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Articulating Dissent from the Margins to the Mainstream: The Communicative Strategies of Protest Coalition

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<u>Dedication</u>

This thesis is dedicated to Tigger whose generosity meant I didn't have to choose between home and work.

<u>Acknowledgements</u>

Special thanks to:

My parents, Elizabeth and Tony, my partner David and my children Benji, Mira and Chela. Also to my extended family for deploying like domestic paratroopers every time a deadline loomed.

My supervisors Janice Winship and Kate Lacey for their ability to combine friendship and criticism. Also to the Department of Media and Film for making sure that the experience of writing this thesis was never too lonely.

Last, but by no means least, to the many activists and journalists who gave their already scarce time and attention to this project.

<u>Statement</u>

I hereby declare that this thesis has not been submitted, either in the same or a different form, to this or any other University for a degree.

Signature…………………………………

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Doctor of Philosophy

Articulating Dissent from the Margins to the Mainstream:
The Communicative Strategies of Protest Coalitions

Summary

This thesis begins by complicating classical understandings of the public sphere and focusing on the ways in which loosely aligned protest groups communicate agonistically across difference. It argues that the organisational systems and structures of coalition movements enable activists to accommodate very differently orientated protest positions and explores the ways in which coalition activists attempt to preserve political solidarity across difference.

It then goes on to examine the ways in which coalition movements attract and then maintain the attention of wider publics. It suggests that coalition protest movements unsettle and renegotiate the boundaries which have traditionally constituted the public sphere and considers the political potential inherent in the fractured and fractious spaces which exist between the political margins and the mainstream.

These intertwined arguments are organised around an examination of the protest strategies of various grass roots movements. These include groups which have retrospectively been characterised as coalitions such as the women's peace movement and the anti-Criminal Justice Bill movement as well as those which are currently defined as coalitions such as the anti-globalisation movement and the anti-war movement. This research utilises a wide range of research methods including participant observation, content analysis, semi structured interviews and textual analysis. In this way these chapters construct a textured account of the ways in which protest coalition movements articulate dissent from the margins to the mainstream.

Protest coalition movements have become increasingly active players in the formation of public opinion. These developments require academics to address the issues raised by the communicative strategies of protest coalition movements. This thesis endeavours to contribute to these debates by reflecting upon the ways in which the articulation of polyvocal dissent alters the on going relationship between activists and the wider public.

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List of Illustrations

Introduction

This intercontinental network of resistances, recognising difference and acknowledging similarities, will strive to find itself in other resistances around the world.
Second Declaration of La Realidad for Humanity and against Neoliberalism (2001, p.125)

As the daughter of politically active parents, much of my childhood was spent going to peace demonstrations, making human chains around silos and holding candlelit vigils. These events were hugely enjoyable. They normally involved meeting up with old friends, listening to rousing speeches and a delicious picnic of some description. After each event I would go to bed fully expecting to wake up to a brand new dawn; one in which the wider world, having seen the weight of our numbers and heard the wisdom of our words, would recognise the error of its ways and embrace radical change. Needless to say, this never actually happened.

Although I didn't realise it at the time, my faith in the democratic process was rooted in the belief that public opinion was a political force capable of holding official to account. I assumed that my role, as a small but active citizen, was to inform the world of previously unnoticed injustices and inequalities. I presumed that the people on the street could be relied upon to reflect carefully upon the information made available and ensure that their Parliament would act in such a way as to benefit the greater good. The gradual realisation that the relationship between the will of the people and the actions of the state was far more complex led me to ask a number of interrelated questions.

Firstly it prompted me to ask whether the flow of information from my world to the wider world was somehow being impeded. As I grew older I began to wonder why our demonstrations were so often ignored by the mainstream media and why, on the few occasions that they did appear in the papers or on the screens, they were somehow dismissed as unrepresentative or irrelevant. I thought about the ways in which the vast majority of mainstream news organisations were structured by financial, rather than democratic considerations. I thought about the ways in which the communication strategies

of the protest organisations I knew seemed to be structured by ideological, rather than practical considerations. I asked myself how protest coalitions could communicate a position of both difference and solidarity to a mainstream homogenised by commercial imperatives and shrunk by political apathy. I thought about the ways in which internal, ideological disputes between differently orientated factions frequently defined the mainstream's coverage of radical politics.

As time went by the single-issue campaigns which had characterised the late 1970s and early 1980 were gradually replaced by more fractured multi-issue campaigns. Class, which had for so many years been the defining binary of radical politics, was unsettled by a plethora of alternative identity positions. There seemed to be a growing recognition that individuals' 'material interests' were complicated by a far wider 'sense of themselves and their place in the world' (Gilbert, 2008, p.153). This shift in radical politics was initially constructed around the politics of gender, race and sexuality but was soon further complicated by the rise in political groupings around issues such as environmentalism, global inequality, and the need to protect civil liberties.

The need to negotiate a route within and between these different political positions led me to ask a second series of questions. I began to think again and, in more detail, about the ways in which different protest groups communicate with each other as well as the mainstream. I asked myself how individuals, who held very different and sometimes even entirely contradictory protest positions, could communicate (productively) across political difference. In short, I began to think about the ways in which this fracturing of radical politics impacted on the movement of alternative ideas from the margins to the mainstream.

These pages will reflect in detail on some of these questions. It examines the organisational systems which structure alternative and mainstream public spheres and explores the ways in which protest coalition movements communicate *across* political difference. In doing so it seeks to examine the ways in which different activist groupings interact with each other and the various protest repertoires they employ in their attempts to engage with a frequently hostile mainstream. It attempts to develop a more interconnected understanding

of 'the public sphere' and focuses upon the ways in which political ideas can travel through the complex system of connections which both bind and separate the margins and the mainstream.

This thesis aims to build upon the work of scholars from a radical democratic tradition in order to develop a more nuanced and flexible understanding of the public sphere. In doing so I will explore the theoretical and methodological implications raised by the innovative communicative strategies of protest coalitions attempting to express both political solidarity and ideological difference and in doing so suggest a model of the public sphere which can accommodate the articulation of a multiplicity of intertwined, and sometimes contradictory, dissenting positions. I am particularly interested in the significance of the us/them distinction (both within and beyond individual protest movements) and the ways in which the need to maintain agonistic relationships impacts upon the communicative strategies of protest coalitions. Rather than focusing extensively on a limited number of organisations, I have chosen to investigate the tactics and strategies which inter-connect a wide range of very different protest movements. In this way I hope to say something accumulative about the nature of coalition movements as a developing political force.

This research develops the work of social movement scholars such as George McKay, who studied the protest culture of DiY movements in the 1990s, Seel et al, who edited a collection of essays on British environmentalism and Jeremy Gilbert who is currently analysing the relationship between the anti-capitalist movement and radical theory. However it differs from these approaches in that, rather than taking a protest-specific view point, it seeks to examine the issues which overarch the articulation of political dissent. As a result, while it inevitably dwells in detail on the communicative implications raised by particularly political moments, these chapters try to address the problems and potentials inherent to the polyvocal articulation of dissent. Moreover I would suggest that the continued rise and expansion of protest coalition movements make such an analysis particularly pertinent. Consequently these pages focuses on a range of different campaigns – the women's peace movement, the anti-Criminal Justice Bill movement, the anti-

globalisation movement and the anti-war movement – in order to reflect on the problems faced by coalition movements attempting to engage with the wider public.

These chapters do not attempt to offer an anthropological account of 'submerged' activist networks (Melucci, 1988, p.338). However they do examine the ways in which loosely aligned protest organisations attempt to create 'symbolic challenges' with the potential to 'overturn the dominant cultural codes' (Melucci, 1989, p.75). In this way they build upon Alberto Melucci's influential concept of the 'new social movement' which rejects the notion of collective actors as passive characters subjected to the 'logics of capitalist development' (1980, p.201) and grants them agency. Thus, according to Bartholomew and Mayer, 'collective action is … treated as the active creation, the product and accomplishment produced within the limits and possibilities posed by ''complex society''' (1992, p.143). This conceptualisation of the political process offers a perspective which can accommodate activists' resistance to the vertical structures imposed by institutionalised political systems. In doing so, I challenge many of the distinctions which define the public sphere, such as the 'separation between public and private interests' (Melucci, 1980, p.219) and has invigorated the debates surrounding the ways in which alternative organisations access the mainstream public spaces.

Melucci's concept also informs the work of many scholars of alternative media. For example, Atton analyses the relationship between four examples of 'activist-run grassroots alternative press' (*Do or Die*, *Squall*, *Schnews* and *Green Anarchist*) and the 'non-aligned socio-political movements' which they support (2002, p.83) while Szerszynski explores the ways in which anti-road activists in Twyford Down and Newbury[1] employed radical 'political gestures' to generate overtly oppositional codes (2003, p.190). These issues are developed on an international level in Ford and Gil's examination of the Zapatistas[2] in Mexico (2001), and Guedes Bailey et al's exploration of the ways in which the Movimento

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[1] In the early 1990s environmental coalitions occupied land around Twyford Down and Newbury in a partially successful attempt to prevent new roads being built across green field sites in the United Kingdom.
[2] The Zapatistas are a revolutionary group whose use of the internet and international attention has contributed to their successful articulation of dissent in and beyond Mexico. (www.zapatistas.org)

Sem Terra[3] in Brazil combine 'traditional instrumental forms of social movements' with 'new experiences of embodiment and identity' (Guedes Bailey et al, 2008, p.109). I therefore seek to contribute to this body of work by tracing the articulation of polyvocal dissent across different political moments and spaces.

In his book *Alternative Media* Chris Atton outlines the many inter-related and sometimes contradictory interpretations of 'alternative', 'radical', 'counter-hegemonic' and 'oppositional' organisational cultures. He follows Williams and McGuigan who make a distinction between alternative and oppositional practices and argue that 'alternative culture seeks a place to coexist within the existing hegemony, whereas oppositional culture aims to replace it' (McGuigan cited in Atton, 2002, p.19). I argue that contemporary new social movements such as the anti-globalisation movement or the anti-war movement blur these distinctions. Indeed, such loosely aligned protest coalitions must continually grapple with the need to reconcile very differently orientated protest clusters and strategies. In an attempt to foreground the uneven but nevertheless explicitly agitational intent of contemporary new social movements I have therefore chosen to use the term 'coalition protest movements'.

The protest coalitions in this thesis are all rooted in what one could describe as a socialist anarchist tradition. As such they refuse to 'offer a fixed body of doctrine based on a particular world view', proffering instead a 'complex and subtle philosophy, embracing many different currents of thought and strategy' (Marshal 1993, p. 3). While there are many differences between coalition movements stemming from this tradition, they are similar in that they share a commitment to not taking control over the decisions of others. As a result of this imperative, the organisations under consideration, like the anarchist organisations of the 1800s, endeavour to capture spaces in which to construct social systems capable of tolerating horizontal communication structures and the autonomous articulation of dissent.

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[3] The Movimento Sem Terra is an agricultural reform organisation who have utilised mass occupations of uncultivated land in order to redefine the political terrain in Brazil. (www.mstbrazil.org)

I am particularly interested in the ways in which protest coalitions from a socialist anarchist tradition both capture and construct textual and actual spaces. The development of such spaces across time is very uneven for as Woodcock points out

> Because anarchism is in essence an anti-dogmatic cluster of related attitudes, which does not depend for its existence on any enduring or organisation, it can flourish when circumstances are favourable and then, like a desert plant, lie dormant for seasons, and even years, waiting for the rains that will make it burgeon (1962, p.452).

However it's important to note that this thesis does not attempt to offer a comprehensive or historical account of the protest movements under consideration. Instead it endeavours to trace the impact of the way in which different coalition movements have 'illuminat[ed] the common ground between different groups of activists in different parts of the country' (Blunt and Wills, 2000, p.30). It is therefore primarily concerned with the connections which lie between the protest coalition movements and the way in which these connections continue to unsettle the boundaries between alternative and mainstream spaces.

I am primarily concerned with the production of textual and actual protest spaces which stand in an explicitly contestory relationship to the mainstream. In a comprehensive analysis of the broadsheet's coverage of environmental protests from 1988 to 1997, Christopher Rootes categories various protest repertoires. Some of these activities employ 'conventional' (Rootes, 2000, p.35) protest forms such as letter writing, leafleting and gathering signatures to access and influence those in a position of legislative power. Non-governmental organisations such as Amnesty International[4] would be an example of this sort of campaign. Some protest organisations, such as Greenpeace, have developed this approach into a strategy which attempts to create a groundswell of public opinion in a bid to exert further pressure on both governments and business. Others are less concerned with the cultivation of public and/or governmental opinion and target the business activities of 'culpable' individuals by engaging in 'potentially life threatening' activities (Rootes, 2000,

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[4] Amnesty International is an organisation which defends the human rights of individuals denied 'justice, fairness freedom and truth' (www.amnesty.org.uk)

p.36). The animal rights organisation SHAC[5] would be an example of this sort of campaign. This thesis will endeavour to explore the protest repertoires of coalition movements which encompass elements of all three of these positions. It will therefore examine protest repertoires which aim to access mainstream opinion and are – to varying degrees – tolerant of explicitly confrontational strategies.

I suggest that a protest group's choice of 'agitational activities' (Fraser, 1990, p.68) depends largely upon the way in which activists perceive the protester/public distinction. Despite the emphasis on consensus in mature western democracies, I follow Curran and Mouffe in arguing that a fully functioning democracy requires contestation and confrontation. However, and as Mouffe points out, the tensions inherent in this agonistic friend/opponent relationship are perpetually in danger of tipping over into an antagonistic friend/enemy distinction (2005, pp.35-63). As an ongoing consequence of this friction, protesters' position on the legitimised side of the 'citizenship line' is constantly (and sometimes retrospectively) being negotiated (Waddington, 1999, p.61). This thesis is primarily concerned with protest repertoires which exist on the very brink of the agonistic/antagonistic divide. As a result it is concerned with two interrelated lines of tension which challenge the us/them distinctions defining the parameters of the public sphere.

Firstly I hope to examine the ways in which conflicting protest repertoires, particularly those which advocate radical confrontations, are assimilated into more generally cautious and reformist political movements, and also to ask whether there are ways in which differently orientated protest clusters can combine into a more articulate polyvocal whole. As a result I am concerned with the frictions which exist between the different elements of a protest coalition movement. For as Bartholomew and Mayer point out,

> Bringing together diverse actors with varying goals, multiple identities
> and the like, combined with the contemporary commitment to respecting

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[5] SHAC (Stop Huntingdon Animal Cruelty) is an animal rights organisation which has successfully used very confrontational tactics to target individuals involved in breeding animals for animal testing. It is currently campaigning to shut down Huntington Life Sciences. (www.shac.net)

and protecting difference and diversity and the goal of not squelching
particularistic identities while pursuing common goals does complicate
the problems of solidarity (1992, p.144)

While radical left organisations from a Soviet tradition have been riven by factional disputes, organisations from a socialist anarchist tradition such as the women's peace movement of the 1970s to the anti-war movement of today seem to be more able to maintain a sense of collective purpose without eradicating political difference. Despite the diversity of political identities and associated protest repertoires available to activists, contemporary new social movements seem to have side-stepped the ideological divides which characterised the inter-organisational relationships of the traditional left by foregrounding an organisational methodology which prioritises pragmatic and flexible forms of political allegiance (Kingsnorth, 2003, Graeber, 2004). This position is most succinctly summed up by the anti-globalisation movement which sometimes describes itself as 'a movement of movements' (Klein, 2004, p.220) or a movement with 'one no and many yeses' (Marcos cited in Klein, *Guardian,* 3rd March 2001).

