). The NOII campaign is a shrewd example of the point at which art and radical practice combine in a challenge to the common concept of the subjectivities produced by the border. NOII started at *Documenta X*, a five-yearly, internationally renowned art exhibition in Kassel, Germany. The NOII campaign presents a form of aesthetico-political dissent that is less critical and more productive, in the sense that it constitutes a campaign group. The network embodies the call for an end to all immigration controls and for the free movement of people across borders. According to Nikos Papastergiadis (2012: 5), 'NOII has chapters across 10 countries, focusing on civil disobedience activities, artistic interventions in public space

Figure 9.3 Logo for No One Is Illegal Campaign, 1997.

and providing legal advocacy.' This network and campaign that began life within an elite art context have grown to challenge the division between the least and most alienated people in European society, building a lasting network of transnational solidarity. It is difficult to consider the NOII 'tactical media' project without consideration of its obviously 'strategic' potential.

The question of alienation and border subject positions seems to be crucial for understanding the NOII campaign. Though any one person who takes credit for authorizing an entire campaign network like NOII is questionable, one of its founding members Florian Schneider (2011: 113) believes that the 'criminalization of migration creates the conditions for the over-exploitation of a migrant labour force in the informal markets of late capitalism', adding that 'those who cross the border without the necessary paperwork may experience the passage from one regime of mobility into another as the nullification of any remaining subjectivity'. With a progressive twist, Schneider's position addresses the direct role in capitalism played by subjugation. An important part of the rhetoric surrounding migration is the ability for states around the world to create an underclass of 'illegal' workers in a highly precarious position. This perpetuates a degraded value of someone's labour by preventing their regularization in a labour market. Campaigning for the regularization of undocumented people is a strategy that seems underutilized by purely tactical examples of aesthetico-political dissent against borders.

Another prong to NOII's 'strategy' is a struggle against borders in the over-examination of the construction of subjectivity. For instance, Schneider also confronts the self-precaritization of many who claim to be 'legal' in a Europe growing ever more diverse. For Schneider (2011: 115), 'condemning right-wing populism as racist or xenophobic is missing the crucial point', because those who are 'white' European natives, or support the dominance of this political subjectivity, 'frame themselves as victims, as an endangered species,

or as a native population that will soon be overrun by heinous invaders'. Though there is no such thing as 'reverse racism', this is where NOII is most effective, because as a campaign, it snaps as a statement on banners and walls, a radical assertion of a collective mass, remaking subject positions but also claiming a togetherness not limited by the state. This development of NOII as a 'strategic' opposition to the values of the state is where the role of solidarity practice in transnational aesthetico-political movements becomes important. Is it oversimplistic to claim, 'no one is illegal'? Maybe one answer to this question could come from Raqs Media Collective member Shuddhabrata Sengupta (2012), who suggests that, 'in reality, "No one is legal"'. It is not just the precarity of the 'illegal' subject which should be challenged but also the entire demarcation of the state system through a networked and organized transborder solidarity against capitalism.

ARE WE ALL 'UNDESIRABLES'?: RE-EXAMINING SOLIDARITY AND TRANSNATIONAL AESTHETICO-POLITICAL DISSENT

The idea of an aesthetico-political dissent against capitalism and the state that includes a form of transborder solidarity has a historic precedent. Like the comparison made between tactical media and the Situationist International's *detournment*, the NOII campaign could be compared to the campaign slogan from France in May 1968, 'We are all German Jews/Undesirables'. This battle cry of the student uprisings from the time formed part of a campaign to expose the bias of racial subjugation as part of a radical mobilization aimed at overthrowing the state and capitalism. More grassroots and anarchist than the Situationist International clique surrounding Guy Debord, the Atelier Populaire, translated as the 'popular workshop', was a student-led poster production studio connected directly with the occupation of the University in Nanterre. When their posters appeared on the streets and the crowd began shouting, 'We are all German Jews', it is possible to comprehend, as Jacques Rancière (1998: 59) describes, 'They exposed for all to see the gap between political subjectification—defined in the nexus of logical utterance and an aesthetic manifestation—and any kind of identification'. This seems to fit smoothly with the perspective of the NOII campaign. By embodying the immigrant activist Daniel Cohn-Bendit, the campaign removed a tool of derision, thus becoming a dissensually charged entity.[4] Significantly, the slogan was changed in a general meeting from 'We are all German Jews' to 'We are all Undesirables', broadening the collective de-subjugation and embodying greater alterity.

So, what is the role of the border subject position in relation to the uprising of 1968 and its subsequent theoretical linage? Guy Debord (2007) describes

his understanding of the relationship between 'Undesirables' and French 'citizens', 'They are ill-advised to say that they no longer feel at home *because of the immigrants!* They have reason to no longer feel at home, it is true. This is because, in this horrible new world of alienation, there is no one *other than immigrants.*' This is a massive oversimplification on Debord's part; it doesn't take into account the direct subjugation and structural violence involved in being a person of colour in supposedly 'white' France. Is this process of 'solidarity', as it is found in the notion of 'We are all Undesirables' and the writings of Debord, identifiable in terms of 'thinking *from* the border'?

What these examples of a representational strategy as solidarity offer a notion of the border in transnational aesthetico-political movements is collective subjectivity. Raoul Vaneigem (2011), another of the 1968 Situationist International members, describes his conception of cooperation with undocumented migrants like this, 'We have to take into account that the corrupt state does everything to hinder a true solidarity between have-nots struck by precarity, and those who still enjoy a little bit of good existence. . . . It is this solidarity that we need to restore, and it is to solidarity to which we appeal when we defend undocumented migrants'. Why do we need to 'appeal to solidarity'? Surely it is just a process of identification with a certain emulation of political subjects. We are either in 'solidarity' with a cause, or not, by relating to the existence of a problem with the people who experience it, that is, the 'victim'. Maybe it is best to radically reconsider the problem of subjectivity and solidarity through the history of colonialism. Philosopher Enrique Dussel (2004: 332) describes solidarity as 'not simply tolerating the "victim," rather, one works with the victim in order to stop him or her from being a victim. "Solidarity" can imply a separation, a vessel by which we empathise with a situation that exists elsewhere, it is only by delineation that we come to construct our position'. So, the notion of 'solidarity' should not be confused with a 'paternalistic charity' and should always be considered in 'reciprocal terms' as a form of 'mutual cooperation' (Tlostonova and Mignolo 2012: 11). So, can we understand transborder 'solidarity' without an added notion of reciprocity? Is 'We are all Undesirables' problematic if it comes from a position of refusal? Is there a need for an 'intersectional' approach to transborder solidarity? This is something to be aware of in this potential disparity within the practice of solidarity. This is a problem not unfamiliar to forms of transborder solidarity. There is a need to address the different experiences of mutual understanding, power dynamics and political or racial subjectivity, when working with groups of people who don't just consist of Western Europeans, for example when campaigns and interventions include undocumented peoples or people with a perspective from beyond the confines of fortress Europe. This is where the decolonial option becomes a crucial interrogation for any critique of tactical media and European border regimes.

TANJA OSTOJIĆ: DECOLONIAL AESTHETICS AND TACTICAL MEDIA

To discuss the issues created by working with undocumented people, exploring the different perspectives of mutual understanding, power dynamics and political subjectivity that come with transborder solidarity, it is necessary to confront the historical relationship Europe has to racism and the process of racialization. The different experiences of solidarity that are connected to the border regimes of fortress Europe express themselves through implicitly racialized power dynamics. These power dynamics need critical understanding for meaningful solidarity to occur. As Marina Gržinić (2014: 11) states in her discussion of current European border regimes, '[t]oday the EU as the fortress Europe is a regime that produces an accelerated legally sanctioned system of restrictions, discriminations and economic dispossessions; a space of intensified racialization that has at its core racism'. Built on a notion of cohesion with an assumed equality based on the abstract universal of political subjectivity, what this space of racialization reinforces is the history of Western Europe as a space for 'original white citizens' or those who integrate with this subjectivity. What occurs, in regard to these forms of representation, is a restriction perpetrated by the borders of Europe, effectively a power dynamic of exclusion and inclusion, a deprived political voice for those on the edge and supported by structural violence perpetrated against the bodies of people who don't fit within this political subjectivity.