In order to foreground the difference between the organisational groupings which constitute a coalition and the loosely aligned protest coalitions which umbrella them, I intend to make a small but important grammatical distinction. I shall therefore use the plural (anti-globalisation movement*s* or anti-war movement*s*) to describe the way in which individual organisations relate to each other/the mainstream and the singular (*the* anti-globalisation movement or *the* anti-war movement*)* to describe the way in which coalition protest movements can function as a 'single overarching [counter] public sphere' (Fraser, 1990, p.66). In this way I hope to foreground the 'continual tensions, negotiations and cognitive process' (Bartholomew and Mayer, 1992, p.145) which characterise the relationship between different elements of any given protest coalition without destroying the identity of the organisation as a whole.

The second line of tension developed by in these pages relates to the classification and management of public demonstrations. Coalition movements tend to include agitational activities which range from the quietly supportive to the violently committed. The

heterogeneous nature of coalition demonstrations is such that 'plurality of meanings and orientations' (Martin, 2004, p.35) cannot easily be prioritised. Protest spaces produced by such organisations remain 'infuriatingly impossible to classify' (Hollingsworth, 1986, p.195), which can provoke a reaction of panic in a mainstream accustomed to hierarchy and order (Graeber, 2004). As a result, I am particularly concerned with the frictions which exist between protester groupings and mainstream organisations such as the police and the media.

The relationship between protesters and police is explored in detail by P.A.J. Waddington who points out that during public demonstrations the police become 'the de facto arbiters of citizenship' and determine the legitimacy of protesters' 'insecure' position (1999, p.41). This relationship is therefore of central importance to the formation of wider public opinion. I will follow Waddington in suggesting that the overtly disordered nature of polyvocal protest is frequently used to legitimise their 'exclusion and subordination…through the process of criminalising' (1999, p.41) and suggest that protest coalitions are particularly susceptible to being 'publicly connected with extreme violence and criminality' (Donson et al, 2004, p.9).

This has particularly important implications for those mainstream organisations, such as the local media, charged with mediating coalition movements' multiple protest strategies. As Rootes points out, the 'perennial interest in novelty and spectacle' contributes to a media environment which 'select[s] against the moderate and the unspectacular in favour of the confrontational and, where it occurs, the violent' (2000, pp.38-9). As a result 'the corporate media in all its sensationalist glory' has a tendency to make protesting seem like an 'extreme and dangerous sport, suitable only for hard-core activists' (Klein, *Guardian,* 2001). In this way mainstream coverage of coalition demonstrations frequently focuses on the way in which the violent minority jeopardises and invalidates the views of the non-violent majority. The fear of violence also deters many ordinary members of the public from participating in anti-globalisation events. Thus representative crowds are frequently dispersed 'before they converge' leaving the impression that protest remains the preserve of young male and militant activists (Klein, *Guardian,* 23rd March 2001).

A media environment which is perceived to discourage the articulation of dissent is deeply problematic. According to liberal models of the public sphere the media represent a forum in which all views can be collectively articulated, discussed and evaluated in order to arrive at a consensus about what best serves the common good. Thus Jürgen Habermas claims that 'a portion of the public sphere comes into being in every conversation in which private individuals assemble to form a public body' (1974, p.49). In this way the public sphere mediates between society and state enabling the individual, via the articulation of rationally debated opinion, to exercise a degree of political power.

This model aspires to be a 'utopia of transparency', a space in which 'pure publicity and full disclosure' (Johnson, 2001, p.97) protects private individuals from the insidious influence of money and power. In principle the media in such a model not only accommodates but actively welcomes the articulation of dissent. Thus according to a liberal bourgeois view, the public sphere aspires to be an all inclusive space in which power inequalities are carefully bracketed off creating a zone of neutrality in which political communication can flourish. However this understanding of the public sphere as a transparent and inclusive space is deceptive. As Fraser points out:

> Declaring a zone neutral is not enough to make it so and consequently deliberation can all too easily become 'a mask for domination' (Fraser, 1990, p.64).

There has long been a feeling amongst the radical left that the mainstream media fails to adequately articulate and sometimes even actively misrepresents activist issues and debates (Donson et al 2004, Stein, 2009). This sense of injustice is felt particularly acutely by coalition protest groups who frequently find their polyvocal position difficult to articulate in an arena accustomed to a single and unified narrative. The frustration felt by activists is exemplified by the words of an anonymous protester who complained that the mainstream coverage of Orange Alternative[6] 'happenings' was 'a veil that missed or minimised every

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[6] The Orange Alternative originated in Wroclaw Poland in 1981 and organised 'happenings' designed to outwit and embarrass the authorities. It made no explicit demands and enjoyed huge popular support. More

substantive issue' (cited by Bruner, 2005, p.148). According to this view the media actively impeded, rather than facilitated, the flow of information from the political margins to the mainstream.

An understanding of the media as a 'veil' which stands between the people and the truth is clearly incompatible with Habermas' notion of publicity within the liberal bourgeois public sphere. Indeed, Johnson argues that the classical model of the public sphere is one which shares Rousseau's emphasis on sincerity and tactically embraces 'the banishment' (2001, p.91) of anything which might conceal or mask[7] the workings of democracy. However an understanding of the mainstream media as a communicative barrier which stands between the public and the articulation of dissent has led protest coalitions to experiment with alternative communication forms.

This emphasis on what may lie between the people and the information required to formulate a considered opinion highlights an important aspect of this thesis; namely its interest in 'in the middle-ness'. This thesis is particularly interested in textual and actual spaces which are characterised by a sense of in-between-ness. As a result I reflect upon the way in which these in between spaces adapt and relate to other spaces. I consider the ways in which these spaces are constructed and challenged by the communication systems of both alternative and mainstream groupings. In this way these chapters focus on both the space between different elements of loosely aligned protest coalitions and the spaces between the political margins and the mainstream. They also attempt to addresses the spaces between different theoretical approaches to protest and between different models of democracy.

As a consequence of this focus, this thesis strives to both separate and connect a diverse and unruly set of dualisms which are frequently bound together in 'an ambiguous and uncertain way' by the ' / ' (Hetherington, 2000, p. 181). Thus I try to examine a plethora of distinct but interconnected dualism, such as reason/passion, antagonism/agonism and

information about the Orange Alternative can be found at http://www.pomaranczowa-alternatywa.org/orange%20alternative%20overview.html
[7] The notion of masks is discussed in detail in pages 184-185

us/them. In doing so I to unsettle the binary logic which underpins these pairings and create spaces of 'conjunction' or 'alliance' in which concepts such as the alternative *and* the mainstream, the real *and* the unreal, the smooth *and* the striated can be re examined (Deleuze and Guatarri, 2004, p. 27). In this way I hope to contribute to a better understand the systems, structures and spaces which constitute the articulation of polyvocal dissent.

Hetherington cheerfully points out that the 'middle is always also a muddle' (2000). This is a view acknowledged by Deleuze and Guattari when they say that being 'in the middle, between things, interbeing, intermezzo' is never an easy place to be   (Deleuze and Guattari, 2004, p.27). Like the city experienced from within, rather than from above or below[8], it is full of 'murky and intertwining daily behaviours' which constantly frustrate attempts to impose a unified narrative order (de Certeau, 1984, p.98). Moreover as Patton points out:

> Such a political philosophy offers no guarantees: it is not a narrative of
> inevitable progress, nor does it offer security of commitment to a single
> set of values against which its progress can be judged (2000, p.8).

There is a degree of awkwardness and uncertainty in deliberately adopting an 'in the middle' position which cannot be avoided. However, despite these difficulties I firmly believe that there is much to be gained from such an attempt being made.

Chapter one begins by reflecting upon the ways in which Habermas' notion of the liberal bourgeois public sphere cannot easily accommodate the impassioned and perpetually shifting plurality of coalition protest movements. Radical democratic theorists such as Nancy Fraser, James Curran and Chantal Mouffe have questioned the concept of 'a single comprehensive overarching public' (1990, p.66) and introduced the notion of a multiplicity of publics. Thus in *Rethinking the public sphere: A contribution to the critique of actually existing democracy* Fraser discusses the ways in which 'people participate in more than one public, and that membership of different publics may partially overlap' (1990, p.70). In *Rethinking the media as a public sphere* Curran raises the possibility of the media as 'a

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[8] This is a narrative thread which runs through this thesis and which is discussed most explicitly in chapters three and five.

complex articulation of vertical, horizontal and diagonal channels of communication between individuals and power structures' (1991).

However, while Fraser is eloquent in her evaluation of the limitations inherent in the notion of a single public sphere, she did not immediately develop an extended account of the ways in which a public sphere characterised by multiplicity might actually function. Similarly while Curran acknowledges the need for a multiplicity of public spheres to accommodate contestation, he does not focus in detail on the ways in which contradictory voices can be accommodated in practice. Mouffe's critique of consensual politics *On the Political* on the other hand, acknowledges the inevitable existence of conflict and explores the ways in which polyvocal dissent can be forcefully articulated within the postmodern public sphere (2005). I would suggest that this is an emphasis which is particularly important given the continued rise of protest coalitions.

In an attempt to contribute to the formulation of a model of the public sphere which can allow for polyvocal dissent I will follow scholars such as Moulthrop (1994) and Guedes Bailey et al (2008) who have utilised the notion of the rhizome. Rhizomatic models of the alternative media have much to offer an understanding of a post-liberal bourgeois public sphere in that they necessarily complicate the notion of counter-cultural spaces as being defined by what the dominant cultural space is not. In other words they remove the classical binary dichotomies which structure liberal notions of the public sphere and in doing so create a space in which coalition protest movements can articulate a limitless range of alternative and nuanced political positions.

However, while rhizomatic approaches tend to be situated within the wider framework of the public sphere, there is very little work which actively foregrounds the problems and possibilities in synthesising such very different theoretical positions. Within these pages I will therefore endeavour to construct a more complex postmodern understanding of the public sphere which challenges, without abandoning, Habermas' original aspirations. In doing so I will utilise Deleuze and Guattari's notions of arborescent and rhizomatic structures (2004) and envisage the ways in which polyvocal articulations of dissent could

occupy a smooth conceptualisation of the public sphere. I will also employ Mouffe's notion of agonistic and antagonistic us/them distinctions (2005) in an attempt to better understand the ways in which protest coalitions function within rhizomatically organised public spheres.

Chapter two will begin by reflecting upon the relationship between researching and writing up a thesis. In doing so it will utilise de Certeau's notion of reading the city in order to more fully explore the implications raised by the different ways of seeing, and categorising, the activist community. It will then outline the methodological procedures which underpin this body of research, focusing in particular on the problems and dilemmas I have experienced while negotiating my own role as an activist and an academic. As such this chapter introduces many of the themes which are developed in later in the thesis.

Chapters three and four situate the theoretical debates introduced in chapter one within the context of the protest repertoires of coalition movements. They both begin by examining the political and cultural influence of the Zapatistas in the articulation of polyvocal dissent. Chapter three examines the printed and hyper-textual spaces in which protest coalitions can withdraw and reflect upon their multiple cultural and political identities. In doing so it examines newssheets produced by three localised protest coalitions; the women's peace movement of the 1970s, the anti-Criminal Justice Bill of the 1980s and the anti-capitalist/globalisation movement of the early 1990s. I have chosen to focus on groups which share an emphasis on multiplicity and ideological flexibility and which could be read as precursors to today's contemporary globalised movements

This chapter aims to trace both the continuities and the ruptures in the development of protest coalitions. It will challenge the view that coalition movements' ability to maintain a multiplicity of differently orientated political positions is rooted in their use of computer mediated communicative technologies, arguing instead that the prioritisation of polyvocal dissent has always been an important feature of organisations stemming from a socialist anarchist tradition. The structure of coalition organisations will be examined and I will

suggest that rhizomatic editorial systems construct smooth media spaces which are inherently suited to the articulation of polyvocal dissent.

Chapter four will extend this smooth understanding of oppositional politics by examining the ways in which protest coalitions occupy urban spaces in such a way as to maintain a sense of political solidarity without eradicating ideological differences. It will focus on the ways in which the anti-globalisation movement occupied the public spaces surrounding the sites for international summits such as the WTO in Seattle (1999) and the IMF in Washington (2000). In doing so it will examine the ways in which these traditional organised mainstream public spaces are temporarily overlaid by alternative organisational structures.

This chapter will also explore the escalation in protesters' use of impassioned and confrontational protest repertoires which culminated in the death of Carlo Giuliani[9] in Genoa (2001) focusing, in particular, on the ways in which anti-globalisation protesters have managed antagonistic/agonistic distinctions. It will examine the online and printed discourses which articulated the coalition's post demonstration refusal to be separated into good/bad protest organisations before finally analysing the way in which protesters have used masks in order to foreground *and* overcome potentially divisive differences.

Chapter five will focus in detail on the ways in which coalition protest repertoires developed by the anti-globalisation movement have re-emerged in the activities of localised anti war movements as they attempt to engage a global mainstream still reeling from the terrorist attacks of September 11th. It will focus in detail on the anti war movement's activities in Brighton and Hove and will attempt to collapse many of the binary distinctions (withdrawal and agitation, online and offline, textual and actual, alternative and mainstream, oppositional and agitational) which have necessarily structured the previous two chapters.

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[9] Carlo Giuliani was a black block protester who was shot dead by a police officer during anti-globalisation demonstrations against the G8 in 2001

This chapter will also examine the way in which coalition protesters from different protest traditions combine communicative techniques in their attempts to influence the formation of public opinion. It will therefore explore the gaps between the margins and the mainstream and will focus on the ways in which the communicative strategies of collation movements both unsettle, and coincide with, usually unnoticed boundaries of inclusion and exclusion. In doing so I hope to foreground the political potential inherent to a deliberately in between position.

This thesis is an attempt to answer some of the questions which perplexed me as a very young activist. It is concerned with the communication flows which exist in between different political spaces. As such it will foreground and then blur the boundaries between different organisational structures and systems. In doing so it will examine the ways in which activists attempt to negotiate and override these tensions in order to occupy a deliberately in-the-middle position. In this way I hope to explore the parameters of polyvocal dissent and arrive at a more complex and nuanced understanding of the ways in which the political margins, 'my world' are both separated from and connected to the mainstream, 'the wider world'. It hopes to examine the ways in which different organisational systems can occasionally overlap, creating temporary spaces of political engagement which contribute to the renegotiation of the boundaries which both separate and connect the political margins to the mainstream. It will conclude by suggesting that the creation of this type of space facilitates the movement of ideas from the margins to the mainstream and in doing so contributes to democratic public life.

Chapter One
Fractured and Fractious

Unmasking Domination

Divide and Rule

The Pressure of the Streets

- Subaltern spheres: As space for withdrawal and regroupment
- Subaltern spheres: As space for agitational activities

Public Facts and Frictions

- Demonstrative events in the public sphere
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- Rhizomatic and Arborescent structures, Smooth and Striated spaces
- The De Facto Mix

Conjunction and Disjunction

Unmasking Domination

The question is not; is it true? But: does it work? What new thought does it make it possible to think?
Brian Massumi, 2004, p.xv

Edward Soja and Barbara Hooper maintain that modernist notions of power and resistance have habitually been 'defined around a deep structural dichotomy that ''orders'' differential power into two primary social categories, one dominant the other subordinate'(1993, p.185). They go on to argue that dependency on binary oppositions inevitably stifles 'the formation of multiple communities of resistance, polyvocal political communities capable of linking together many radical subjectivities' (1993, p.184). Consequently their article 'The Space that Difference Makes' called for a 'provocatively and distinctively postmodern re-conceptualisation of spatiality' (1993, p.184) which would facilitate the creation of a 'multiplicity of resistance' rather than contribute to the - in their view - doomed searched for '''that one ''great refusal'', the singular transformation to precede and guide all others' (1993, p.187). Soja and Hooper's call has been developed within research fields such as urban studies, cultural geography and cartography (Greif and Cruz, 1997; Massey, 1994; Pickles, 2003). It has also been addressed by feminist, literary and postcolonial scholars (Gibson-Graham, 2006; Dubey, 2003; Salhi, 2003) who have explored ways in which various 'practical political spaces of resistance' (Woodson Waddell; 2003, p. 160) have been both created and occupied.

The mainstream media have traditionally been hostile to polyvocal articulations of dissent (Hollingsworth, 1986). I will argue that an explanation for this sense of distrust can be found in Jürgen Habermas' influential model of the public sphere. As Habermas points out the eighteenth century bourgeois public sphere precipitated, and most successfully embodied, this aspirational ideal. Crucially this understanding of the public sphere depends upon a notion of an educated, coherent and, perhaps most importantly, an explicitly exclusive group of individuals. Unsurprisingly contemporary commentators tend to be highly critical of Habermas' delineation of the boundaries which constitute the public

sphere and have tried to address the exclusionary implications raised by his original conception.

Despite, and perhaps because of, these serious reservations, Habermas' model has generated much academic debate and is considered by theorists such as Fraser to be 'indispensable to critical social theory and to democratic political practise' (1990, p.57). In a subsequent review article Nicolas Garnham points out that the debates concerning the public sphere have focused on two particular problems. Firstly 'on the nature of the public sphere (in particular was it one or many)' and 'secondly on the validity of Habermas' concept of discourse ethics and communicative rationality as a normative test of 'undistorted' communications' (2007, p.207). I discuss and develop these issues in relation to the media strategies of contemporary coalition protest movements. In doing so, I seek to re-examine some of the 'binary fault lines' which underpin the notion of the public sphere (Goode cited by Garnham, 2007, p.208) and explore the ways in which they stifle articulations of polyvocal dissent.

The need to re-conceptualise the parameters which define the public sphere becomes particularly pressing when one considers the way in which Habermas ascribes so many of the problems traditionally associated with the erosion or disintegration of the public sphere to the movement of structures and systems *across* these boundaries. Thus, for example, the re-feudalisation or 'colonisation' thesis outlined in Habermas' later work states that the movement of instrumental rationality and information based communication forms from the systems world to the lifeworld will lead to the eventual corruption of the liberal bourgeois public sphere. However, as radical democratic commentators point out, declaring the public sphere to be a space of uncontaminated neutrality is not enough to make it so (Fraser, 1998). Moreover, such a declaration can belie the complexities and contradictions of the actual existing terrain and in doing so, obscure the power imbalances which structure supposedly universal discursive arenas. In these circumstances it can be argued that, rather than being of protective value, carefully demarcated boundaries may contribute to the preservation of an already corrupted power dynamic and actively prevent potentially positive political consequences.

I would like to contribute to the development of these ideas by exploring the notion of 'the reconstitution of difference as the basis for a new cultural politics of multiplicity' (Soja and Hopper, 1993, p.187) in relation to coalition protest movements. The political potential inherent in the shift away from single issue campaigns and towards protest coalitions which attempts to foreground a multiplicity of dissenting voices is perhaps most powerfully illustrated by the environmental movement. However, rather than reflecting retrospectively on the 'successes' of the environmental movement this thesis will focus on two protest coalitions which are still negotiating the move from the political margins to the mainstream. I will therefore focus primarily (but not solely) on the emergence of the anti-globalisation movement towards the end of the 1990s and its partial metamorphosis into the anti-war movement following the invasion of Iraq in 2003.

I will build on the work of scholars of alternative media such as Chris Atton (1999, 2002) and John Downing (1984) who argue that organisational differences underpin the relationship between alternative media and the political 'mainstream'. These organisational differences will be explored within the context of rhizomatic media models first introduced by commentators such as Landow (1994) and Moulthrop (1994) in relation to the internet and then developed by authors such as Bailey Guedes, Cammaerts and Carpentier (2008) to include other alternative media forms.

I seek to develop elements of these rhizomatic models in two interwoven directions. Firstly, I intend to extend rhizomatic models of media organisation to include the emergence of protest coalitions such as the anti-globalisation movement and the anti-war movement. Secondly, I hope to follow Habermas in making a connection between methodological systems and structures (such as rational consensual deliberation) and ideological spaces (such as the liberal bourgeois public sphere). In this way I will endeavour to argue that a rhizomatic understanding of political communication can be developed into a model of the public sphere which accommodates rather than laments the nature of contemporary public spheres.

This chapter begins by exploring the ways in which dominant/subordinate binary pairings such as those identified by Soja and Hooper have shaped the liberal bourgeois model of the public sphere. It questions Habermas' emphasis on the strict separation of the lifeworld and the systems world and examines the ways in which Fraser's notion of overlapping 'dual aspect activities' (1987) complicates many of the theoretical divisions which constitute the liberal bourgeois model. In doing so, it foregrounds the possibility of movement between both the different elements of contemporary protest coalitions, and between those coalitions as a whole and the mainstream. In this way it begins to suggest that a reconceptualisation of the parameters which define the liberal bourgeois public sphere may create a model of the public sphere more able to accommodate the fractious and fractured boundaries which characterise the postmodern political environment.

Sections two and three of this chapter attempt to offer a contextualised and detailed account of some of the 'binary fault lines' (Goode, 2005, p113) which are particularly significant to the media strategies of multiplatform or coalition protest organisations. Both of these sections are structured around a number of binary opposites such as inclusion/exclusion, consensus/conflict, reason/passion and artifice/authenticity. I have chosen to focus on these boundaries in an attempt to illustrate the usefulness, both academically and politically, of an approach which foregrounds the blurring of binary distinctions. Therefore, while these two sections retain their theoretical focus they also seek to examine the issues raised in far greater detail than a purely abstract debate could allow. In this way I endeavour to demonstrate the usefulness of a public sphere model which could accommodate the articulation of polyvocal dissent.

In 'The Pressure of the Streets' I will examine the way in which Jürgen Habermas's emphasis on a single overarching arena can be particularly problematic for political activists and will explore the way in which a more contemporary reworking of the classical liberal model allows for a more flexible understanding of the public sphere. I argue that the International Encounter for Humanity and against Neoliberalism which took place in 1996 in Chiapas, Mexico can be understood as a model of the ways in which coalition protest movements establish a 'common space' (Mouffe, 2005, p.52) away from the 'supervision

of dominant groups' (Fraser, 1990, p. 66) in which a diversity of consensuses can be reflected upon.

Section three, 'Public Frictions', then goes on to focus on the relationship between differing forms of discourse within and between spheres. It suggests that traditional public sphere theory's tendency to privilege conversation and the written word not only fails to accommodate the needs of a mass democracy but actively excludes modes of address which could – potentially – reinvigorate political debate. These arguments are contextualised by examining the place of demonstrative events within the public sphere and focuses in particular on the way in which these communicative forms blur the distinction between reality and unreality, substance and surface. It argues that this sense of duality contributes to, rather than detracts from, the development of contemporary public spheres. Finally this section endeavours to combine a theoretical understanding of communicative discourses with a historical approach which examines the ways in which changing technologies have contributed to contemporary understandings of the public sphere. These two strands interweave to create a model in which emotion and non verbal forms of political communication, such as those employed by contemporary protest coalitions, can be effectively accommodated.

The final part of this chapter returns to the wider theoretical debates laid out in part one and introduces the work of Deleuze and Guattari. It attempts to lay out the ways in which their notions of rhizomatic and arborescent structures and smooth and striated spaces have been used by scholars such as Moulthrop, Landow and Guedes Bailey et al to develop a postmodern understanding of the public sphere. It uses textile and textual metaphors to reflect upon different conceptualisations of the public sphere and attempts to develop an understanding of the public sphere constituted by more blurred boundaries which are better able to accommodate complex multiplicities. This chapter concludes by rearticulating the need for a model of the public sphere which can begin to move towards empowering rather than denying or excluding 'a multiplicity of resistance' (Soja and Hooper, 1993, p.187).

Divide and Rule

'Those that seek to dominate and rule our lives rely on keeping us apart.
If you think you're alone in your desires, you're less likely to act.
Divide and rule. Tolerate single issues but don't let them join up'
Wat Tyler (protester pseudonym), 2003, p.195

Public Sphere theory has 'a long history and deep roots … within Western post-enlightenment thought' and is therefore traditionally structured around a series of complex and interrelated binary oppositions such as feelings/reason, freedom/power and action/structure (Garnham, 2000, 174). John Durham Peters argues that these categorisations developed the earlier threefold models of civil society established by philosophers such as Hegel and created a space in which a more flexible understanding of the public sphere can be conceived (1993, p.557). This enabled theorists to 'schematically locate the bourgeois public sphere in a fourfold table' (1993, p.557) and, in doing so, neatly map out some of the (many) borders which circumscribe the classical liberal public sphere. Peters illustrates the benefits of such an approach by compiling the following 'analytic grid' (1993, p.558) which maps out the relationships between Habermas' concept of the lifeworld (characterised by lived everyday human experiences) and the system world (characterised by 'the abstract, all englobing ''media'' of money and power' (Peters 1993, p.557).

	Lifeworld	Systems world
Public	Public Sphere	State
Private	Family	Economy

The lifeworld/systems world binary is then further dissected by the introduction of a private/public divide which distinguishes between the particular interests of the individual and those of society as a whole. In this way the 'fourfold scheme' illuminates the lifeworld/systems, public/private nuances which underpin the notion of the bourgeois pubic sphere with 'more subtlety' and to greater 'effect' than previous models (Peters, 1993, p.557).

I would argue that the carefully demarcated boundaries outlined in the table above serve two primary functions. Firstly, they create an empty space within the lifeworld which private individuals can then occupy in order to organise themselves as 'the bearer of public opinion' (Habermas, 1974 p.50). Secondly, they preserve and protect this space from the insidious and infectious influences of money and power in the systems world beyond. These problems are acknowledged by Peters and further explored by Nicholas Garnham who argues that, far from being a neutral zone, the concept of a public sphere necessarily foregrounds our 'deep unease' over the 'conceptual difficulties' raised by binary pairings such as feeling/reason, personal/political and freedom/power (2000, p.174). However, while the liberal bourgeois model clearly offers more subtle theoretical inflections I would suggest that its constitutive dependence on the strict maintenance of boundary definitions creates a new series of problems.

Garnham describes binary pairings such as the private/public distinction as 'value vectors' (2000, p.174). His use of the word 'vector' is significant because it highlights the way in which the relationship between the two elements of any pairing – as well as the definition of each individual element – is liminal and in flux. This sense of ambivalence seems to exist on both a historical and a philosophical level. Thus Garnham describes how the term 'private' has changed and developed historically from feudal to modern eras. He also describes the way in which 'classical liberal' theorists and theorists from a 'classic civic republican tradition' have deployed the term 'private' in fundamentally differing ways (2000, pp.175-6). In both instances it becomes clear that the parameters which define and delineate the 'private realm' are neither static nor exact but constantly evolving. Consequently the theoretical terrain which underpins the neat and tidy constitutive

boundaries[10] of the analytic grid laid out above reveals itself to be both uncertain and unstable.

A number of scholars have sought to disrupt the boundaries and borders of classical public sphere theory by focusing on historically subordinated social groupings such as women (Benhabib, 1992) and the proletarian (Negt and Kluge, 1993). Fraser's work on the 'masculine subtext on the citizen role' (1987 p.45) and her critique of 'actually existing democracy in late capitalist societies' (1990, p.77) has been particularly influential within this field. Moreover her more recent work on the implicitly Westphalain nature of the public sphere has highlighted a previously unconsidered series of 'tacitly assumed' boundaries which 'frame' the notion of the public sphere. The sustained emphasis on the need to 'expose the limits of the specific form of democracy we enjoy in contemporary capitalist societies' makes Fraser's work of particular relevance to this thesis (1990, p.77).

In 'What's critical about critical theory?', Nancy Fraser re-examined the way in which Habermas' classical model cleanly allocates symbolic and material production to isolated quadrants of the fourfold structure, arguing that symbolic and material reproduction – like many other constitutive elements of the public sphere such as 'socially integrated' and 'systems integrated' action contexts', 'normatively assured' and 'communicatively achieved' – are in fact 'dual aspect' activities. Thus she maintains that childrearing and food production are 'equally and at the same time' examples of both symbolic and material reproduction (1987, p.32). She concludes by maintaining that 'Habermas misses important cross connections among the four elements of his public-private schemata' and maintains that feminine and masculine gender identity run like pink and blue threads through … all arenas of life' (1987, p.45). Despite these (and other[11]) reservations Fraser maintains that

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[10] The notion of 'neat and tidy' (Waddington, 1998, p. 122) constitutive boundaries will be discussed in relation to street demonstrations in chapter four.

[11] Fraser's influential critique of the Westphalian bias in public sphere theory (including her own work) can be found in 'Tran nationalising the public sphere: On the legitimacy and efficacy of public opinion in a post-westphalian world' (2007)

> Public sphere theory is in principle an important critical-conceptual resource that should be re structured rather than jettisoned, if possible (2007, p.9)

Consequently in 'Re-thinking The Public Sphere: A Contribution to the Critique of Actually Existing Democracy' Fraser rejects Habermas' notion of a single, reason-based public sphere in favour of a multiplicity of themed spheres standing in a contested relation to each other. This creates a theoretical space for the notion of subaltern spheres which Fraser describes as 'parallel discursive arenas where members of subordinated social groups invent and circulate counter discourses' (1990, p.67). Fraser goes on to argue that the subaltern spheres have two functions. Firstly 'they function as spaces for withdrawal and regroupment' which enable countercultural groups to 'formulate oppositional interpretations of their identities, interests and needs' (1990, p.68). She illustrates the functions of subaltern public spheres in stratified societies by discussing the way in which the intra public relations of the American feminist movement in the mid to late twentieth century enabled them to 'invent and circulate counter discourses' (1990, p.67). Secondly, subaltern spheres 'function as bases and training grounds for agitational activities directed towards wider publics' (1990, p.68). Fraser highlights this argument by describing the ways in which discourses formulated within feminist subaltern spheres went on to influence and alter the debates surrounding issues such as spousal abuse and date rape in the 'official' public sphere. As a result of these interactions between official and subaltern spheres, Fraser argues that in stratified societies it is possible for subaltern discourses to eventually find a place within the official public sphere.

While the notion of a subaltern public clearly has much to offer an understanding of alternative politics and activism, it should be noted that in attempting to create a more flexible and nuanced account of the spaces in which differing cultural and political discourses may flourish Fraser creates another binary pairing in the form of subaltern and official public spheres. Fraser is careful to stress that the boundaries between subaltern and official publics – unlike the boundaries which structure classical models – are characterised by a 'porousness, outerdirectedness and open endedness' which facilitate rather than block 'communication across lines of cultural difference' (1990, p. 70, p.69). Her account of

'inter public communication' in 'hypothetical multicultural egalitarian societies' even acknowledges that 'people participate in more than one public, and that memberships of different publics may partially overlap' (1990, p. 70). However while she concedes that 'in principle' inter sphere communication is 'conceptually conceivable' she does not extend this discussion to reflect upon the actual movement of people and ideas between different subaltern publics.