> These processes of invigorated control of borders, expulsions of refugees, etc., are judicially, economically and, last but not least, discursively and representationally (as different semio-technological regimes), ratified, legislated, and normativized. Today it is central to draw a genealogy of racism that parallels capitalism's historical transformation and historicization. (Gržinić 2014: 11)

The genealogy and historical transformation of European border controls, through semio-technical regimes of representation, creates a deficiency in insular notions of solidarity, embodied within a European security complex and reinforced by particular proposals to end state border controls. Specifically, these discursive and representational regimes need to be identified and worked against. Gržinić (2014: 11) also states, '[t]he EU is providing the grounds for not only a state of exception but for a racial-State, giving a free hand to detention, segregation and discrimination under the veil of the protection of nation-State citizens and even the protection of refugees from "themselves" from their "drive" to try to illegally enter fortress Europe and therefore probably being in a situation to die'. From this perspective, it is clear to see why radical interventions against European border regimes need

to position themselves with regard to the racialized elements instituted by the very border regimes they are attempting to subvert.

It is useful to examine this position on the semio-technical border through an example of aesthetico-political dissent that challenges the border regimes of Europe but also makes reference to the continued colonial subjectivities reinforced by unthinking notions of solidarity. The work of the media and performance artist Tanja Ostojić pays attention to these aspects of fortress Europe. Through the use of tactical media and a form of border thinking, her work brings together all these concerns; aesthetic representation, political subjectivity and racialization. It also suggests an interpretation which implicates European ways of thinking and being within the history of coloniality. Thus, her work presents a concern with decolonial politics and aesthetics.

> In the last instance a pertinent decolonial turn constitutively deploys the linkages between colonialism, coloniality, capital, power, biopolitics and necropolitics, racism and other forms of racist dehumanization including exploitation, extractions, and dispossessions on one side and positions of subjectivities, agencies, and empowerment on the other. (Gržinić 2014: 17)

The discussion of Ostojić's artwork with reference to the decolonial option and specifically decolonial aesthetics offers a move that reflects the subject of much of her artwork. In relation to Ostojić's interventions against the border politics of Europe, reference to the decolonial option formulates an alternative way of thinking and being provoked by the historical construction of the European state within modernity. This decolonial move is an important one, if only to fully outline the concept of 'thinking from the border' and to problematize the different perspectives encountered when struggling against European border regimes.

By reflecting this form of frontier subjectivity through her artwork, Tanja Ostojić connects decolonial aesthetics with tactical media. Ostojić's practice develops aesthetico-political border thinking through direct and indirect interventions with the frontiers of Europe. Her work appears inside and outside art world institutions and galleries. She utilizes the medium of art to combine political and aesthetic ends, successfully bridging the gap between the different roles of artist and activist. All of her work seems to suggest some sort of political gesture aimed at the current regime of state-based subjectivities.

> I came to realize that, in order to attain relevant content, one has to keep actively trying to overcome the given limits imposed by the rules of production and exhibition format within the art system .... Furthermore, because the art field is fertile ground for the exploration of different methodologies, in recent years one has been able to observe visual and performing arts, philosophy, and political activism informing each other and adapting concepts—especially with regard to

> the use of public media and/or guerrilla strategies. The whole concept of tactical media is rooted in a mutual learning process involving different disciplines. (Ostojić 2009: 161–162)

Of particular interest to the application of tactical media and border thinking is Ostojić's video work *Sans Papiers* (14 minutes, 2004; see figures 9.4). The video depicts interviews with imprisoned people in Germany's Berlin-Köpenick immigration detention centre. They were held against their will for simply having the wrong citizenship status and deprived of their rights for being born in a country outside of the European Union (EU); 'interviews with detainees give testimony to the differences in-between those termed *Sans Papiers* and shed light on the conditions and treatment while caught in bureaucratic circles of control structures' (Ostojić 2009: 168). The state bureaucratic control structures are designed to reinforce the border within the country of residence, reduplicating the border onto the migrant body through regimes of control. As Ostojić points out, many people caught in this system of control find no shelter from the harsh reality of being displaced people within the EU going through an economic crisis. '[m]ost rejected asylum-seekers cannot be expelled due to civil wars raging in their home countries, or complicated cases of "nonconfirmed" identity, but are still kept in prison for one to six months with a maximum of eighteen months, all the while being billed for their stay—an average of sixty-five Euros per day' (Ostojić 2009: 168). Because 'migrants are constantly abstracted by the media and discriminatory laws', the interviews in *Sans Papiers* attempt a different form of representation, offering 'the aspect of personal and direct speech, as opposed to abstract speech', giving people the chance to speak for themselves and not have their stories dictated to them by others (Ostojić 2009: 163–164). This example is aimed at establishing a rubric of activism and the decolonial option in art. In fact, *Sans Papiers* is so aware of the way the state is still creating racialized, colonial subjects that it makes obvious the notion of border thinking.

What border thinking is for the decolonial option is a formula for the explication of ways of thinking through aesthetico-political dissent from the edge of Europe. By theorizing a space to discuss the contested places and subjects, border thinking is part of 'the recognition and transformation of the hegemonic imaginary from the perspectives of people in subaltern positions' (Mignolo 2000b: 736–737). Border thinking then shows how universalization is linked to a specific subject position, stretching beyond the geographical location of the frontier and into everything around us. So, is it possible to move forward from a universal subject position? Also, is it possible to recognize border thinking in tactical media? What does the relocation of border thinking into the everyday, through art, provide? The borders of Europe are

Figures 9.4 A and B Tanja Ostojić, Sans Papiers, 14 Minute Digital Video, 2004.

created and recreated to keep a hierarchical system in place, to apply pressure and distort identities into stereotypes, placing people into boxes and reinforcing them with unemancipated representations. Is it possible to subvert these representations in aesthetico-political movements and practices?

> In reality decolonial artists are more complex in their pluritopic hermeneutical connections than any exclusively Western or non-Western ones. Being truly border subjects they constantly play on, de-link, and re-link in a complex, conceptual, and at the same time spontaneous way with various Western and non-Western models from the position of exteriority—the outside created from the inside. (Tlostonova 2013)

To begin to talk about decolonial aesthetics I need to go beyond and stand aside from what has gone before. Not to form an 'objective' view but, obversely, to find a reference point that is not culpable in the historic epistemic domination of the globe by Western European men. It is only through the critical awareness of this nexus of power that I can construct a relationship with those people(s) that I do not represent, and there are many.

The process of global transformation known as modernization is the cause of this division through its creation of the colonial 'other'. However, through the decolonial option, this colonial 'other' delinks from modernism, thereby creating its own subject position ancillary to the hegemony of 'Western' values. This modernity/coloniality—decoloniality project challenges the universalism of the European modernist paradigm, linking it directly to coloniality, and pursuing the decolonial as its *raison d'etre*. The basis of this work is not just as a critique of modernist perspectives but instead the complete reorganization of the geopolitical locus of thought. It is a project built on an understanding of how knowledge forms can be constructed from the 'underside of modernity' and can be placed beyond the pale of 'Western' dominance.

This ability to break with modernity comes from what is defined as the 'colonial difference'.[5] It is crucial to understand how the project of modernity has constructed its 'other', in reference to art, radical politics and the border, if only to step beyond the current rhetoric of the 'foreigner' as the enemy of social cohesion.[6] What is important to comprehend is how concepts such as 'social cohesion' and the construction of 'European-ness' are parallel or simultaneous to the developments of modernization and the exclusion of all other ways of being through coloniality.[7] This is why a discussion of the decolonial option is particularly relevant for any intervention concerned with subjects on the edge of Europe, the borderlands.