Moreover, while Fraser's work on inter sphere communication in stratified societies acknowledges the fact that 'cultural identities are woven of many different strands' (1990, p.69) and allows for the movement of individuals and ideas between differing subaltern publics, she tends to confine her analysis to the relationship between subaltern and official publics. Consequently she tends to focus on the subordinated side of a binary pairing, without reference to other subaltern spaces of resistance. I would therefore argue that her work on the ideological subordination of women occupies a theoretical terrain which Soja and Hooper would identify as producing 'parallel, analogous, but rarely intersecting channels of radical consciousness each designed and primed to change their own discrete binary world of difference' (1993, p186).

In other words, while feminism has had a profound effect upon the official public sphere its relationship with other subaltern identity positions has been less thoroughly developed. For example, the African-American Civil Rights Movement did not extend its challenge to power by re-evaluating the role of women in society. In this way the work of activists and academics has, until recently, confined itself to single channels of resistance. Furthermore, it could be argued that it is precisely these neglected elements of connection and conflict that lie at the root of the coalition protest organisations' success. In subsequent chapters I want to challenge the 'infatuation with clean orderly binary opposition; the intolerance of ambiguity, disordering, multiplicity and fragmentation' (Soja and Hooper, 1993, p.188) and suggest that alternative possibilities depend upon the recognition and occupation of 'new and alternative geographies - a 'third space' of political choice'' (Soja and Hooper, 1993, p.198).

The Pressure of the Street

'Laws which obviously have come about under the ''pressure of the street'' can scarcely still be understood as arising from the consensus of private individuals engaged in public discussion'
Jürgen Habermas – 'The Public Sphere: An Encyclopaedia Article' (1974, p.54)

Habermas famously defines the public sphere as a 'sphere which mediates between society and the state, in which the public organises itself as the bearer of public opinion'(1974, p.50). A crucial element of this understanding lies in Habermas' belief that 'access to the public sphere is open in principle to all citizens' (Fraser, 1990, p. 63). Moreover, according to Habermas, those who participate in the public sphere 'set aside such characteristics as difference of birth and fortune and speak to one another as if they were social and economic peers' (Fraser, 1990, p.63). This emphasis on temporary equality is an attempt to guard against coercion and to guarantee both the 'freedom of association and assembly' and the 'freedom to express and publish their opinions' (Habermas, 1974, p.49). In this way one can understand Habermas' classical interpretation of the public sphere as a universally accessible space in which individual differences are set aside in order to facilitate reasoned debate and achieve a consensus in public opinion.

However, as critics have pointed out, many voices were (and still are) routinely excluded from the public sphere (Fraser, 1990, Curran, 1991, Mouffe, 2005). Whilst very few groups are overtly barred from taking part in public debate, more covert influences often conspire to prevent these voices from being heard. As a result it has been argued that the public sphere is today – as it was in the past – dominated by the needs of professional men from the more economically developed nations, and supports, rather than challenges, the distribution of power within society. This gap between the theoretical ideal and practical reality of the public sphere undermines many of the arguments put forward by Habermas and has encouraged other critics to develop their own interpretations of the public sphere.

Many contemporary public sphere theorists from what Curran describes as a 'radical democratic perspective' (1991, p.27) question many of the assumptions behind Habermas'

work and argue that the existence of a single non-partisan sphere is as undesirable as it is impossible. For example, Fraser maintains that it is more appropriate to 'unbracket inequalities in the sense of explicitly thematising them' creating spaces in which marginalised groups can withdraw in order to define their politics both to themselves and to others (1990, p.64). Curran maintains that the media are – and by implication should be – a 'battle ground' in which 'contending forces' meet in order to 'redress the imbalance of power in society' (1991, pp.29-30). Similarly Mouffe advocates the notion of a 'vibrant 'agonistic' public sphere of contestation' arguing that while 'consensus is no doubt necessary …it must be accompanied by dissent' (2005, p.3, p.31). In this way Habermas' classical notion of a single unified public sphere is replaced by the notion of a multiplicity of themed spheres standing in a contestory relation to one and other.

Subaltern spheres: spaces for withdrawal and regroupment?

As discussed, Fraser argues that subaltern public spheres combine two essential qualities:

> On the one hand they function as spaces of withdrawal and regroupment;
> on the other hand, they also function as bases and training grounds for
> agitational activities directed towards wider publics (1990. p.68).

While Fraser's article is concerned primarily with the implications raised by feminist subaltern spheres, her thesis can clearly be adapted to accommodate other oppressed and resisting groups and organisations. In this chapter I will argue that the 'International Encounter for Humanity and against Neoliberalism' called by the Zapatistas in 1996 created a similar space for the anti-globalisation movement. Moreover I will suggest that this initial contact led to the creation of a plethora of similarly organised subaltern spheres across the world which have gone on to influence and shape the formation of contemporary anti-war movements.

It is difficult to overestimate the significance of the International Encounter for Humanity and against Neoliberalism in La Realidad, Chiapas. Activists arrived from all over the world expecting to be taught strategies by the Zapatistas and found themselves instead

being left to invent new ways of articulating dissent and organising protests. Academic and anti-globalisation activist David Graeber describes this as a ''new language' of civil disobedience' which includes and combines elements of street theatre, festival and non-violent warfare within a decentralised, non-hierarchical consensus based democracy (2004, p.208). Authors such as Klein (2000) and Kingsnorth (2003) have suggested that these alternative ways of doing things have dispersed across the globe like some sort of benign viral infection. In this way four years after the *encuentro* Naomi Klein can be found describing the way in which these ideas have 'spread through activist circles, passed along second and third hand' in an eight page article for a liberal but mainstream, UK based newspaper (*Guardian,* 3rd March 2001).

I am not in any way suggesting that the emergence of the Zapatistas in Mexico led to the formation of the anti-globalisation movement or any of the coalition movements which followed. There is a long history of protest coalitions, such as the women's peace movement, the anti-roads movement and environmental movements, which preceded both the uprisings in Chiapas and in Seattle. I am, however, claiming that the *encuentro* highlights many of the theoretical issues raised by the resurgence in, and development of, protest coalitions more generally. The *encuentro* created a physical and metaphorical space to which activists could withdraw – far from the attentions and distractions of mainstream life – to 'formulate oppositional interpretations of their identities, interests and needs' (Fraser, 1990, p.67). This enabled activists from more than fifty different countries, each focused on their own particular national agendas, to regroup and position themselves as 'an intercontinental network of resistance against Neoliberalism, an intercontinental network of resistance for humanity' (Second Declaration of La Realidad, 1996).

In many ways one could interpret the anti-globalisation movement as an empirical example of Fraser's faith in an 'overarching' (1990, p.69) public sphere within an egalitarian multi-cultural context, albeit a counter-cultural one existing in opposition to globalised Neoliberalism. According to this view, one could interpret the anti-globalisation movement as a 'comprehensive arena' in which 'participants can deliberate as peers across lines of *difference* about policy that concerns them all' (my italics, Fraser, 1990, pp.69-70). Chantal

Mouffe describes such an arena as being characterised by 'a sort of 'conflicting consensus providing a common symbolic space among opponents who are considered as 'legitimate enemies' (2005, p.52). In this way the multiplicity of perspectives brought together by the *encuentro* (and by implication in other protest coalitions) were able to co-exist, despite differences and antagonisms, both within and beyond the actual encounter in the rain forest.

Fraser's delineation of an egalitarian, multicultural public sphere rests not upon the bracketing of personal or group differences, but upon the 'multi-cultural literacy' of participants. I would argue that in the anti-globalisation movements' case, 'multi-cultural literacy' is engendered by the creation of new and experimental organisational structures that prioritise methodology over ideology.

Despite the anti-globalisation movement's description of itself as 'a movement of one no and many yeses' (Kingsnorth, 2003, Mertes, 2004) it is frequently chastised by establishment figures (Abel, 1997, Vidal, *Guardian,* 1st May 2001) for its lack of anything even remotely resembling a coherently unified ideological position. In response writers from the News From Nowhere Collective point out the anti-globalisation movement, unlike most previous international left groups, is not interested in creating 'a new ideology to impose from above'. It is instead attempting to create 'a new participatory methodology from below' (2003, p.506). The belief that 'the means are the ends' (Subcomandante Marcos, 2004, p.11) has created an important shift in radical politics by taking attention away from what is said and focusing on how it is said.

In an interview with Gabriel Garcia Marquez and Robert Pumbo, Subcomandante Marcos describes the way in which the Zapatistas 'became conscious of language – not as a means of communicating but of constructing something' (2004, p.12). As a result, while the rebel fighters in Chiapas refused to lead the anti-globalisation movement in any ideological sense, they did implement various organisational structures[12] designed to create an inclusive and accessible overarching communicative space. These organisational strategies

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[12] The relationship between organisational structures and ideological outcomes will be discussed in detail in chapter three.

enabled 'groups with diverse values and rhetorics' (Fraser, 1990 p.69) to participate fully and equally in the *encuentro*. This removed the potentially divisive need for dichotomised consensus, enabled conflict 'to take a form that does not destroy political association' (Mouffe, 2006, p.20) and, in doing so, created a communicative space in which a diversity of consensuses could flourish.

This emphasis on new ways of talking is curiously similar to the stress Habermas traditionally places on the importance of reasoned discourse within the classical public sphere. Habermas' insistence on 'procedural rationality' (McLaughlin, 1998, p.603) within an 'ideal speech situation' is pertinent because, while the anti-globalisation movement clearly does not share Habermas' view of reasoned argument as the only 'worthy form[] of discourse for a democratic culture' (Peters, 1993, p.562), the movement does prioritise certain forms of discourse over others, in the belief that alternative ways of communicating produce alternative ways of thinking. In this way some activists within the anti-globalisation movement go one step further and claim that 'those new forms of organisation are its ideology[13]' (Graeber, 2004, p.212).

Subaltern spheres: spaces for agitational activities

Atton maintains that the creation of an alternative or counter-cultural public sphere is a valid and politically empowering act in itself (2002). To a certain extent this is true but, as Habermas points out, 'however limited a public sphere may be in its empirical manifestation at any given time, its members understand themselves as part of a potentially wider public' (Fraser, 1990, p.67). In this way Subcomandante Marcos argues that while the 'free spaces' reclaimed and occupied by the Zapatistas are important as autonomous zones in themselves, they are more significant in that they 'create counter powers to the state simply by existing' (Klein, *Guardian,* 2001). In a similar way Dahlberg argues that while counter discourses 'provide an important step in building alternative visions' they should also contribute to 'opening the boundaries of dominant discourse through explicit

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[13] This position has far-reaching consequences which will be further developed in the fourth section of this chapter.

forms of contestation' (2007, p.837). As a consequence of the need to 'open […] up possibilities for transformative forms of resistance (McLaughlin, 1993, p.615) textual and actual protest spaces are as concerned with external as well as internal communication practices.

The relationship between the margins and the mainstream is complex. Jim Walsh argues that alternative spaces are an 'integrated utopia…part and parcel of the mainstream: its unutilised or under-utilised component' (1999, p.2). This interpretation allows it to be occupied by individuals who are actively 'choosing marginality' (Hooks cited in Soja and Hooper, 1993, p.103) instead of, or indeed as well as, those who have been relegated to the fringes of public life. This rather optimistic view is supported by commentators such as Lefebvre who see an enormous political potential in places of difference. For Lefebvre these utopias are a way of linking 'that which is near and far, here and there, actual and utopian, possible and impossible' (1996, p.27). Thus I would argue that the boundaries between the subaltern and official publics can be usefully understood as connecting as well as separating the political margins to the mainstream. This conceptual move enables one to move away from a striated binary model of the public sphere and towards one which explores the smooth and varied relationships between multiple spheres.[14]

As I've already discussed, Fraser argues that in stratified societies such as ours, alternative or 'subaltern' counter publics 'stand in a contestory relationship to dominant publics' (1998, p.70). The word 'agitational' is particularly significant here because it reveals the inevitable tensions between even the most inextricably connected marginal and mainstream spaces. This friction is particularly problematic for classical public sphere theorists who tend to see 'violence and hostility...as an archaic phenomenon to be eliminated' by 'the advance of individualism and the progress of rationality' (Mouffe, 2006, pp.3, 5). Moreover I would argue that the anti-globalisation movements' capacity to accommodate conflict internally enables them to adopt similarly 'agonistic' but not 'antagonistic' positions in relation to the mainstream or official public sphere.

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[14] Striated and smooth are terms which are defined and explored in the final section of this chapter.

Unlike classical liberal theories which rely heavily on Habermas' notion of a calm and reasoning public sphere mediating between the government and private individuals, the radical democratic approach sees the media as a 'battleground between contending forces' (Curran, 1991, p.29). This view is developed in 'Further reflections on the public sphere' when Habermas appears to recognise the contestatory nature of globalised democracies and acknowledges a model in which a 'battle is fought' (1992, p.437) by 'competing public spheres' (p.425). While Habermas does not dwell in detail on this point it lends weight to the notion of a contestory relationship, enables it to be developed one stage further and become a relationship based on conflict. The introduction of a conflict-based discourse into the public sphere has enormously liberating implications for coalition movements in so far as they offer activists a communicative strategy which can accommodate the expression of political difference. In order to illuminate these ideas more fully it might be helpful to return to some of the ideas raised by James Curran (1991).

James Curran maintains that '[a] basic requirement of a democratic media system should be … that it represents all significant interests in society. It should facilitate their participation in the public domain, enable them to contribute to the public debate and have an input into the framing of public policy' (1996, p.30). Unfortunately, many marginal political groups feel excluded from public debate, maintaining that the mainstream media fail to articulate their views fully or fairly and argue that the mainstream press actively misrepresents their views in an attempt to prevent them from influencing or framing public opinion (Donson et al, 2004, Stein, 2001). While mediated cultural debates frequently dismiss accusations of bias as paranoia ('Inside Stories', *BBC*, 29th September 2008) academic studies of demonstrations and protests, such as those conducted by James Halloran (1970) and Todd Gitlin (1980/2003)[15], seem to confirm this viewpoint.

This excluding movement is often exacerbated by the tabloid press who caricature anti-globalisation activists as either mad or bad ('Anti–war girl 'silly' – judge', *Sun* 3rd May, 2003, 'Anti-war yob jailed for attack' *Daily Mirror,* 24th October, 2006). As J.H. Downing

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[15] A comprehensive summary of these studies can be found in chapter one of Simon Cottle's (2006) *Mediatized Conflict.*

points out, movements from what he describes as a socialist anarchist tradition are invariably 'associated in the public mind with a love of disorder[16] and creating chaos, even with sanctifying terroristic actions against public figures' (2002, p.245). According to commentators such as Hollingsworth (1986) the radical left are therefore frequently ridiculed, vilified and finally excluded from the public spheres of parliamentary democracy, the legal system and, of course, the media. In this way the impassioned voices of anti-globalisation groups tend to be characterised in the mainstream media as both unreasoned and unreasonable (Donson, Chesters, Welsh and Tickle, 2004).

Habermas' work is invariably highly critical of social movements which 'associate themselves with the expressive, the romantic and the local rather than with the communicative and the value-rational' (Hetherington, 1998, p.33), arguing that their emancipatory potential is dulled by their rejection of a more neutral discourse ethic. However, as Curran points out, as a consequence the radical left's contributions to the public sphere have frequently been dismissed out of hand as little more than an 'ideological pollutant' (1991, p.40). The way in which non-conforming voices are excluded from public conversation is well illustrated by Hollingsworth when he says, 'it is as if these radical views have intruded into a private dinner party where the hosts and guests have already arranged the terms of their discussion and anything that might threaten the presupposed agenda is…. deemed ''loony'' or ''extreme'' or ''power mad'' (1986, p.288).

Critics from a radical democratic perspective would argue that the tendency to exclude protesting voices from the official public sphere is particularly rooted in liberal rationalism's propensity to 'ignore the affective dimension' and dismiss 'supposedly 'archaic' passions' (Mouffe, 2005, p.6). However, as Fraser points out, Habermas' misplaced faith in the efficiency of bracketing' (1998, p.64), like his confidence in universal accessibility, rests upon the notion of the mainstream public sphere as a perfectly neutral, rather than reason based discursive arena. Fraser disputes this claim and argues that the classical liberal traditional reliance on a 'space of zero degree culture' (Fraser, 1998,

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[16] The fluxing relationship between legitimate anger and still political violence is discussed in chapter four.

p.64) disguises, rather than eliminates the inequalities inherent to the system and actually legitimises the under-representation of some political voices.

Many cultural theorists maintain that 'emotion as well as cognition' (McGuigan,1998, p.92) should become defining features of the public sphere. This is a view developed by Hetherington who questions the validity of Habermas' emphasis on rationality by pointing out that the symbolism of revolt calls upon feeling as well as reason. He goes on to argue that 'the privileging of the faculties of reason by the Enlightenment and the alignment of the expressive with the world of unreason' (1998, p.51) has led to the marginalisation of many radical left groups. This is a view developed by Mouffe who argues that democracy ought to 'mobilize passions towards democratic designs' (2005, p.6) thereby harnessing its energising potential.

If reason is no longer the sole legitimate means of communication then the angry, distressed and despairing voices articulated by the anti-globalisation movement can no longer be dismissed as 'spurious' (Blair cited by Vidal, *Guardian*, 1st May 2001) or hysterical but must be acknowledged. Moreover, the acceptance of a conflict-based relationship[17] between multiple public spheres such as the mainstream and anti-globalisation movements is theoretically liberating in that it opens up the political realm to a variety of previously excluded voices, opinions and protest repertoires. The acknowledgement of conflict as an inevitable and beneficial element of wider public communications transforms alternative organisations' relationships with the mainstream and creates the possibility of alternative sites and modes of connection between the margins and the mainstream.

Public Frictions

Public fictions, once believed, can become public facts.
McGee, 1975

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[17] The notion of conflict based relationships will be returned to in detail in chapter four.

While much has been written concerning the way in which certain individuals are excluded from the public sphere, less critical energy has been spent analysing the reasoning behind Habermas' exclusion of groups per se. Habermas argues that the Chartist movement in England and the February revolution in France led to an unsustainable expansion of the public sphere which in turn led to the 'violent' introduction of group interests. As far as Habermas is concerned, the introduction of any 'public body of organised private individuals' intent upon appealing to 'the court of public opinion' erodes and eventually refeudalises the public sphere (1964, pp.54-5). In this chapter I will argue that this grouping of private individuals is in fact an inevitable and entirely necessary consequence of an ever-expanding public sphere. Moreover, I will suggest that the articulations of special interest groups and their use of 'public relations work' furthers, rather than destroys, the democratic potential of a fully functioning contemporary public sphere.

As Mouffe (drawing on Schmitt) points out, 'every consensus is based on an act of exclusion' (2005, p.11). Thus while Habermas' original notion of the ideal speech situation (which also draws on Schmitt) guaranteed theoretical access to all citizens, in actuality it depended upon an exclusion of the problematic masses. The gradual expansion of the franchise during the late 19th and early 20th centuries created a hugely enlarged public sphere and forced politicians and critical theorists alike to engage with the notion of the massed population. In his article on Habermas and the public sphere Peters[18] points out that basic economies of scale prevent conversation from fulfilling its prescribed role within the contemporary public sphere and argues that other forms of representation must therefore be developed (1993, p.565). This emphasis on shifting modes of mediation has important implications.[19]

Peters argues that, in order for an inclusive democratic community to function in the contemporary political arena, some form of 'aesthetic representation' (1993, p.565) must be allowed. Brian McNair points out that, 'greater emphasis on 'image and style' is…the price of mass democracy in a late capitalist, post-cold-war environment, whether one likes

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[18] As Peters points out this is a view which can be traced back at least as far a J S Mill.
[19] The implications of the shift away from the written word in politics will be explored in detail in chapters three and four.

it or not' (1998, p.54). I would go further and argue that not only should 'aesthetic representation' be permitted, it should also be respected as an entirely valid, even desirable means of political communication. This is an increasingly articulated view which is shared by political theorists such as John Corner, Dick Pels and Jon Simons (2003). Simons argues that the 'intellectual distrust of popular culture' has led cultural elites who are heavily invested in print culture 'to overlook the possibility that popular culture is actually a hospitable terrain for democratic politics (Simons, 2003, p.172).

Habermas' championing of the individual's role within an exclusive public sphere could be interpreted as part of a more general critical distrust of 'the masses'. These suspicions are evident in the work of conservative and radical intellectual traditions alike (Williams, 2003). Thus while commentators as politically diverse as Theodor Adorno (1979) and F.R. Leavis (1979) allow for the possibility of an authentic mass culture from below, they invariably focus on the ways in which mass culture has been administered from above. Consequently they tend to view any mass intervention in public life as somehow inevitably hollow and manufactured. This view is perhaps most clearly articulated by Lippmann who describes the American population's participation in the democratic process as no more than the 'trampling and roar of a bewildered herd' (Lippmann cited in Chomsky, 1997, p.12). According to this notion, a placidly bovine population may be gently prodded by their political masters into supporting any number of previously selected causes. The massed public, as opposed to individual members of the public, are frequently viewed as peculiarly unreflecting spectators passively content with their paltry 'walk on part' in the democratic process (McNair, 1998, p.62).

Mouffe argues that this view of the crowd, like the distrust of emotion discussed above, is rooted in the 'rationalist approach's incapacity to come to terms with political mass movements which they tend to see as an expression of irrational forces or a 'return to the archaic' (2005, p.24). Crucially, the manipulation of the masses by the media in general, and the public relations industry in particular, takes place '*without* public awareness of its activities' (McChesney, 1997, p.15, my italics). However activists' use of communicative strategies which deliberately foreground the use of artifice enables them to foreground

(rather than disguise) the persuasive nature of their appeal and thus side-step the 'sense of deceitfulness' which Corner identifies as being at the core of both propaganda and spin (Corner, 2007, p.673). In this way their symbolically demonstrative (and therefore explicitly unreal) forms of protest allow protest groups to distinguish themselves from the 'self-interested strategizing … and vapid slogans that are customarily imputed to candidates for governmental office' (Feher, 2007, p.13). Coalition activists utilise a wide range of protest repertories, many of which are not rooted in dispassionate discursive modes. In the following section I will focus on the ability of demonstrative events in particular to contribute to formation of the public opinion.

<u>Demonstrative events in the Public Sphere</u>

The role of demonstrative events within the public sphere is an ambiguous one. Habermas' traditional emphasis on 'conversation, reading and plain speech as worthy forms of discourse', combined with his open hostility towards the theatre, courtly forms, ceremony, the visual and to rhetoric more generally' (Peters, 1993, p.562) clearly make creating a space for 'aesthetic representation' within the public sphere difficult. As has been discussed, Habermas' refeudalization thesis argues that special interest groups who go through 'the process of making public' their arguments contribute to the structural disintegration of the public sphere (1989. p.55). Peters points out that Habermas' distrust of spectacular politics is rooted in his 'lifelong struggle against fascism' (1993, p. 565). However, while he acknowledges the historical pertinence of this position, Peters goes on to use the more-or-less neutral term 'aesthetic representation' to describe the ways in which such a process could be realised (1993, p.565).

Interestingly, many contemporary pressure groups such as environmental and anti-globalisation organisations are also rooted in a sub-cultural ethos which distrusts spin and spectacle. This position is articulated by activist (and journalist) George Monbiot in his online *Activist's guide to exploiting the media* when he describes the 'suspicion' felt by activists forced to engage with the commercial media (http://wwwurban75.com). Thus activists often go to great lengths to emphasise the way in which direct actions go beyond

mere surface and constitute 'an act of non-compliance, an act of authenticity to one's own beliefs' (Corrine and Bee cited in McKay, 1998, p.5). Moreover, broadly sympathetic academic commentators such as George McKay frequently express concern over the way in which direct action movements are invariably dominated by a 'culture of immediacy' (1998, p.12) which prioritises spectacle and confrontation at the expense of more traditional qualities such as 'reflection, history [and] theory' (1998, p.13).

It therefore could be argued that both liberal public sphere theorists and radical left activists' share an emphasis on the ways in which communication *form* contributes to the political effectiveness of its *content*. Neil Postman argues that 'every technology has a prejudice. Like language itself, it predisposes us to favour and value certain perspectives and accomplishments' (1998). According to Postman, linguistic communication forms require sustained attention and create propositions which 'can be assessed rationally in terms of truth or falsity' (Simons, 2003, p.177), while visual communication forms rely on rapid pictorial skills which 'appeal to the emotions to support a sense of reality' (Simons, 2003, p.177). This conceptualisation of medium theory clearly privileges verbal and textual communicative forms and therefore has much in common with Habermas' notion of the liberal bourgeois public sphere.

In *Orality and Literacy* Walter Ong, following McLuhan, argues that 'technologies are not mere exterior aids but also interior transformations of consciousness' (1982, p.82). However unlike Postman, Ong, who is careful to distinguish between verbal and textual communicative forms, highlights some of writing's more problematic qualities. Thus Ong maintains that,

> Writing fosters abstractions that disengage knowledge from the arena where human beings struggle with one and other. It separates the knower from the known. By keeping knowledge embedded in the human lifeworld, orality situates knowledge within the context of struggle. (1982, p.43)

Ong goes on to suggest that the 'mind set' of print culture, as opposed to spoken or conversational culture, is characterised by a sense of distance, 'closure' and 'completion'

(Ong, 1982, pp. 132-3). I would argue that it is these qualities, which are characteristic of modernist conceptualisations of the public sphere that have contributed to the liberal bourgeois public sphere's inability to accommodate polyvocal articulations of dissent.

Mainstream political commentators have been quick to point out that the printed word 'has lost its monopoly' in the public sphere, arguing that reasoned argument has been 'supplemented by the politics of carnival and theatrical protest' (Barker, R., *Guardian* 25th September 2001). However, academic commentators such as Van Zoonen (2004) argue that the almost elegiac nostalgia of seminal authors such as Habermas, Postman, and Boorstin inevitably hinders attempts to engage with the public sphere as an actual, rather than as an already lost, ideal. This view is developed further by Jon Simons who argues that the academic tendency to overlook the 'risky arena[s]' where visual and political cultures coincide is rooted in a 'lament' for the 'loss of effective cultural capital' (2003, p.187) traditionally invested in the written word rather than the visual image.

According to Simons, Boorstin, like Habermas and Postman, takes the view that the mass media has created a 'pseudo public sphere' (2003, p.176) in which the individual has become a passive and uncritical being. In his book *The Image: A Guide to Pseudo-Events in America*, Boorstin examines the relationship between spontaneous and fabricated events arguing that the 'graphic revolution' (1992, p.13) has left citizens vulnerable to political manipulation. He maintains that manufactured images (as opposed to raw ideals) are 'more interesting and attractive than spontaneous events' (1961, p.37) and therefore seduce us away from the more mundane 'truth' of reality. Consequently he comes to the conclusion that the artifice of sought-after publicity can achieve little of substance in the real world.

Boorstin employs the negative term 'pseudo-event' to describe the fabricated performances manufactured by the public relations industry in order to gain maximum publicity and win public approbation within a public sphere corrupted by the effects of market forces. However a more sympathetic understanding of the same political practices is articulated by commentators who support and encourage marginalised groups' attempts to capture mainstream attention. These activists and academics take a bottom up perspective and

interpret the expansion of political discourses as a means of empowering traditionally resource-poor grassroots movements. According to this view, demonstrative events can be both fabricated and authentic. This position is exemplified by Monbiot who ends his online guide with the words 'the revolution will be televised but that doesn't mean it won't also be live' (http://wwwurban75.com).

Academics such as Brian Doherty who examined environmental protesters' use of confrontational but non-violent direct action in the 1990s, argue that such protest repertoires are essentially 'dual' in their purpose (2000, p.70). On the one hand they function by 'making power visible by prolonging its exposure' and on the other they function by 'attempting to change government policy (2000, p.70). He argues that tactics which expose activists to physical danger create a sense of 'manufactured vulnerability' and place 'the responsibility for the protester's safety in the hands of the authorities' (2000, p.70). According to this view, fabricated forms of political communications are not automatically inauthentic and content free. Instead, they are a communicatively legitimate means of demonstrating 'the contrast between the force used by authorities and protesters' moral superiority' (2000, p.70).

The way in which substance and image, political content and aesthetic representation can exist in combination rather than conflict during demonstrative events can be exemplified by the way in which activists protested against the Newbury Bypass[20]. A coalition of environmental activists used two 30ft tripods with spectacular efficiency to block the Highways Agency's access to the land (Doherty, 2000, p.70). This manoeuvre achieved both a practical and a symbolic end. It stopped clearance work for the day and prompted the papers to run valedictory headlines the following day (The Newbury Roundhats Outflanked, *Telegraph* 10th January 1996 and Tripod Tactics Halts Work on Bypass, *Guardian* 10th January 1996). This blurring of boundaries between the 'real' and 'unreal' means that it is often difficult, if not impossible, to say exactly where direct action ends and aesthetic representations begin.

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[20] The Newbury Bypass became a focal point in the anti-roads protests of the mid to late 1990s. While the coalition of protesters failed to prevent the construction of the A34 they did force the government to re-evaluate its existing road policy.

In this thesis I will use the term 'demonstrative event' to describe acts of protest which are *demonstrative* in that they are designed to reveal inequalities of power within the public sphere and *events* in that they are knowingly produced by activists and consumed by audiences. As such, demonstrative events are frequently practical interventions designed to stop or at least delay 'undesirable' state activities (such as passing repressive laws, surrendering to global economies or destroying local habitats and communities). However, demonstrative events are more than action-based responses to the policies of the day in that they also involve the production of activities (such as mobilising protesters, land occupations and street parties) which follow Bahktin in attempting to embody alternative organisations' resistance (1941). Thus they are, as activists Corrine and Bee put it, 'propaganda of the deed', authentic acts of resistance which *also* aim to capture the media's attention and win public support (cited in McKay, 1998, p.5).

Organisations such as Amnesty International have a long and honourable tradition of coordinating demonstrative events which highlight the existence of what they perceive to be morally reprehensible acts. They do so in the belief that public awareness of these wrongdoings will somehow force perpetuators to modify their own behaviour. This strategy's ideological roots lie in the work of philosophers such as Jeremy Bentham and John Stuart Mill and their belief in the ethically purifying qualities of publicity.[21] Groups such as Greenpeace have developed this witnessing strategy one step further by videoing themselves attempting to stop (or at least impede) what they see as ethically dubious actions and events, such as the killing of minke whales in the North Atlantic Ocean. This forces 'everybody [to] bear witness – through news dispatches, voice reports, press releases, columns and of course photographs' (McKay, 1998, p.10). Such acts of 'bearing witness' (Doherty et al, 2000, p.2) are of particular relevance here[22] because they are rooted in a tradition which attributes the act of seeing (rather than listening or reading) with a peculiar moral force.

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[21] Of course, Foucault's work on surveillance and the disciplining of publics complicates this position and the question of whether the public sphere acts as 'an instrument of domination or a utopian ideal' is one which will be returned to in chapter five of this thesis.
[22] This is a theme which will be returned to in far greater detail in chapter five of this thesis.