If we accept that certain knowledge exists because Europeans have forcibly 'globalized' our way of thinking and being, then this process represents an active disavowal of difference. So instead it is worth developing a position based on a 'pluriversality' of being and thought. 'Pluriversality' is a term

used by Walter Mignolo (2005: 125) in connection with the Zapatista indigenous uprising in Chiapas, Mexico. '*Pluriversality* as a universal project shall not be thought of as a *new abstract universal* but as a *connector*, a place of encounter and exchange of liberating practices, where it would make sense to fight for the idea that another world is possible, and that world will be conceived as a world in which many worlds can exist'. What is intriguing about the relationship between the decolonial option—in regard to the Zapatista's pluriversality—is the 'hybrid' nature of this position. Aware of the history of radical politics and sensitive to indigenous subjects/knowledge, the decolonial is positioned as a radical outside falling back onto ethnocentric notions of anarchist and other left-orientated political philosophies. This political philosophy, if it can be called that, originates from the edge of modernity and is useful for analysing the transnational aesthetico-political interventions of Tanja Ostojić and other no border libertarians. Through a recognition of pluriversality and an understanding of this difference, one not noticeable in 'homogenous' regimes of European state citizenship or political philosophy, it is possible to identify the limits of power and attempt to subvert them. A way to consider this subversion is 'border thinking', an episteme of the periphery, another is 'critical cosmopolitanism' or a reassessment of Kantian cosmopolitanism made from the underside of modernity. Both these concepts push against a history of radical political philosophy—strategic and tactical—emanating from an exclusively 'European' perspective.

ANARCHIST POLITICS IN CONVERSATION WITH THE DECOLONIAL OPTION

What is proposed in critical cosmopolitanism is a form based on the plural nature of values and beliefs. It would be wrong to say critical cosmopolitanism is a development of the Kantian notion of cosmopolitanism. The decolonial option reflects an incompatibility with any historical notion of cosmopolitanism as it has, up until this point, been used as a tool to dominate the globe by European hegemonic knowledge and subject formations. This may sound like cultural relativism, but the notion of colonial difference is offered by Walter Mignolo (2000b: 741) to refute this criticism, 'Cultural relativism should be dissolved into colonial difference and that the colonial difference should be identified as the location for the critical and dialogic cosmopolitanism that confronts managerial global designs of ideologues and executives of the network society'. This is also true in reference to other concepts of the cosmopolitan, particularly the aesthetic and political. The relation of certain political and aesthetic categories to the historical conception of cosmopolitanism is troubling to any idea of decolonial aesthetics. In response, a 'critical cosmopolitanism'

is proposed as a way of understanding how the aesthetico-political itself has been contained within a modern heritage and has been used by coloniality to create 'homogenous' and passive elements in a global order. An example of these homogenous elements is the concept of the 'Western' in and of itself. David Graeber (2007: 332) questions the validity of this tradition in his criticism of Samuel Huntington's theory of 'democracy' as a purely 'Western' invention. If we register this parasitic European universalizing tendency over ideas, then it may also be possible to overcome a notion of cosmopolitanism connected to a global hierarchy. Decolonial aesthetics and border thinking is then a space between zones of difference within this critical cosmopolitanism.

This perspective on the decolonial option has ramifications for radical politics, that works against borders, the tactical interventions of aesthetico-political dissent and the no borders libertarians. A link between anarchist politics and the decolonial option is made by anthropologist and activist David Graeber. In Graeber's work, there is criticism but also admiration for the emancipatory potential of decolonial thinking. It seems to be a crucial point from which to advance notions of solidarity in transnational aesthetico-political movements. In reference to the work of Walter Mignolo, Graeber (2007: 363–364) states, he is 'an author whose position is actually quite close to my own . . . [who provides] a beautiful summary of just how much Kant's cosmopolitanism, or the UN discourse on human rights, was developed within a context of conquest and imperialism', but whose main problem is that 'Mignolo himself ends up falling into a more modest version of the very essentializing discourse he's trying to escape'. This position identifies not only a common critique but also a theoretical link between Graeber's and Mignolo's views on cosmopolitanism. By critiquing the representational sub-theme of Mignolo's decolonial thinking, Graeber makes reference to a recurring critique within the decolonial option, that of essentialization. David Graeber's position links a discussion of transnational aesthetico-political action with anarchist practice beyond the coherence of European epistemologies. This has ramifications for any perception of anarchist politics and aesthetico-political dissent that uncritically attempts to subvert the frontiers of fortress Europe.

It is important to point out that Mignolo himself is keen to show a distance between decolonial aesthetics and anarchist politics.

> Delinking from the colonial matrix is not an anarchism. Anarchist delinking was not generated by the colonial wound but by the rage of economic exploitation and political abuses of power. However important these goals were and are, anarchism is embodied in modern subject and subjectivities while delinking and healing from the colonial wound are embedded in subject and subjectivities of colonial subjects (devalued by heteronormative gender/sexual and by racial categories). (Mignolo 2013)

This perspective makes clear the distance between anarchism, a historical movement of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and current theories on decolonial aesthetics. Obviously, anarchism is a political revolt which is based on a rejection of Europe's parasitic universalizing tendency over human subjectivity, and it could constitute a form of political neo-colonialism, in the name of anarchism, to discount the relationship of anarchism to European ways of thinking and being highlighted by Mignolo. However, this 'deconstruction' of the border and the process of delinking from bounded notions of subjectivity, particularly those associated with colonialism, is also a common characteristic within anarchism and anarchist politics.

There are several examples of border subjects which have pursued a similar goal to the ones stated by Mignolo as part of the decolonial option. An anarchist who could conceivably be recognized as 'thinking *from* the border' is Ricardo Flores Magón. During his lifetime, Flores Magón was greatly influenced by and fought for the self-determination of indigenous communities; he also battled against US imperialism and political interests in Mexico, and lived a life that crossed the frontier between these two countries, struggling for a world without borders, the state or capital. He even had a critical view on the way anarchist politics could be positioned with regard to the strategic and tactical, 'to obtain great benefits for the people, real benefits, it's necessary to work as well-disguised anarchists. . . . Everything boils down to a mere question of tactics' (Magón 2005: 112). This is a knowing example of the way tactics can be useful without a strategic connection.

Though this is one historic example, covered in brief, it shows how anarchism has been a politics of border subjects concerned with tactics. However, there is still much that can be learnt for anarchist politics which is receptive to the aesthetico-political strategies of the decolonial option, even within Europe. In this regard, I think George Ciccariello-Maher (2010: 41 quoting Nelson Maldonado-Torres, 2007: 263) makes an excellent point, synergizing anarchist politics with decolonial politics. He asks, 'Can anarchism resist the temptation to "complete the unfinished project of the Enlightenment" and turn instead to the infinitely more revolutionary and generative global path of "completing the unfinished project of decolonization?"' This is what an understanding of decoloniality provides anarchist politics, aesthetico-political dissent and tactical media, as well as what it means to be a no border libertarian in the struggle against fortress Europe.[8]

CONCLUSION

Any possible relationship the decolonial option has to anarchist politics is a difficult one. That is not to say that it is unimaginable; it just presents several

hurdles in the path of bringing the two positions together. However, understanding the similarities between the decolonial option and anarchist politics is a great opportunity for (un)learning.

It is certain that through careful examination of anarchist politics, both historic and contemporary, there are clear connections between it and the decolonial option. Unfortunately, both positions come with a lot of baggage. The decolonial option can slip into essentialism; this is a criticism even advocates of the decolonial option make against each other, and anarchism is mired by ethnocentrism and universalizing tendencies, but hopefully this trend is fading. Of interest is the positive role movements like the Zapatista uprising and the revolutionary experiment in West Kurdistan have had on radical politics (Stanchev 2015). It seems as if the history of colonialism has left an indelible mark on the possibility of militant transnational campaigns, and often anarchists wedded to a Eurocentric ethnocentric ideal of anarchism have difficulty accepting an anarchist politics that comes complete with a prefigured overcoming of the historical categories laid out by colonialism.[9]

Critically, the deconstruction of borders, as socially constructed entities, is a part of both anarchist politics and the decolonial option. However, certain problems do arise if either theme is treated dogmatically, as a solidified absolute mass of discourse. Maybe that is where, on a certain level, there is also some similarity, the need to resist dogmatic discursive tendencies. This fluid relationship with politics is something much border thinking needs to contend with. Similar to the anarchists, activists or artists whose politics consist of fighting fortress Europe, working with undocumented people to gain recognition from the same state whose structural violence creates the border requires a suppleness of political will. This process of 'regularization' needs a better articulation if anarchist politics is going to use tactics to fight against the divisive notions of liberal citizenship implemented by institutions like fortress Europe. On the other side, it is also one of the reasons why unthinking paternalistic charity and victimhood become difficult categories for radical political solidarity across borders. The border is a site for combining unique and distinct elements, creating a zone of interference, where the hypocrisy and racism inherent in the construction of the European state reveals itself but should not be reproduced.

The fluidity needed to resist border regimes is part of why a tactical approach to politics and media seems to be a positive starting point for amplifying the hardships created by frontiers. However, the distinction between the use of tactics and strategies is not straightforward. They are difficult categories to attribute definitively to a single political project, and their use often leads to misunderstanding. The notion of tactics as attached to any political philosophy is a fallacy. There are some political positions that do concentrate more on tactics, and anarchism could be one of them; perhaps the decolonial

is another, but the exclusion of strategies (and possibly logistics) from political philosophies that pay more attention to tactics is misguided. It is useful to include logistics as a move away from the oversimplistic dichotomy of strategy versus tactics. Logistics is certainly important in a critical sociopolitical understanding of frontiers and frontier identities because the border is often the point at which logistical values become most apparent. The disconnected nature of tactics from strategic politics is one of its strengths and has several advantages for border solidarity, but without any strategy, tactics can often seem hopeless. The significance that these three political categories—tactics, strategies and logistics—have for aesthetico-political dissent and other forms of artistic production, particularly those aimed at undermining border integrity, needs more exploration. However, there is one thing that is certain: the continued use of artistic production to contest the border is a positive step towards breaking down the walls of fortress Europe.

NOTES

1. Fortress Europe is shorthand for the oppressive system of immigration controls instituted by member states to monitor and halt the flow of people into the EU. Some of the instruments used to construct the fortress of Europe are immigration detention and removal centres, militarized border controls and centralized databases for tracking asylum applications. Established in 2005, the EU agency responsible for border and immigration controls is called Frontex.

2. In reference to Michel de Certeau and colonial structures of power, it would be interesting to read a critical analysis of de Certeau's work on historiography from *The Writing of History* (1992), but unfortunately that exceeds the scope of this chapter.

3. Other forms of Borderhack practice could include the Faidat collective, DoEAT, SWARM the Minutemen, Electronic Disturbance Theatre and Judi Werthein's *Brinco(Jump)* project.

4. Daniel Cohn-Bendit was a German Jewish student excluded from the University in Nanterre after assisting with the adoption of the Situationist International political philosophy by the student union. Gene Tempest explains the significance of the two terms 'during the May events; the Communist party's general secretary had derogated Cohn-Bendit, a French citizen, sneering, "he was a German Jew". In expelling Cohn-Bendit later, the French minister of the interior called him "undesirable'". Thus, the preceding statements can also be identified with the denigration of those opposed to the insurrectionary uprising of 1968. Unfortunately, since the events of May 1968, Cohn-Bendit has gone on to become a EU parliamentarian for the Green party and a political advocate of paedophilia.

5. The colonial difference is the restriction on thought left by modernism and coloniality; it is the limit of what is thinkable. The colonial difference is beyond notions of right and left; it is the place labelled as unknowable by European epistemology. See Anibal Quijano's, *Coloniality and Modernity/Rationality* (2007).

6. When we discuss the position of the 'foreigner', it is often made in reference to a projection of the European social-political realm that appears somehow superior and more developed. This contains a fixed and homogenous idea of what it means to be 'European', normally white. Then the migrant must integrate, reinforcing hierarchies of ways of being European, discounting any subject position that is not as being uncivilized.

7. Walter Mignolo uses the conjunction modernity and coloniality; the slash represents the inexorable link between development and subjugation, the decolonial being an option to surpass the link modernity has to coloniality.

8. For further explanations on the link between anarchist practice and decolonial thinking, see Maia Ramnath's *Decolonizing anarchism* (2011) and Harsha Walia's *Undoing Border Imperialism* (2013).

9. An example of a catastrophic failure for anarchists, blinkered by an inability to recognize the legacy of colonialism and its pernicious forms of racialization within political subjectivities, is the work of Michael Schmidt. For a critique of Schmidt's work, see George Ciccarello-Maher's 2010 essay *An Anarchism that is Not Anarchism: Notes Toward a Critique of Anarchist Imperialism*.

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Chapter 10

Democracy, Agency and Radical Children's Geographies

Toby Rollo

> So get this: our realization, our liberation depends on *theirs*—not because we ape the Family, those 'misers of love' who hold hostages for a banal future, nor the State which schools us all to sink beneath the event-horizon of a tedious 'usefulness'—no—but because *we & they*, the wild ones, are images of each other, linked & bordered by that silver chain which defines the pale of sensuality, transgression & vision.
>
> —Hakim Bey

INTRODUCTION

Despite centuries of progressive resistance, the enduring structures of empire, settler colonialism, hetero-patriarchy, white supremacy and neo-liberal capitalism have proven resilient. Alternatives have been forged within different scales and spatialities—the local, the urban, the national and the global—yet these structures of domination persist and in some cases become stronger. In this chapter, I argue that efforts to radically democratize norms and institutions have faltered because they have not been sufficiently grounded in relations of equality and mutual aid among children and adults. Historically, the figure of the child has been little more than an afterthought of critical activism and scholarship. Often deployed as a symbol of a better future, the child is nevertheless positioned as passive with respect to struggles unfolding in the present. The exclusion of children as political equals will either limit or destroy emancipatory struggle, for wherever the notion of naturalized superiority of adult over child is manifested even tacitly in our conceptions of political agency, the seeds of a naturalized superiority of man over woman, rich over poor and white

over black are also sown. If the aim of resistance is to foster a creative, direct, decentralized, voluntary, horizontal, self-managed, reciprocal and sustainable form of collective life, we must begin at the beginning, by embodying, prefiguratively, the inclusion of children as agential partners. Practices of freedom must be deeply rooted in these relations or they will not survive. Worse, we risk introducing entirely new forms of coercive hierarchy.

Historically, children have been conceptualized as passive on the grounds that the young are underdeveloped, as evidenced by their inability to represent ideas or speak to complex issues. The absence of language in the very young, along with the inability of older, speaking children to participate in principled deliberation, effectively disqualified them as agents, leaving the young conceptually and materially dependent on adults. The effect of this legacy has been to unnecessarily truncate the political imagination, as we see in David Graeber's (2011) quip, 'We are all communists with our closest friends, and feudal lords when dealing with small children. It is very hard to imagine a society where this would not be true' (113–114). Is it so difficult? Perhaps the dearth of imagination is one reason feudal structures of power have simply evolved rather than been eradicated. We might contend that another world is not only possible but actual (Bey 1991). There are already adults and children who recognize this, as Springer (2014b) observes, 'An adult has as much to learn from a child as a child can stand to learn from an adult' (81). Recently, scholars working in the fields of child studies, sociology and geography have acknowledged that the developmental model of childhood is little more than a pernicious social construction. Children are not incomplete or defective human beings. These new approaches to the young do a great deal to formally affirm the agency of children. We have yet to advance past formal affirmation, however, and the question of what distinguishes children's agency has been left unaddressed. If children are *political* agents, what kind of agency do they exercise? If not the capacity to represent ideas, interests or identities, then what? Moreover, what shape might politics take if we centre the child rather than the adult machinery of state and market?