I would argue that this notion of an ethical publicness is inextricably bound to our understanding of demonstrative events in an era of mass communications. Peters maintains that 'witnessing presupposes a discrepancy between the ignorance of one person and the knowledge of another' (Peters, 2001, p.710). This is a view which has informed much alternative news production and hinges on the notion that knowledge implies a certain degree of responsibility which will in turn lead to action. Thus Atton cites Sam Beale, editor of *Squall,* as saying that his motivation lies in ensuring that MPs cannot 'say they don't know' about a particular issue or problem (2002, p.92).

According to Chatterton, individuals who have been 'confronted, challenged and even shamed' (McKay, 1998, p.29) by demonstrative actions enter an 'uncommon ground' between actors and spectators and create connections which can unsettle the essentialisms between 'activist and public, the committed and the caring' (2006, p.272). Thus activists' use of demonstrative events can open up 'a moment of hope' which 'undermines dominant understandings of what is possible and opens up new conceptual spaces for imagining and practising possible futures' (Fournier, 2002 p.184). The ways in which such acts disrupt the boundaries which characterise liberal bourgeois models of the public sphere will be returned to in chapter five.

It ought to be noted that the use of demonstrative events is not in itself an entirely new phenomenon. Even in the late eighteenth century when, according to Habermas, the public sphere was functioning at its historical best, special interest groups were employing visual metaphors in order to illustrate and publicise their cause. Thus the spoiling of British tea in Boston Harbour was a symbolic act which scandalised drawing rooms across England: 'captured the imagination of the rebels' and precipitated America's battle for independence (Downing, 1995, p.240). Indeed one could argue that the workers of Boston Harbour foreshadowed contemporary globalised forms of resistance in that they posited a 'local solution to globally produced problems' (Bauman, 1998, p.6).

In her article on the transnational public sphere, Fraser points out that 'the ground rules governing trade, production and finance are set transnationally by agencies more accountable to global capital than any public' (2007, p.17). Consequently there has been a disconnection between efficacious communicative power of a public and the sovereign state's ability to express the will of its citizenry. This has important implications for activism. Not only is it no longer clear *who* activists should address with their concerns, it is no longer clear *where* those concerns should be articulated. Many grass roots organisations have responded to these circumstances by directing their activities towards business as well as governments. For example activists at Newbury lobbied businesses involved in the construction of the by pass such as Costain and Tarmac[23] as well as the local council and the Houses of Parliament.

This is particularly pertinent in an environment in which the authorities are reasserting geographical control of previously contested processes and places. Anti-road activists at Newbury were able to occupy the woodlands earmarked for destruction. However, activists engaged in a contemporary globalised world are denied such place-bound protest positions and this has important implications for protest strategies which have traditionally employed direct action tactics. In the aftermath of September 11th, anti-globalisation protesters could not establish permanent protest sites around the centres of global capital. Not only do they rarely take place, but when summits are called they tend to be in *deliberately* geographically inaccessible places. Similarly anti-war activists cannot physically demonstrate their opposition to Guantanamo Bay because the military base exists in a place beyond the boundaries of international transport networks.

The gradual erasure of protest sites in a globalised world requires protest coalitions to strengthen and foreground the symbolic aspect of demonstrative events. As a result of these developments, protest coalitions such as the environmental organisations, anti-globalisation and anti-war movements occupy protest spaces which deliberately blur the boundaries between action and representation. In this thesis I will argue that demonstrative events could provide an opportunity (albeit limited) for ordinary people to take active control of

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[23] Costain and Tarmac are both companies which received building contracts from the Highway Agency

their globalised circumstances and produce their own outcomes. The space for this understanding is created by Habermas' rather grudging distinction between democratically unacceptable and almost respectable communicative processes. Unacceptable processes are those defined as being 'promoted by organisations intervening in a public sphere under the sway of the mass media to mobilise purchasing power, loyalty or conformist behaviour' (1992, p.437). These communicative processes are contrasted with '[S]elf-regulated, horizontally interlinked, inclusive, and more or less discourse-resembling communicative processes' (1992, p.437) which are, somewhat reluctantly, tolerated.

This theoretical chink allows for what has been described as the 'sluice-gate' model of the public sphere to exist (Herbert, 2005, p.107). The sluice-gate model enables the movement of issues from the lifeworld to the systems world through the enactment of high profile action such as national boycotts or infringements of particular laws. This model is clearly far more tolerant of grassroots organisations that use demonstrative events in order to introduce marginal issues into the public realm. Moreover Boorstin's emphasis on pseudo-events' which have an 'interesting ambiguous relation to underlying reality' (1961, p.21), forces him to acknowledge that a pseudo-event can become a type of self-fulfilling prophecy. Ironically this is a line of thinking also developed by Baudrillard when he asks the question, 'since the simulator produces 'true' symptoms, is he ill or not?' (1983, p.7). Unlike Baudrillard, Boorstin makes very clear distinctions between the binary of reality and unreality, although even he accepts that 'the power to make a reportable event is [also] the power to make experience' (1961, p.10).

<u>Demonstrative events as symbolic/material interventions</u>

This tension between reality and unreality opens up demonstrative events to a wider complex set of interpretations. As a journalist covering the Palestinian intifada points out, all conflicts are characterised by a crucial symbolic dimension. There is…

> ...a struggle over symbols expressed in flags, in slogans, in calls and even in curses. Even the rocks are in a sense symbols, it is also a weapon that could kill someone, but its primary use is as a symbol of protest. They

must send these symbols to the outside world and not just their enemy.
And they are very aware of the need for the media to send these messages
to the world'. (*Cited in Wolfsfeld, 1997, p.205)*

According to this view, direct actions combine 'social criticism' with 'cultural creativity in what is both a utopian gesture and a practical display of resistance' (McKay, 1998, p.27). However demonstrative actions, unlike direct actions, necessarily go beyond physically responding to the governmental policies of the day. They also involve the production of 'symbolic challenges' (Melucci, 1989, p.75) at a cultural level which attempt to embody alternative organisations' resistance to the status quo.

The pertinence of this discussion can best be illustrated by pausing very briefly to highlight a spate of differently motivated but similarly designed demonstrative events. In September 2008 three men charged with plotting to bomb transatlantic airliners were found not guilty at Woolwich Crown Court. Despite having made home made bombs and martyr videos the jury accepted that the men involved had wanted to create 'a political spectacle' and aimed to 'frighten rather than kill the public' ('Three Guilty of Bomb Conspiracy', *BBC* News 8th September 2008). Similarly, loyalist paramilitary leader Michael Stone claimed that his 2003 attack on Sinn Fein leadership was 'an act of performance art' and that each item he carried (including a replica gun and explosives) had 'symbolic significance'. ('Stormont bomb was art says Stone', *BBC News*, 22nd September 2008). While Stone's defence was eventually thrown out of court, I would suggest that in both these instances the boundary between the real and the unreal, symbolic and actual, violence and art is, to say the very least, problematic.

I would argue that this potentially troubling rather postmodern blur and ambiguity could be best exploited by turning to the work of Michel Foucault. Foucault rejects many of the modernist concepts that underpin the work of Habermas. He does not see power as dialectical or negative in essence, arguing that it can actually be a positive and enabling force. He also dismisses the classical model of consciousness and reality as vulnerable entities that can be seized and abused by those with power. Instead he claims that subjectivity and reality are actively produced – rather than represented – by discourse, and

exist within the ever changing 'web of fragments' (Plant 1996, p.116). This interpretation of power allows for the possibility of promotional forms of political resistance, albeit within the confines of the existing discursive regimes.

Foucault might argue that if signs and images are used as a means to establish a particular view of reality, and their production/representation in the media causes them to become the dominant version of 'reality', then demonstrative events have succeeded in conflating their dual purpose. The theoretical possibilities opened up by Foucault's arguments are made concrete in Wolfsfeld's observation that 'challengers who obtain significant amounts of media coverage usually enjoy a significant rise in political status. Those who are recognised by the news media as serious players become serious players' (1999, p.67). In this way the nebulous and contradictory relationship between binary opposites such as 'reality' and 'unreality', 'substance' and 'image' enables protesters to actively promote their cause without the manufactured nature of public relations as a discourse undermining the validity of their actions.

Journalist/activists such as George Monbiot claim that by feeding journalists certain types of events, pressure groups like those at Newbury can exert a certain degree of control over the type of material which frames the representation of a political debate. This view is supported by academics such as Wolfsfeld, who reminds us that, 'one of the first lessons in journalism is to construct news stories as a pyramid by leading off with the most important part before spreading out to give background and details' (1999, p.51). There is little doubt that the most important part of most mainstream news stories is the event that is 'pre-cooked' (Boorstin, 1961, p.19) into news. However, while the pseudo-event may well be the point of an article, it can never be the whole story. Therefore it could be argued that the issues which inspired the event's creation will inevitably make an appearance, even if they are relegated to the broad base of the story's background detail.[24]

Supporters of traditional democracy and the classical public sphere, such as Boorstin and Habermas would argue that demonstrative events distract from, or disguise, the real issues.

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[24] This is a subject which will be discussed in detail in chapter five.

There is an element of truth in this assertion. Demonstrative events probably do create an image that is more entertaining and less meaningful than the complex reality of life as a political activist. However, this glamorisation of reality does not necessarily undermine its value as a tool for democracy. Demonstrative events that also entertain and give pleasure are not automatically emptied of their political content. Furthermore, the consumer satisfaction engendered by demonstrative events increases circulation figures, which in turn makes them more attractive to editors. This ensures that any promotional material finally published gains as wide an audience as possible. Therefore one could argue that pressure groups use demonstrative events as a Trojan horse in order to access an audience made susceptible by pleasure.

This is a view that John Purkis hints at in his analysis of the cultural implications of direct action. Purkis argues that by eschewing the public realm and '''colonising'' private spaces' such as shopping malls, banks and superstores, activists are able to jolt an unsuspecting public out of their political lethargy and prod them into re-evaluating the discourses that surround them. McKay makes a similar point when he describes the 'subversive, funny, daring' ways in which guerrilla gardeners smuggle 'small images of small wilderness…into the patrolled urban zone' (1998, p.33). In this thesis I to want to explore how demonstrative events disguised as entertainment might be able to slip into private spaces 'in a manner which fuses the real with the symbolic, and transcends normal notions' of how the world works (Purkis, 1996, p.205). In short, demonstrative events allow people 'to think differently, instead of legitimising what is already known' (Foucault, 1985, p.9)

While organisations such as Amnesty International and Greenpeace are clearly attempting to mobilise mass support for their particular ideals, it should be noted that they have been accused of elitism. Doherty points out that the tactics employed by these groups require the acquisition of very specific technical skills and a high degree of personal commitment. This creates a situation in which a 'clique' (McKay, 1998, p.26) of professional activists can quickly dominate an organisation and exclude alternative means of communication. However this view is directly contradicted by activists such as John Purkis who argue that

non-violent direct action actually 'requires very little training' and attempts to deconstruct the idea of the environmental protester as part of a protest elite (1996, p.206).

I would argue that the professionalism/amateurism of protesters becomes a moot point if one accepts Kant's view that progress is characterised not by the expertise (or even the ethics) of particular players but by the level of enthusiasms engendered in the population at large. Donald and Donald argue that Kant's position foregrounds 'the attitude of the onlookers' (1991, p.116) and go on to suggest that this understanding of political discourses 'prefigure media critique' in that it 'turns away from the event and focuses on its representation and its spectators' (2000, p.116). Thus they maintain that, via the 'work of representation', spontaneous 'events' are translated into 'spectacle or drama' for 'an audience of distant spectators' (Donald and Donald, 2000, p.116).

In 'The contest of faculties', Kant argues that while the French revolution was not necessarily evidence of human progress, the way in which people perceived and judged it as a revolutionary event was 'a form of improvement in itself' (Kant, 1991, p. 182). He describes the attitude of those observing the French revolution as 'sympathy' bordering on 'enthusiasm' and goes on to pair 'enthusiasm' with 'passion' (1991, p.183). However this attitude towards enthusiasm should not be equated with an unqualified acceptance of emotion. Indeed Kant is quick to reiterate his commitment to reason as the source of enlightenment by stating that 'all passion as such is blameworthy' (1991, p.183).

However Donald and Donald argue that Kant's conceptualisation of publicness 'requires and even demands' a new understanding of the ways in which one can participate in the public sphere. Moreover they suggest that these new forms should be based on explicitly 'aesthetic judgement' (2000, p.116). This approach creates a space within the public sphere in which spectators of demonstrative events are neither passive nor marginal but dynamic and vital elements of the democratic process. I would argue that this interpretation of the public sphere is of particular relevance to contemporary protest coalitions because it creates a space in which both the construction of spectacular events and the role of the spectator can be understood as potentially politically worthwhile. I go on to suggest that activists'

sophisticated and contextualised use of demonstrative events contributes to a 'new language of resistance' (Graeber, 2004, p.208) which deliberately unsettles preconceived understandings of political situations and thereby contributes to the invigoration rather than erosion of the twenty first century public sphere.

Simons claims that contemporary political discourses require a new series of skills which would enable activists and publics to communicate in ways which disrupt without necessarily destroying Habermas' aspirational ideal (2003). Clearly this understanding of the visual within the public sphere requires a more generous interpretation of the role that spectators have to play in politics. Thus, as Donald and Donald argue, it 'implies a different way of living in the social and cultural present: not an ethic of self-formation through public participation, but distraction, diffusion and anonymity' (2000, p. 118). As Simons goes on to point out, Walter Benjamin offers just such an interpretation when he argues that the masses are not 'wretched, worn out creatures' (1928, 240.1) but entirely capable of critical – if somewhat distracted – examination. This is a view which will be returned to in chapter three of this thesis.

The paradox of the Frontier

> *This is the paradox of the frontier: created by contacts, the points of difference between two bodies are also their common points. Conjunction and disjunction are inseparable in them. Of the two bodies in contact, which one possesses the frontier that distinguishes them? Neither. Does this amount to saying: no one?*
> de Certeau, 2004, p.127

Having focused on the ways in which the media terrain encountered by activists blurs the theoretical distinctions relevant to protest repertoires I would like to return to the issues raised in the first part of this chapter and situate them in relation to the work of Deleuze and Guattari. Unlike the writings of their compatriots, the work of Deleuze and Guattari has not impacted heavily on the field of political communications. Thus, for example, Mark Poster's *The Mode Of Information: Post structuralism and Social Context* (1990) dedicates a chapter each to Baudrillard, Foucault, Derrida and Lyotard but only comments in passing

on the work of Deleuze and Guattari. However their book *A Thousand Plateaus* has influenced the development of research into the use of the internet and is beginning to appear more consistently in accounts of the alternative media. Thus in the second half of the 1990s there was a flurry of publications (Landow, 1994, Aronowitz, 1996, Shields, 1996) which fruitfully explored the ways in which cyberspace could be conceived in terms of both the rhizome and the nomad. During this period some attempts were also made to expand rhizomatic communication models in order to include other resisting uses of the media such as the radio (Sakolsky, 1998).

Another separate but not entirely unrelated field in which metaphors of the rhizome have emerged is that of political theory. In the unexpectedly successful *Empire* (2000) Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri reflect upon the move away from modern concepts such as sovereignty, nation and peoples and towards what they described as a new postmodern global order of 'continuous movement and absolute flows' (Hardt and Negri, 2000, p.28). This book was followed in 2004 by *Multitude* which focuses on the 'living alternative that grows within Empire' (Hardt and Negri, 2004, p.xiii) and the ways in which the multitude could 'construct[…] a counter-Empire, an alternative political organisation of global flows and exchanges' (Hardt and Negri, 2000, p.xv) Both books rely heavily on the works of Deleuze and Guattari in general and on *A Thousand Plateaus* in particular. However, while these books remain influential in activist circles, there is a growing consensus within academia that despite the 'messianic desire' (Moreiras, 2001. p.224) of *Multitude* 'its basic theses do not stand scrutiny' (Mouffe, 2005, p.107). This position is most succinctly summed up by Gilbert when he says

> Beyond shutting our eyes and wishing very hard, it's never very clear
> how Hardt and Negri imagine that the prophetic character of their work
> is going to manifest itself in some new political reality. (2009, p.165)

These books were written by what I would describe as politically committed academics during a time of great technological and political optimism. The unanticipated success of the anti-globalisation demonstrations against the World Trade Organisation in Seattle in 1999 was attributed in part to activists' innovative use of new communication technologies.