Unfortunately, given the long absence of a substantive account of childhood agency, the formal recognition of childhood agency continues to give way to the representational powers of the adult (Philo and Smith 2003). Abstract forms of representation and cognition tend to reassume their paradigmatic status. The result is that childhood is almost always construed in terms of play rather than political agency, and studies focus almost exclusively on how children are either stifled by or adaptive to adult-constructed spaces: the home, the playground, the school, and the city (Ward 1990 [1978]). Likewise, efforts to recognize children as participants in research and political life are almost always centred on how adults can facilitate the exercise of voice, or how adults might speak on behalf of the young. In short, despite a formal

acknowledgement of childhood agency and children's geographies, there is little in the way of an affirmation that is not just a reaffirmation of adult agency.

As a corrective, I offer a necessarily brief and general introduction to the idea of *radical* children's geographies, an approach which goes beyond the privileging of adult capacities towards the recognition that children's primary mode of agency is *non*-representational. In the case of the very young—that is, infants and toddlers—meaning and understanding are generated through their embodied and non-representational mode of engagement with the world and others. This non-discursive type of action is commonly referred to as *enactive* (Hutto and Myin 2013). As children acquire language, until roughly the age of seven, language use remains rooted in this immediate domain of social relationships and experience. Although our enactive mode of agency is operative throughout our entire lives, it is our primary and, for a time, the exclusive form of environmental, personal and social understanding for children. Recognizing enactive agency *as agency* is an important first step, but it is also critical that we place it on equal standing with voice, not devalue it as an inferior or less-developed mode of human engagement. The praxis exercised by the child and the adult are distinct yet equal forms of agency admitting of their own relative strengths and advantages.

For scholars, the promise of radical children's geographies is that it permits us to move away from banal descriptive accounts of how the young adapt to adult geographies or emulate adult capacities. We gain traction on the normative question of how adults *ought* to help construct geographies and relations, given our commitment to principles of equality and autonomy. Insofar as communities are already structured spatially and relationally around childhood praxis, they necessarily embody critical and prefigurative practices that obviate against environmental degradation, economic disparities, racialization, gender violence and discrimination based on ability. Discursive and enactive forms of agency engender different conceptualizations and uses of space. In this way, projects and communities—most notably, some indigenous communities—have been to an extent inoculated against the emergence of coercive hierarchies and restricted politically to a genuinely human scale. Cultures can diverge dramatically according to the particular forms of agency and spatial relations they privilege. The so-called West, for instance, privileges the abstract representational agency epitomized in European intellectual traditions. By contrast, many Indigenous intellectual traditions recognize children as political agents and likewise privilege the embodied and concrete domain of the enactive. This is one reason why Indigenous systems have never sustained notions of linear civilizational progress, constructions of biological race or the commodification of relationships. Indeed, this foundational challenge to the European world view establishes Indigenous forms of

life as a threat to Western ideals. European colonization sought to extinguish these ways of life, yet the rootedness in relations of respect and mutual aid between generations permitted Indigenous peoples to survive the onslaught of genocide and settler colonialism.

Communities that ground relations and the uses of space in the agency of children will always present the most enduring and effective alternatives. They are the firmament in which an enduring alternative can take root. In this sense, the effect of realizing different modes of agency as *equally* pertinent to the organization of social, political and economic spaces is revolutionary.

ACCOUNTING FOR THE AGENCY OF CHILDREN

Before discussing the erasure of children from the political realm, I would like to present a substantive account of childhood agency upon which radical democracy could be rethought. Let us begin at the beginning. We are born as bodily beings, without language, and we remain bodily beings until the end of our lives (Varela et al. 1991). A few of us will also live at least a part, if not the entirety, of our lives on the margins of linguistic communication and cognition because of disabilities. Our agency as infants and children is initially a non-representational form of embodied and affective enactment of our intentions in the world (Merleau-Ponty 1962; Gallagher 2005; Thompson 2007). Our enactive mode of reasoning and meaning-making with others is neither intellectual nor conceptual, and it does not depend on iconic or symbolic representations (Bruner 1968; Fuchs and De Jaegher 2009, 2010; De Jaegher 2010; De Jaegher and Di Paolo 2007; Di Paolo et al. 2010; McGann and De Jaegher 2009). Put another way, children are *present* as bodily beings in their environs and they *present* themselves directly as bodily actors to others; that is, they do not in the first instance *re*-present themselves or the world through language.

Children possess a sense of self and agency that prepares them for the acquisition of language (Sheets-Johnstone 2011). Language is itself a coordinative practice, and, so, enactive agency is a necessary precondition of acquisition (Di Paolo and De Jaegher 2015; Tomasello 2008; Tomasello *et al* 2005). Language is the product, not the source, of the child's intentional (goal-directed) consciousness and coordinative agency with others. The emergence of language is in fact the best evidence of complex, coordinative, enactive agency. Language is neither necessary nor sufficient for individuals to engage in practices of freedom. As we grow older, our embodied mode of being is not displaced or colonized by language. Contrary to the folk understanding of human experience and identity, which views persons as subsumed within a symbolic order with the arrival of language, human beings always possess

both the enactive agency they were born with and the representational modes of being and understanding they acquire in parallel (Stern 1990). Our embodied phenomenal selves and our discursive narrative selves are not always in agreement as evidenced in the way that enactive agency can stand in tension with, and contest the imposition of, discursive constraints (Archer 2011; Coole 2005; Krause 2011; Kruks 2001; Noland 2009; Schatzki 1996; Scott 1998).

What are the implications for thinking about political space and relations when we place childhood modes of agency on equal footing with that of adults? We can only discern a rough sketch at this point. To start with, the child's practices of exploration and play engender relatively small or local spatialities, and, from a political standpoint, these spaces should not be assessed through a developmental lens which devalues them or positions larger and more abstract spaces as inherently superior. The spaces established by children have inherent value, in part because they are suited to prefigurative forms of democratic praxis. In general, infants have a very intimate spatial life and bodily set of relations. As they grow into children, that range expands but does not encompass a territory larger than that which the child can explore and then return to his or her community (Horton et al. 2014). The details and distances of this range are experienced by children on the enactive register; that is, they are *felt* distances rather than *mapped* and *measured* conceptual distances. Children have no need to *re*-present an area to themselves as a mental image or theoretical construction in order to traverse its terrain. Nor do they have to formulate abstract ethical principles in order to establish norms of interaction that govern conduct in that space (De Souza 2012). All that is required to establish and understand a particular space and relationality is a bodily know-how cultivated through the child's ongoing exploration and play.

A radical approach to democracy invites adults to work *with* children to build a peaceful, prosperous and sustainable social order that does not dissolve the relations to place and people established by children. For adults to recognize childhood space and relationality *on its own terms* requires us to use our capacities to construct complex abstract forms of organization—environmentally, economically, socially, legally and politically—in ways that are grounded in and responsive to the orders established by children.

It should be noted that a version of non-representational agency has been articulated in the field of geography (Anderson and Harrison 2010; Thrift 2008). Unfortunately, it tends to focus almost exclusively on adults and in most versions seems to endorse a developmental vision of children as morally inferior, even cruel:

> Children tend to learn sociality and sharing, at least in part, through intimidation, victimization, domination and sanction. In other words, the kind of

> empathy required by interactional intelligence does not preclude a good deal of general misanthropy. (Thrift 2008: 208)

To substantiate this particular claim, we are directed to 'recent work in the social psychology of childhood development' which purports to demonstrate that children often learn by being 'happy victimizers' (Ibid). It is unclear what lasting contribution a non-representational approach can make if it is married to the developmentalism that many in the sociology and geography of childhood have rejected. What is clear is that we find much more productive approaches in, for instance, Simon Springer's (2014a) discussion of childhood relationality:

> Children can, of course, also be cruel, but this is a learned behaviour, and it is one that we can collectively unlearn when we allow children the space and confidence to explore their relationships unencumbered by preconceived notions of the normative and unchained from the shackles of authoritarian discipline. In short, there is an ontology to childhood that is fiercely aligned to liberation, and an epistemology that is all at once open to process, creativity, and inclusiveness. (82)

One of the main reasons developmentalism is tacitly recapitulated in geography is the persistence of an artificial binary between a domain of adult freedom exercised through representation and culture one the one hand, and, on the other, a domain of childhood that is allegedly constrained by necessity and animalian behaviour. The binary is evident in the earliest formulations of childhood geographies. William Bunge (1973), for instance, concedes that there are dangers in privileging the edifices of the adult world, but writing in the absence of a framework of childhood agency his approach defaults to notions of unconscious animalian behaviour:

> [W]hen birds fly into high buildings that are well lit and the birds are killed by the lights, people respond by changing the lights. When children are killed by walking into traffic, we blame their mothers. When do we study the movements of young *Homo sapiens* as animal behaviour independent of culture? Are the streets located in such a way as to contradict the nature of children? (323)

The tacit developmentalism of geography leads to an interpretation of space as 'predominately constructed and ordered (both materially and symbolically) on adult terms and scales' (Jones 2000: 27). In a sense, the field of *children's* geographies has not yet emerged because the preponderance of research positions children as moving features of adult landscapes, places, spaces and scales. Children's geographies could and should avoid the fatalistic deference to adult discursive constructs by attending to the equality of the

enactive. Coping with a discursively structured set of relations does not mean that children are coping in discursive terms. To generate democratic alternatives *with* the child entails a rethinking of economics and politics on a level that is amenable to childhood agency. Centring the infant (etymologically: *in fans*, Latin for *without speech*), for instance, means organizing social life in ways that preserve the spatiality of direct embodied care; it means responding to the ways children themselves can enact democratic life on a local scale in the course of establishing, affirming, contesting and modifying norms of conduct.

The enactive agency of the child contravenes totalizing and hierarchical discourses and, as such, stands as an exemplar of liberatory praxis. In the context of literate and rational modernity, childhood praxis manifests in an inherent act of resistance and transgression. The spaces generated with children are, in this sense, the very *locus* of emancipation from the excesses of modernity. To see how, let us now turn to some of the arenas of modern life that are in crisis which could be ameliorated through the application of radical childhood geographies.

The world is currently experiencing mass environmental degradation and species loss, much of which is a function of the compartmentalization of its surface into abstract consumable or disposable units. Most of the Earth is currently mapped and quantified into natural resources, with little attention paid to human beings' relationships of interdependence with their environments. The land, water and air have become dumping grounds for pollutants generated by industry and resource extraction. Mass agricultural industries contribute to the elimination of biodiversity through the use of biocides and monocultural crops. This degradation is facilitated by the distances and boundaries that separate citizens and decision makers from the consequences of their decisions.

The destruction of the environment is inextricably linked to the scale and imperatives of the modern globalized capitalist economic order. In the last few centuries, adults have constructed highly complex patterns of commerce and commodification that not only affect the environment but also build relations around the purely symbolic monetized value of precious metals, oil and currency, the abstract concept of interest, digital flows of capital and trade, and the instrumental calculations of investment. Much of the global economy proceeds on an intangible plane of adult representations that far exceeds the experience of individuals or communities. Among the dire consequences of this modern phase of industrial and financial 'progress' is the erosion of trust and mutual aid, not to mention permanent conditions of poverty, dependence, hunger and exposure on virtually every scale.

The history of capitalist economics and environmental destruction is, of course, deeply rooted in the legacy of modern European empire and

colonialism. Europe's legacies of slavery, genocide and dispossession were facilitated by intellectual constructions of *terra nullius*, the doctrine of discovery and manifest destiny, which in turn laid the groundwork for ongoing domination by nation states and the assertion of absolute territorial sovereignty. The violence involved in these assertions is sustained in most cases by mythologies, grand narratives, political theories, legal fictions and sciences, each accounting for Europe's natural racial and civilizational superiority. Thus, at the heart of notions of modern democratic citizenship we find patterns of violent racialization, gender violence and ableism.

Such is the world today, a world built entirely by adults for adults. The scale of our environmental impact has even begun to alter the Earth's natural processes, leading some to label our contemporary epoch the *anthropocene*. Yet it is more aptly called the *adultocene* since it is not the young who have wrought these drastic changes. The Earth is perfectly capable of recovering from the footsteps of children. Indeed, rooting our engagement with the natural world in spatialities and relations of childhood enjoins us to take seriously our care for the health of local ecologies. At a basic level, food security for communities and the health of children all hinge on maintaining clean water, clean air, nutritious food and wildlife diversity. When children's geographies are ignored, abstract understandings of nature assume paramountcy over healthy and sustainable care for our immediate environments.

By keeping communities localized or rooted in the spaces engendered by childhood play and exploration, we obviate against the disparities and violence that sustain global capitalism. Economic life organized around relations of trust and mutual aid is antithetical to the emergence of poverty and hunger borne out of abstract commodification, monetization, capital, interest and investment. Moreover, the economies sustained within radical children's geographies do not allow for the destruction of environments through unbridled natural resource extraction and mass monocultural agriculture. As Vandana Shiva (2005) has observed, 'Localization of economies is a social and ecological imperative' (10). Where necessary, adults will be responsible for organizing more complex and sophisticated forms of trade and mutual aid *between* communities, but these relationships must remain rooted. The role of the adult is to use her powers of voice and representation to connect children's spaces in order to preserve rather than transcend them. Again, Shiva articulates how peaceful global relations must always be grounded:

> Localization provides a test for justice. Localization is a test of sustainability. This is not to say all decisions will be made on a local level. There will of course be decisions and policies made on the national level and the global level, but to reach these other level they have to constantly pass the screen of living democracy.

A *living* democracy stands in direct opposition to politics guided by economic doctrine—a democracy beholden to the abstract commodification of nature and labour.

With respect to race, gender and ability, a politics which centres childhood is a prefigurative politics *par excellence*. As Simone de Beauvoir famously observed: 'One is not born, but rather becomes, a woman.' Oppressive gender and hetero-patriarchal relations are, we recognize, contingent discursive constructions. The focus in radical childhood geographies on enactive *beings* (rather than developmental *becomings*) avoids the conditions of coercion and violence that reproduce discursive hierarchical constructions of race and gender. Children who are subject to arbitrary exclusion and domination *qua children* quite predictably emerge as adults who are predisposed to create and sustain relations of domination based on *other* arbitrary categories. Children who are treated as equals in relations of care and mutual aid, by contrast, are predisposed to recoil from and reject relations of domination. Likewise, in abandoning the presumption that personhood and agency are marked out by advanced cognition, or that adult forms of deliberation represent the natural *telos* of human development, child-centred political practices avoid the ableist exclusion of those who are unable to communicate or who do not possess cognitive capacities associated with adulthood.

Democratic norms and institutions of equality and freedom are shattered by the removal of children from the localized and egalitarian spheres of agency they help constitute. Historically, this is part of the reason that the elimination of child-centred political spaces has been a primary objective of authoritarian regimes and empires. Non-hierarchical cultural norms are incompatible with the coercive violence required to sustain empire, colonialism, white supremacy, hetero-patriarchy and capitalist economies. In the West, the reproduction of democratic cultures has been purposefully disrupted by the transfer of children to fields, factories, churches, schools and prisons. These children are gradually inculcated with the idea that the abandonment of childhood spatiality and agency is a natural and normal requirement of 'mature' functioning democracy. It is no coincidence that the ordering principle behind absolute monarchy, imperialism and feudal economic orders was the naturalized rule of fathers over children. Nor is it a coincidence that the ordering principle behind the modern nation state is the naturalized subordination of childish emotion to mature reasonability. The violence of empires in their ancient and modern incarnations is well documented, but its roots in the destruction of childhood praxis are rarely if ever acknowledged.