The internet quickly became seen as having an 'affinity with new forms of protest' (Couldry and Curran, 2003, p.8) which contributed to the 'global imagining of those events' (Bennett, 2003, p.31). Needless to say this almost euphoric sense of possibility and hope was gradually eroded by the grinding realities of every day political life. The anti-globalisation slogan 'we are winning' which had appeared on the walls of Seattle, Washington and Genoa began to fade until, following the attack on the World Trade Centre, they disappeared completely. Moreover governments across the globe used legislation introduced after September 11th (such as the Patriot Act in America, the Terrorism Act 2000 and the Anti-Terrorism, Crime and Security Act in 2001 in the United Kingdom) to reassert state control in cyberspace.

There followed a period in which rhizomatic interpretations of the media quietened. This slightly chastened silence was recently broken by Olga Guedes Bailey, Bart Cammaerts and Nico Carpentier in their 2008 publication *Understanding Alternative Media*. This volume uses Deleuze and Guattari's work to conceptualise various approaches to map out four interrelated and overlapping approaches to media studies which seek to combine 'essentialist and relationist positions' (Guedes Bailey et al, 2008, p.30). The first approach sees alternative media as serving the community, the second as an alternative to community and the third as linking alternative media to civil society. The fourth approach conceptualises alternative media as rhizome. Guedes Bailey et al argue that rhizomatic approaches foster an understanding of marginal organisations which foregrounds their ability to breach the 'rigid separations' (2008, p.33) imposed by more traditional models. Thus, according to this view, rhizomatic models 'highlight the role of alternative media as the crossroads of organizations and movements linked with civil society' (2008, p.27).

The notion of the rhizome is drawn from *A Thousand Plateaus*, a book which introduces a myriad of inter-related and sometimes analogous concepts, including the notion of rhizomatic and arborescent structures. According to Deleuze and Guattari rhizomes are:

> 'a-centred, non-hierarchical, non-signifying in communications which runs from any neighbour to any other, the stems or channels do not pre-exist and all individuals are interchangeable, defined only by their state

> at any given moment – such that the local operations are coordinated and the final global result synchronised without a central agency'. (Deleuze and Guattari, 2004, p.19)

Guedes Bailey et al argue that alternative media can be, but do not have to be, rhizomatic. Such media organisations and outputs are characterised by the 'elusiveness and contingency' of the rhizome which allows them to 'cut across borders and build linkages between pre-existing gaps' (2008, pp.27-8). This 'elusiveness' has many advantages. For example it makes alternative media 'hard to control …to encapsulate in legislation' (Guedes Bailey et al, 2008, p.29). These qualities enable coalition protest movements to survive in times which are particularly hostile to dissent in even its mildest of forms. However while this ungraspable, unstoppable notion of relational structures offers alternative movements distinct advantages, it also requires both practitioners and theorists to let go of many of the essentialist binaries and boundaries which have traditionally structured our understanding of the political process.

All the interpretations of alternative media forms, global powers and civil society outlined above have used ideas gleaned from the work of Deleuze and Guattari. Thus they focus on the ways in which rhizomatic technologies, social movements and international organisations both structure and alter the expression of political opinion. In doing so, I would suggest that they depend implicitly, and to varying degrees, on the notion of the public sphere as a common communicative space in which ideas relating to the common good are debated and discussed. In the following section I hope to foreground and theorise the connections between these very different bodies of research.

<u>Smooth and striated space</u>

In 'Rhizome and Resistance: Hypertext and the dreams of a new culture' Stuart Moulthrop argues that while *A Thousand Plateaus* 'arrives as a print[25] artefact, it was designed as a matrix of independent but cross referential discourses which the reader is invited to enter

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[25] The relationship between arborescent print systems and rhizomatically structured smooth spaces will be discussed in detail in chapters three and four.

more or less at random' (1994, p.300). *A Thousand Plateaus* stands in a similarly eclectic but loosely interconnected relationship with the wider academic community. The authors leap from historical epoch to intellectual paradigm, from academics of great and wide renown to obscure but distinguished commentators without making even a passing effort to explain or justify their movements. While this sense of chaotic momentum can be exhausting it is also exhilarating. Moreover it actively encourages the reader to emulate Deleuze and Guattari's gleeful tendency to 'steal' from other scholars and disciplines and therefore repeatedly invites one to 'lift a dynamism out of the book entirely' and to 'incarnate it in a foreign medium' (Massumi, 2004, p.xv).

In this spirit I will 'steal' the notion of smooth and striated space and attempt to re-incarnate it in a field more traditionally occupied by public sphere theorists and political communication scholars. *A Thousand Plateaus* begins with a chapter on rhizomes, it develops this (and other) refrains in a variety of contexts and then (almost!) concludes with a chapter on smooth and striated spaces. This penultimate chapter (there is actually a 15th chapter which acts as a partial and purposefully incomplete coda to the book as a whole) examines 'the various aspects of the two spaces and the relationship between them' by describing six smooth and striated spatial models – the technological, the musical, the maritime, the mathematical, the physical and the aesthetic (Deleuze and Guattari, 2004, p.524). While each model further develops previously established concepts – such as rhizomatic structures, assemblage or nomadolgy – they also introduce an array of subtle variations. In an attempt to avoid being caught in this entanglement of models, concepts and variations, I will confine myself to a discussion of the technological model which lends itself particularly well to an analysis of alternative media and organisational forms.

Arborescent and rhizomatic systems and striated and smooth spaces are abstract concepts. According to Deleuze and Guattari, arborescent systems and, by implication, striated spaces are characterised by the 'binary logic … of the root tree' (2004, p.5). Such systems are therefore 'linear, hierarchical and sedentary and could be represented as the tree like structure of genealogy' (Wray 1998, p.3). In this way we can imagine a trunk dividing into

smaller and smaller branches until they become first twigs or then the stems of leaves. Each element is different and yet constitutes part of a schematised and integrated whole.

Patton further clarifies this point when he argues that boundaries between points (trunk, branch, twig, stem) in striated space tend to be 'clearly defined and their parts connected according to an invariant principle of unity' (2000, p.43). Such systems create striated spaces in which 'one closes off a surface and ''allocates'' it according to determined intervals, assigned breaks' (Deleuze and Guattari, 2004, p.530). These very clearly delineated, static and standardised hierarchical structures tend to be occupied by those who champion 'order, purpose and control' (Moulthrop, 1994, p.303). Thus Deleuze and Guattari maintain that arborescent systems and striated space exists in 'the most perfect and severest of forms' (2004, p.543) within the confines of the capitalist nation state.[26]

Rhizomatic systems in contrast reject systems in which 'the tree imposes the verb ''to be'', embracing instead 'the fabric of the rhizome, the conjunction ''and…and…and…''' (Deleuze and Guattari, 2004, p.27) In this way, rather than extending in an ordered way from trunk to branch to twig, the rhizome multiplies like a bulb; oddly, apparently at random and in any direction. These systems give rise to spaces which are 'in principle infinite, open and unlimited in every direction…[have] neither top nor bottom nor centre…[do not] assign fixed and mobile elements but rather distribute a continuous variation' (2004, p.524). Thus smooth spaces are, according to Deleuze and Guattari, characterised by movement and are an uncertain and constantly threatened but never the less perpetual 'becoming' (2004, p.27).

In *A Thousand Plateaus* Deleuze and Guattari use these terms in order to identify two different types of space. Thus they argue that,

> in striated space, lines or trajectories tend to be subordinated to points: one goes from one point to another' whilst 'in smooth space it's the opposite: the points are subordinated to the trajectory. (1987, p.528)

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[26] Paradoxically they also maintain that global capitalism, as opposed to localised capitalism - constitutes a smooth space

Whilst both spaces are therefore characterised by multiplicities, the way in which these multiplicities are conceptualised offers significantly different political scenarios. One should point out that Deleuze and Guattari also indicate the existence of other types of space, holey space for example, however they do not elaborate on the ways in which these types of space communicate with striated or smooth spaces (1987, p. 551).

Perhaps unsurprisingly, Deleuze and Guattari's technological model does not deal with technology as a whole. Instead it focuses upon the smooth and striated qualities of different types of fabric. Deleuze and Guattari maintain that woven fabric is striated (2004, p.524). Thus 'in the simplest case' it is characterised by four basic principles. Woven fabric is constructed by parallel 'vertical and horizontal elements' which 'intertwine' and 'intersect' (the warp and the weft). These two elements each have a different function; one is fixed (the warp yarn is stretched over the loom) and the other is mobile (the weft yarn is threaded onto the shuttle). And finally the woven fabric/striated space is 'necessarily delimited' and has 'a top and a bottom' (set by the width and structure of the loom). According to Deleuze and Guattari, it is these four qualities which enabled Plato to employ the notion of weaving as a metaphor for the arborescent 'art of governing people or operating the state apparatus' (2005, p.525).

Partly as a result of Plato's extended use of the weaving metaphor in the *Statesman* (in which Socrates and a stranger discuss the art of politics) society is often discussed metaphorically in terms of fabric. Thus for example threats to the social order are frequently depicted as 'straining' or 'unravelling' society (Archbishop of Canterbury: UK debt culture straining fabric of society, *Telegraph,* 25th April 2008, 'Off side', *Spiked Online,* 7th April 2005) while state institutions such as the army or the Post Office are described as being essential (or not) to the 'fabric of society'(Heater Roy MP, S*peech to Rotary*, 11th September, 2008, John Redwood, *political blog*, 10th October, 2007)). Similarly fabric metaphors can also be found throughout the literature on classical liberal models of the pubic sphere. Habermas talks about the 'interweaving of the public and private realm' (1974, p.54) while Fraser discusses the ways in which 'cultural identities are

woven of many different strands' (1990, p.69). More recently Garnham has reflected on the notion of new social movements as having arisen at 'the seam between lifeworld and system world' (Garnham, 2007, p.204).

I would suggest that the 'analytic grid' discussed above (Peters, 1993, p.557) can also be read using fabric metaphors. According to this view the classical liberal model of the public sphere can be understood as a woven and therefore striated space. Thus it is 'constituted by two kinds of parallel elements' which have each been allocated 'different functions' (Deleuze and Guattari, 2005, p.524). Moreover the use of dominant/subordinate binary pairings such as public/private, state/economy ensures that is has a top and a bottom thereby creating a 'delimited, close [and] determined space' (Deleuze and Guattari, 2004, p.524). In this way I would argue that the lifeworld/systems world, public/private distinction create a frame in which the domestic sphere stands in an ancillary relationship to the public sphere while the domestic economy is thought of as subsidiary to the state economy.

This rather static model is unsettled by Garnham's description of the binary oppositions which underpin the classical liberal view as 'value vectors' (2000, p.174). This description echoes Deleuze and Guattari's emphasis on directional movement in smooth space and begins to disrupt the relationship between points and trajectories. This shift in emphasis is further developed by Fraser's use of 'pink and blue thread' metaphors which highlight the trajectories which run between points rather than the predetermined points themselves. According to this view the distinctions which define the public sphere constitute a conceptual loom across which different discourses and activities interweave. I would suggest that Fraser's model of the public sphere has much in common with the 'technological model' of embroidery. Thus Deleuze and Guattari argue that while 'embroidery's variable and constant, fixed and mobile elements, may be of extraordinary complexity', this type of space is nevertheless structured by essentially striated 'rhythmic [i.e. striated] values' (2004, p.425). Therefore while Fraser's model begins to subvert a woven understanding of the public sphere, with what Deleuze and Guattari describe as 'the

harmonies of embroidery' (2004, p.526) she does not actually replace the striated structures which underpin the fabric.

Deleuze and Guattari go on to contrast woven or striated fabrics with 'supple solid products' or 'anti-fabric[s]' such as felt and patchwork. Unlike the woven spaces produced by sedentary societies such as those discussed in the *Statesman*, felt and patchwork are associated with nomadic or migratory societies such as settlers from Europe to the New World and the nomadic tribes in Africa. Thus, according to Deleuze and Guattari, these societies create a technological model which imply 'no separation of threads, no intertwining, only an entanglement of fibres obtained by fulling'[27] in the case of felt (Deleuze and Guattari, 2004, p.525) and blocks arranged in an 'amorphous collection of juxtaposed pieces that can be joined together in an infinite number of ways' in the case of patchwork (Deleuze and Guattari, 2004, p.526). I will return to the possible ways in which the technological models of felt and fabric might usefully contribute to an alternative understanding of the public sphere in chapters three, four, and five. However before doing so I would also like to establish what Deleuze and Guattari describe as the 'many interlacings' (2004, p.525) between different types of spaces.

<u>The De Facto Mix</u>

While there is a growing body of work which uses the abstract distinction between arborescent and rhizomatic structures (and therefore by implication smooth and striated spaces) to illuminate the relationship between subaltern and official public spheres, it is important to note that Deleuze and Guattari create *de jure* dualism in order to overcome them, arguing that 'mental correctives are necessary to undo the dualisms we have no wish to construct but through which we must pass' (2004, p.220). Thus they maintain that 'there are knots of arborescence in rhizomes, and rhizomatic offshoots in roots' (2004, p.22) and that 'the two spaces in fact only exist in mixture: smooth space is constantly being translated and transversed into striated space, striated space is constantly being reversed,

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[27] Fulling – a technique for the production of felt which creates [anti-]fabric by rolling a mass of fibres back and forth.

returned into smooth space' (2004, p.524). As a consequence of this – and in keeping with *A Thousand Plateaus'* deliberately rhizomatic qualities – the notion of movement or 'passage' between different types of structures and spaces is central to their work.

Following this line of thought and further developing the arguments discussed in section one, I would like to consider how the constitutive boundaries of the classical public sphere are not as absolute as they first appear. This point can be illustrated by returning briefly to Fraser's discussion of dual aspect activities and her assertion that 'gender identity run[s] like pink and blue threads through … all arenas of life' (1987, p.45). She goes on to argue that childrearing and food production are 'equally and *at the same time'* (my italics, Fraser, 1987, p.45) examples of both symbolic and material reproduction. Consequently one could argue that the coloured threads of identity politics also begin to bleed into one and other and that this sense of threading and blurring between boundaries and borders inevitably undermines a classical understanding of the public sphere. Thus the notion of 'dual aspect' activities which not only straddle and subvert 'the weft and warp' of the classical model but do so freely and with impunity, begins to suggest a model of the public sphere which foregrounds movement or trajectories and overlays the clear divisions of classical models with a far more postmodern 'entanglement' (Deleuze and Guattari, 2004, p.525) of spheres and activities, systems and spaces.

Deleuze and Guattari's definition of smooth space emphasises the *de jure* or abstract refusal of both hierarchy and boundary. Moreover, while much of *A Thousand Plateaus* (and all of chapter 14) is spent elaborating on the distinguishing minutiae of *de jure* space, Deleuze and Guattari are adamant that in all cases and according to all models,

> We are always…bought back to a dissymmetrical necessity to cross from the smooth to the striated, and from the striated to the smooth (2004, p.536).