It is worth asking at this point, if all we need is to establish partnerships with the young in relations of equality and mutual aid, why should the possibility of radical democracy seem so distant? As I have argued, the answer lies in the tacit denial or degradation of childhood agency in our intellectual

traditions. With the suspicion of children comes a related suspicion of immediate experience and the local, and with these a reassertion of adults and their global constructions as the primary means of affecting change. Let us turn now to the subordination of children's spaces in our intellectual and emancipatory traditions.

LIBERAL GEOGRAPHIES OF CHILDHOOD

Within most traditions of liberal democratic thought, it is our conscious critical engagement in the world of representations—our *speech*—along with the deeds that are guided by this intellectual work, which constitute practices of freedom. Adults privilege language, especially sophisticated representation, philosophical abstraction and artistic expression. These 'mature' modes of political agency trade in ideas that are transposable and instantaneously transmittable through print, sound and image media. Here, the restrictions of scale and spatiality are functionally dissolved, and it is this solvent nature of representation that has come to be identified with *political* agency: collective problems are solved through dialogue, dominant ideologies are broken down by critique, dominant narratives are dismantled by counter-narratives, and dominant discourses deconstructed by alternative discourses.

Perhaps, this is why most approaches to children's agency and rights (even those viewed as 'radical') have been more or less reiterations of liberal doctrine. Child liberationists in the 1960s and 1970s, for example, limited their focus to freeing the child from home and school life so they could participate in capitalist markets and state politics. John Holt (1974) championed children's rights to vote, to work and to own property, arguing that children are competent enough to participate. But emancipation is not an empirical question of relative competence; rather, it is a normative question of obedience and freedom. The question is not whether children can hold a job or understand a party platform; the question is whether jobs and party platforms ought to exhaust the possibilities of political life for anyone, young or old. Fortunately, the last few decades have witnessed a societal shift from a vision of children's rights based on competency to one based on children's interests and needs. Unfortunately, the agentivity of the child has become the target of governmental apparatus that focuses on self-directed work and education (Smith 2014). The young are understood as educational entrepreneurs who must embrace personal responsibility and growth within existing neo-liberal, capitalist and statist systems. The emphasis is still on children's voice and 'being heard by adult decision-makers' (Tisdall and Punch 2012: 254). A robust account of children's rights must reach for something more than mere integration into capitalist labour markets and electoral politics.

The modern romanticization of voice can be attributed in part to centuries of self-absorbed writing by philosophers, priests, poets and politicians (Harpham 2002; McNally 2001). At the heart of the Enlightenment ideal of ordered society is a denial of childhood agency and an assertion that human beings who do not possess mature deliberative capacities cannot be obedient to principles of justice, making it inevitable that society will degenerate into disorder. Modern liberal doctrines tend to position children as either in need of protection from politics or potentially (partially) integrated into adult political orders. These models emerged out of the belief that those who *do not* privilege representation remain embedded in localized relationships and a 'state of nature' that will be overcome by violence, a Hobbesian war of all against all. In short, the view of children as deficient or incapable offers the same false allegation thrown up to justify the exclusion of women and non-Europeans from democratic life throughout history. But whereas the political equality of women and non-Europeans was eventually recognized (at least formally), the subordination of children has been preserved at the heart of contemporary social science and political theory.

Speech and voice remain the ideal of human agency for childhood studies and sociology of childhood (Christensen and O'Brien 2003; Cockburn 2013; Cook 2004; Goddard et al. 2004; Hallett and Prout 2003; James, Jenks and Prout 1998; Mayall 1994; Prout 2005; Qvortrup 1994; Wyness 2000), children's geographies (Aitken 1994, 2001; Aitken, Lund and Kjørholt 2007; Ansell 2009; Halloway 2000; Holloway and Valentine 2000a, 2000b; Holloway 2014; Horton and Kraftl 2006; Matthews and Limb 1999; Philo 2003; Valentine 2003; Woodman and Wyn 2015), political studies of childhood (Tisdall and Punch 2012; Tisdall et al. 2014) and even radical pedagogy (Friere 1970 [2014]). In the cognate fields of human geography, it is assumed that adult scales and spatialities are the natural context of childhood. Children are depicted as 'active cultural producers', but only in the context of adult 'patterns of land use' within which 'children learn to operate' in the process of 'carving out their own cultural locations' (Matthews 2003: 70). Children are not viewed as full partners but as existentially ensnared in adult systems of symbol and reference. The question of children's equal participation in the constitution of political space does not arise since the young are viewed as perpetual victims. Thus, research seeks to document the tragic lives of child soldiers, child prostitutes and street children who must learn to negotiate complex adult spaces and boundaries (255; Spyrou and Christou 2014). These forms of 'childhood ghettoization' occur when children are constrained by adult structuring of space (Matthews 1995: 457), and childhood experience is presented in ways that collapse the child's constitution of the local into an adult framework. Ansell (2009), for example, writes:

> Children's embodied relations with the world are both biophysical and social, but this biophysical/social coupling is not simply 'local'. Every encounter of a child with her/his environment encompasses far more than immediate surroundings. The familiar objects in a room derive (in multiple ways) from distant places. 'Face-to-face' relations always involve relations in other places, most of which escape children's conscious awareness. A child's home reflects class and culture. (200)

But what is presented here as the world of the child is a set of *discursive* relations which young children do not experience. Children are rarely cognizant of the symbolic contexts and connections that are established and experienced by adults. However, the conclusion so often drawn from the fact that children cannot account for the full complexity of adult-constructed artifices is that their experiences are parochial and therefore largely irrelevant:

> It is necessary, then, for research to take leave of physical, embodied children—to recognize that children can only tell us so much, that what they tell and, especially, what they tell of what they see, gives access to only a very small part of their lives. (205)

The suggestion that researchers ought to take leave of the parochial world of the embodied child is intimated throughout the literature more generally, specifically in the collapse of the local into the global.

For instance, an erasure of the child occurs in Doreen Massey's (2005) challenge to the local and global binary: 'The couplets local/global' and place/space do not map on to that of concrete/abstract. The global is just as concrete as is the local place' (184). The global can be experienced as concrete by most adults since the experience of both the local and the global can be mediated by discursive inferences. However, it is *not* the case that global constructs are experienced in the enactive life of the child. The only way the local can be collapsed into the global is by ignoring the child's relationship to the local, which means ignoring the child. Indeed, Massey explicitly challenges the appeal to the intimacy of parent–child relationships, citing the 'cultural obsession' with relations to children centred around care (185–186). She argues that privileging local and proximate relations of care leads us to neglect the plight of distant strangers, no less than we ignore 'the strangers who have always been within' (ibid.). The suffering of distant others is discounted because of 'a hegemonic understanding that we care first for, and have our first responsibilities towards, those nearest in' (186). Rooting action in the local is, therefore, 'a dangerous basis for a politics' (185).

Overlooked in this sort of indictment of localism and proximate relations of care is that the neglected stranger is a victim not of localism *per se* but of the localized capitalism, urbanism and discrimination around them. Poor

black women in America are not suffering because of the inherent inadequacy of proximate care; they are suffering because their locality is structured by adults in the service of capitalism and racial order rather than by caring adults and children in the service of equality and mutual aid. Strangers are neglected, both in the local and the global contexts, because they are victims of symbolic orders, orders that currently structure every adult scale. Whether one privileges local or global action is irrelevant if both assume the erasure of children.

The goal of radical democratic politics cannot be to emulate the scale of structures of nation states or the flows of global capital with an equally scaled form of resistance. Perhaps we should distinguish between the *local*, as a place understood in relation to other scales such as the global, and a *locale*, as a place understood in relation to agency (a *locus*). In part, this provides an answer to the question of the relationship between scale and hierarchy. Is there an appropriate *scale* of praxis or of movement between levels (Herod and Wright 2002)? Should radical democrats do away with the notion of scale altogether in favour of a flattened political ontology of the everyday (Martson, Jones and Woodward 2005; Springer 2014a)? Flattened non-hierarchical spatiality, I would argue, is a necessarily child-centred spatiality. Whereas children create a *locale* within the limited range of their enactive play and exploration, adults construct a scalar leviathan supported by a set of disembodied metaphors which situate the *local* as a rudimentary site at the centre of concentric circles, the lowest rung on a ladder, or a minor node in a network (Herod and Wright 2002).

EMANCIPATORY TRADITIONS

We find a similar dynamic of developmentalism and erasure of children in our emancipatory political traditions. Modern social and political theorists have been exclusively concerned with how adults experience and create relations and spatialities through language. One of the first modern thinkers to describe social and political connections as sustained purely through speech and representation was Hannah Arendt (1958). Arendt's adaptation of Aristotelian political philosophy has been broadly influential among modern students of democracy. Deliberative democrats such as Jürgen Habermas (1984, 1987) and agonist democrats such as Chantal Mouffe (1999) both pay homage to Arendt as returning democratic politics to its classical roots in political dialogue. Language is posited as the very source of intelligibility in the work of theorists such as Hans-George Gadamer (1976), Michel Foucault (1977), Pierre Bourdieu (1993) and Jacques Derrida (1967 [1997]). In embracing notions of symbolic capital, dialogue, discourse and textuality, these modern

social and political frameworks tend to overlook children and the enactive. Generally speaking, where these approaches diverge from one another is on the extent to which ideals of rationality can or should constrain the discursive contestation of norms. Invariably, the contestation is viewed as rooted in or expressed through language.

The exclusion of children and the enactive is particularly egregious in the literature on emancipatory democracy, where the role of voice and inclusion is axiomatic. Writers seem to have converged on the principle that education in the skills needed to represent ideas, interests and identities is vital to democratic life since reciprocity between citizens is thought to be realized through the mutual representation of perspectives (Lester 2013). The subordination and exclusion of children is the implicit premise of this identification of democracy with deliberation. In the words of Mark Purcell (2013), 'We must always conceive of becoming democratic as also a process of becoming adult' (111). Radical democracy is construed as antithetical to childhood, for, whereas the child allegedly desires to relinquish agency to authority, genuine progress

> requires that people nurture their desire for democracy, autonomy, and activity, and ward off their desire for oligarchy, heteronomy, and passivity. It requires that they constantly become-adult. But in the contemporary era, we are being infantilized every day by a political and economic oligarchy. The state and capital nurture our adolescent passivity. (133–134)

Simon Springer (2014b) has effectively pointed out the folly of a democratic vision which advocates for radically equal and anti-discriminatory political life by deploying 'ageist and colonialist' conceptualizations of agency (81). At the very least, democratic ideals of equality, reciprocity and autonomy should not be associated with a developmental model that presupposes the absence of agency in those who are 'less developed' such as children, Indigenous cultures and disabled peoples (Rollo 2014, 2016). Nor can these tensions be reconciled by positioning adults as benign proxies: the capable, European, able-bodied adult citizen who speaks on behalf of the tragically incapable (Alcoff 1992). A democracy worthy of the name must include children on their own terms.

Marxian approaches are somewhat notorious for recapitulating coercive hierarchies (Springer 2014c; Harvey 2015; Springer 2015). To say nothing of the Marxist embrace of a developmental model of social evolution (predicated on Enlightenment doctrines of civilizational 'maturity'), these analyses appear almost entirely unconcerned or unaware of childhood emancipatory agency. The ideological focus on labour and modes of production orients thinkers to include the young only as child labourers who must be liberated

(usually so they can attend school; see Springer 2016) or as passive objects of adult labour (e.g., collective childcare). Marx himself was very concerned about child labour and lamented how 'proletarian family ties are severed as a consequence of large-scale industry and children are simply transformed into article of trade and instruments of labour' (1848: 17). But on this count, Marx was also explicit in situating children as the passive objects of liberation: 'The *right* of children and juvenile persons must be vindicated. They are unable to act for themselves. It is, therefore, the duty of society to act on their behalf' (1866: np). Children's agency is implicitly erased by other aspects of Marxist doctrine as well. The doctrine of 'class consciousness' entails a commitment to both intellectualism and workerism that situates adults as the only possible actors. Children who are not labourers and who cannot entertain sophisticated notions of capitalist modes of production are mere spectators of the march towards historical emancipation. Ignoring the child is the only way that Marxian approaches are able to maintain a preoccupation with national or global scales of revolution. We find similar issues in autonomous-Marxist approaches. Hardt and Negri (2000), for example, advocate for global forms of resistance that render children's localized geographies (and many Indigenous spaces) more or less irrelevant:

> We believe that toward the end of challenging and resisting Empire and its world market, it is necessary to pose any alternative at an equally global level. Any proposition of a particular community in isolation, defined in racial, religious, or regional terms, 'delinked' from Empire, shielded from its powers by fixed boundaries, is destined to end up as a kind of ghetto. Empire cannot be resisted by a project aimed at a limited, local autonomy. (206)

This final claim seems empirically questionable. After all, Indigenous nations that seek limited local autonomy have proven, historically, to be the most successful bulwarks of resistance against empire and colonialism. The failure of communism to triumph over capitalism may be explained in part by the fact that modes of production in both capitalism and communism share an abandonment of children that most anarchist and decolonial approaches fundamentally resist. If we attune ourselves to the exclusions of voiceless children, we find that there is very little light between neo-liberal capitalism and communism (Springer 2012).

In anarchist literature, we find an occasional exception to the generic erasure of childhood. Granted, many anarchist approaches to children have been framed by psychoanalytic theories that circumvent agency, centring, for instance, on the libidinal production of behaviour, repression and neurosis (Reich 1983 [1950]). But earlier anarchist thinkers, while not focusing expressly on childhood, do sometimes note how practices of care and mutual

aid are exemplified in their relationships. In *Mutual Aid*, Peter Kropotkin (1902) remarks on where such relations manifest:

> If we take, for instance, the children of a poor neighbourhood who play in a street or churchyard, or on a green, we notice at once that a close union exists among them, notwithstanding the temporary fights, and that that union protects them from all sorts of misfortunes. (235)

These norms of conduct, rooted in the relations established by and for children, extend to relations among adults: 'Then comes in the alliance of the mothers. . . . In a thousand small ways the mothers support each other and bestow their care upon children that are not their own' (234–235). As if in response to Massey's concern over the neglected stranger within, Kropotkin observes that the stranger is a victim of abstract social relations engendered by wealth, which habituate individuals to neglect proximate needs: 'Some training—good or bad, let them decide it for themselves—is required in a lady of the richer classes to render her able to pass by a shivering and hungry child in the street without noticing it' (Ibid.). However, more often than not, radical thinkers who *have* acknowledged the value and success of face-to-face relations, localism and decentralization tend to preserve a developmental logic that sees childhood as a stage to be left behind or subordinated to relationships between adults and between adults and their environment (Bookchin 2005). What these thinkers have not yet considered, Kropotkin included, is that localism does not work simply because it allows for face-to-face interactions between adults and environments; it works because adults have bound themselves to the scale and spatiality of childhood. If a project or practice of freedom fails, as has been the fate of so many intentional communities, it is likely because the adult contingent has reverted to the privileging of abstract and uprooted representation.

CONCLUSION

From the perspective I have briefly outlined above, the role of the intellectual in confronting empire, settler colonialism, hetero-patriarchy, white supremacy and neo-liberal capitalism is to articulate the ways in which adults can work *with* children to recover relations of care and mutual aid. We do this not by incorporating children into adult institutions but, rather, by removing obstacles to the exercise of childhood agency in order to reinvent institutions. Thus, we are called upon to cultivate humility and an understanding that many of the problems which burden us do not require our sophisticated educations or technical expertise. Most of our problems result from the uprooting

of intellectual work and technical knowledge from the spaces delimited by relations of mutual aid and care. The excesses of modernity are not the product of reason *per se,* but the result of reason that has become unmoored from childhood spaces. The formal affirmation of childhood agency must materialize in a substantive commitment to supporting enactive agency, and any rejection of the developmental model must accordingly reject the political subordination of the enactive to the discursive. For, if it is not accessible to children, it is neither radical nor revolutionary.

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