Deleuze and Guattari's repeated return to the 'rich and complex operations' required to 'translate' one type of space into another (2004, p.536) inevitably and explicitly foreground the many binary dualisms - arborescent/rhizomatic, striated/smooth, nomadic/sedentary –

which both shape and structure *A Thousand Plateaus*. Indeed, as with the binary oppositions which shape and structure public sphere theory – public/private, reason/passion, reality/unreality – the constitutive identity of each element 'depends upon contrast and avid opposition' of its partner (Hartley, 1996, p.79). In this way one could argue that, while Deleuze and Guattari may not wish to construct boundaries, they are inevitable and indeed necessary in order to relate one type of space into another. As a result I would suggest that the difficulties and continuing possibilities inherent in communication between the two types of space place these points of contact unexpectedly at the centre of their work.

The centrality of the *de facto* correlation or communication between smooth and striated space can be best illustrated by briefly examining a model or manifesto of civil society which does not fully accommodate the implications raised by differing spatial qualities. In both *Empire* and *Multitude* Hardt and Negri argue that 'in contrast to imperialism, Empire establishes no territorial centre of power and does not rely on fixed boundaries or barriers (2000, p. xii). Thus Empire, like the Multitude it begets, is essentially a smooth space which 'progressively incorporates the entire global realm' (2000, p. xii). In order to resist Empire, Hardt and Negri argue that the Multitude 'should be done, once and for all, with the search for an outside' and should instead 'enter the terrain of Empire and confront its homogenising and hetrogening flows in all their complexity' (2000, p.46).

According to Hardt and Negri, immersion in the smooth space of Empire is potentially liberating in that it relieves political activists of the need to construct 'well structured communicating tunnels' between different types of space (2000, p.58). Thus they argue somewhat optimistically that, freed from the need to dwell on the 'incommunicability' (2000, p. 54) of their separate struggles, the multitude will eventually leap 'vertically, directly to the centre' (2000, p.58) and destroy Empire by creating a new unipolar order. This is a position which renders much of the research into horizontal communication flows entirely redundant!

However, this abstract conceptualisation of entirely isolated pockets of resistance grouped around a virtual centre fails to recognise the *de facto* relationship between different types of systems and structures. Thus, for example, Hardt and Negri frequently cite the Zapatistas' uprising in Mexico as one of many struggles which can in 'no respect be linked together as a globally expanding chain of revolt' (2000, p.54). Yet protesters involved in the anti-globalisation demonstrations of the late 1990s frequently trace their inspiration back to the 1996 *encuentro* in Chiapas. For example Kingsnorth describes the way in which the 3000 international delegates 'returned to their countries with new ideas, new ways of thinking about the future' (2003, p.37). In this way the *de jure* distinction between smooth and striated spaces is immediately complicated and unsettled by the *de facto* mix which explicitly foregrounds the point of contact between these two spaces.

This desire to escape the tensions and frictions set up by binary dichotomies is recognised by Mouffe in *On the Political.* However, she argues that Hardt and Negri's vision of 'globalised smooth space…fails to appreciate the pluralistic nature of the world' (2005, p.115) and that their associated refusal to address the issue of 'political articulation among different struggles' (2005, p.112) actually forecloses rather than extends the potentially liberating possibility of a more pluralistic order. Thus she maintains that, despite their use of 'Deleuzian terminology and the revolutionary rhetoric' (1005, p.108), Hardt and Negri's views exhibit a 'postmodern form of longing for a reconciled world' (2005, p.1150) which has much in common with more traditional critiques of our newly globalised post September 11th world.

As a consequence of my focus on polyvocal dissent I do not intend to follow Hardt and Negri and 'celebrate the demise of boundaries as leading to emancipatory potential' (Passavant and Dean, 2004, p.7). Rather I intend to actively foreground the notion of boundaries in an attempt to better understand the political contribution of coalition protest movements which are, almost by definition, constituted by the notion of difference. By foregrounding the tensions and frictions inherent in the de facto mix between rhizomatic and arborescent systems and smooth and striated spaces I hope to readdress the question of how coalition protest movements – such as the anti-globalisation and anti-war movements

– can communicate 'across [the] lines of difference' which both separate and connect the margins from the mainstream (Fraser, 1990 p.71).

Conjunction and Disjunction

> *The intent behind this radical postmodernism of resistance is to deconstruct (not destroy) the ebbing tide of modernist radical politics, to renew its strengths and avoid its weaknesses, and to reconstruct an explicitly postmodern radical politics, a new cultural politics of difference and identity that moves towards empowering a multiplicity of resistance rather than searches for the one 'great refusal', the singular transformation to precede and guide all others'*
> Soja and Hooper, 1993, p.187

As discussed at the start of this chapter the 'disordering of difference' (Soja and Hooper, 1993, p187), which a multipolar world inevitably entails, has particularly important consequences for less easily categorised, dissenting voices. Many traditionalists are struck by the 'horror of multiplicity' (Jameson quoted in Massey, 1993, p.142) and are dismayed by the thought of all those 'web threads flung out beyond my situation into the unimaginable synchronicity of other people' (Jameson quoted in Massey, 1993, p.142). However Graeber points out that, protest cultures' deliberate and often gleeful 'scrambling of conventional categories' tends to 'throw the forces of order' and make them 'desperate to bring things back to familiar territory' (2004, p.209). Consequently, dissenting voices which cannot be easily categorised within traditional binary structures tend to be ridiculed and/or vilified as the occasion requires (Hollingsworth, 1986). Furthermore, as George McKay points out, 'when the primacy of one binary is viewed as competing with the privileging of another, the prospects for flexible and co-operative alliances and empathy are likely to be dim' (1998, p.186). Thus, while Fraser traces the skein of pink (and by implication blue) threads across the fabric of the public sphere she chooses not to become entangled in a plethora of other multicoloured identity options.

Protest coalitions frequently find themselves framed within official spheres as at best part of an 'unseemly' slide towards a mish-mash of 'competing –isms' (Smith and Katz, 1993, p.77). Moreover, those on the political left frequently share this outlook tending to interpret

any multiplicity of resistances as 'inevitably leading to a politically debilitating fragmentation and the abandonment of long-established forms of struggle' (Soja and Hooper, 1993, p.188). Thus, for example, Tony Blair famously dismissed the anti-globalisation movement as 'a sort of anarchist travelling circus' ('Sweden defends EU summit policing' *BBC News*, 17th of June 2001) implying that the movement was chaotic, temporary and fundamentally unserious. In this way the relatively rigid categorisation systems imposed by most democratic nation states inevitably function at the expense of subaltern voices which are not linked into the mainstream by a binary pairing. As a result such voices frequently remain marginalised on the fringes of the political arena.

In contrast a rhizomatic or smooth conceptualisation of alternative media not only allows for a multiplicity of identities and spheres, but also foregrounds the flux and flow of both people and ideas between spheres. This conceptualisation of public space is helpful in that it goes beyond the binary opposition of categories such as 'hierarchical' and 'non-hierarchical',' vertical' and 'horizontal' utilized by authors such as Downing and Atton and offers a theoretical framework which foregrounds the way in which 'the boundaries of discourse' are always necessarily 'intertwined with asymmetrical power relations and a struggle for domination' (Dahlberg, 2007, p.835). In doing so it also creates a space for the development of a more sophisticated and nuanced understanding of the public sphere. As Guedes Bailey et al point out, this not only creates a model of the alternative media which can 'cut across borders and build linkages between pre existing gaps' (2008, p.28), it also allows for the 'deterritorializing effect' of the rhizomatic systems and smooth spaces on the rigidities and certainties of political and economic mainstreams.

Whilst Fraser, Curran and indeed Habermas, in his later writings, question the concept of a single public sphere and introduce the notion of a plurality of publics, they do not fully develop the possibilities inherent in a multiplicity of public spheres. As a result, counter-cultural spheres are frequently conceptualised as that which the dominant sphere is not. This limits the political debate to arguments for and against any given issue, thereby excluding many less powerful dissenting voices. I will therefore attempt to use Deleuze and Guattari's ideas to develop what I would call a more networked understanding of 'the

public sphere' and focus upon the ways in which political ideas and discourses can travel through the complex system of connections which both bind and separate the margins and the mainstream.

Given the emphasis these pages have placed upon fluidity and flux there are clearly a number of problems inherent in attempting to tabularise a rhizomatic conceptualisation of the public sphere. Indeed the desire for a clear and unequivocal visual representation necessary stills and settles many of the ambiguous qualities which define smooth space. The table below nevertheless offers a visual interpretation of the way in which protest collations occupy an in-the-middle space within a postmodern public sphere. As such it may provide a useful, albeit limited, point of comparison with the four fold structure laid out at the very start of this chapter.
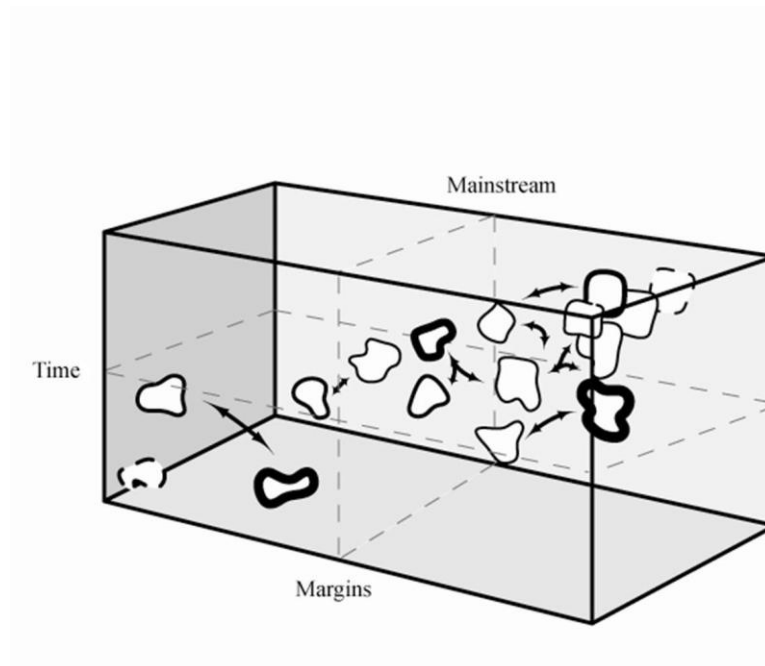
The amorphous shapes spreading between and across the grid represent the movement of individual protest organisations as they expand, interact and coalesce into perpetually shifting protest coalitions. The arrows between each protest groups represent the flow of ideas, activists and strategies across protest organisations and over time. They too are in flux and, like the fulled fibres of felt spread across different socialist anarchist spaces. In

this way, different protest organisations are assembled and re-assembled into an ever shifting entanglement of patchworked shreds.

While the resulting coalition movements are coherent it is important to note that they continue to be characterised by flux as well as by overlap. While some organisations remain determinedly beyond the mainstream, others attempt to preserve their organisational differences as they move towards the mainstream. Other groupings become distinctly less rhizomatic as they attempt to accommodate and adapt to the more arborescently organised mainstream spaces which surround them. The boundaries between these organisations and the mainstream may fade in such a way that they eventually become the mainstream.

Tabularising the movement of protest coalitions from the margins to the mainstream inevitably highlights the disjuncture which is an inevitable consequence of attempting to combine such different theoretical and empirical traditions. However, it also foregrounds some of the benefits to be derived from placing these problems at the centre of one's work. I would argue that the most significant of these benefits lies in the way in which the continued connection with more classical conceptualisations of the public sphere enables one to preserve and extend the aspirational ideals of the Enlightenment tradition. For as Lovatt and Purkis point out,

> The postmodern celebration of the popular and the lowbrow means very little if it is done as though such phenomena were interesting only as lifestyle and not linked into a capitalist power matrix. (1996, p.257)

The notion of a boundary between the public and the private, the real and the unreal, the reasoned and the impassioned depends upon 'contrast and opposition' (Hartley, 1996, p.78). As has been discussed, such distinctions play a central role in the construction and development of classical models of the liberal bourgeois public sphere. However I would argue that a postmodern in-the-middle position also depends upon the implicit existence of such definable boundaries. Without these external parameters an in-the-middle position unravels and simply becomes a position in which the 'fabric of the rhizome', which

Deleuze and Guattari maintain is constituted by the 'conjunction and…and…and' (2004, p.27), has been replaced by the treelike verb to be.

Chapter Two
Methodologies

Unravelling the threads

- Rhizomatic stories, Arborescent structures

Redefinition and Negotiation

- Textual Spaces
- Actual Spaces

Problems and Dilemmas

- Building and establishing rapport
- The academic/activist divide

Alternative Truths

Unravelling the threads

*If on the one hand he actualises only a few of the possibilities fixed by
the constructed order (he goes only here and not there), on the other he
increases the number of possibilities (for example, by creating shortcuts
and detours) and prohibitions (for example, he forbids himself to take
paths generally considered accessible or even obligatory) He thus makes
a selection. 'The user of a city picks out certain fragments of a statement
in order to actualise them in secret'.*
 De Certeau, 1984, p.98

As discussed in the previous chapter my approach sits between various, very different theoretical fields. As such it is part of a wider trend within academia which aims to challenge, without dismissing, the boundaries which underpin modernist thinking. This position seeks to recognise, and even embrace, the changes wrought by the fracturing processes of globalisation, whilst also being reluctant to abandon the notion of a participatory and aspirational politics more commonly associated with the Enlightenment period. This awkwardly 'in the middle' position requires a methodological flexibility which moves away from what Foley and Valenzuela describe as the 'notion of an objective social sciences that produce value free ethnographies' (2005, p.217) and towards an understanding which 'stresses the value of the lived experience' (Lovatt and Purkis, 1996, p.264).

Andy Lovatt and Jonathan Purkis' article *Shouting in the Street: Popular Culture, Values and the new Ethnography* explores some of the implications raised by this position which are of particular relevance to this thesis. They point out that ethnographical research has historically been concerned with producing scientific data in order to contribute to the progress of society as a whole and go on to discuss the way in which the work of the 'classical anthropological ethnographer' (1996, p.257) has traditionally been imbued with a sense of the exotic and far away. However they argue that the clearly demarcated boundaries between the ethnographer and the 'other' are being evaporated by economic and social changes in both academia and the wider media environment. Thus they maintain that contemporary research is increasingly being undertaken by young academics whose

intellectual engagement with the field is preceded by a more autobiographical involvement. They ask

> In such circumstances, the role of ethnographic researcher becomes problematic, both in terms of their 'tactics' and their identity – for example, are they a fan, an interpreter, a researcher, an essayist or all four? (1996, p.250)

In an attempt to resolve these issues they propose a new ethnographical approach which foregrounds values as well as facts in such a way as to better reflect 'the uncertainties of contemporary cultural developments' (1996, p.252).

This new ethnographical approach is particularly concerned with what they describe as 'the background noise of the practice of everyday life' (1996, p.263). Within this context they are at pains to foreground the 'web of connections, tactics and identities' (Lee-Treweeck and Linkogle, 2000. p.56) which comprise the ethnographic process and compose a 'thousand little stories' (Deleuze and Guattari cited in Lovatt and Purkis, 1996, p.264). In doing so they go on to recognise and highlight the place of story-telling in popular cultural research and the ways in which stories constitute the 'rhizomatic, ephemeral cultures of the contemporary urban milieux' (1996, p.264). In many ways this thesis is just such a cluster of inter-related and overlapping stories. They have been gathered from the activists and ex-activists, lawyers and journalists, newspapers, newssheets and newswires, and create an entangled mass of narrative lines which both complement and contradict each other.

Stories do not simply reflect the unfolding of events, they constitute the construction of political reality (Lovatt and Purkis, 1996). Lovatt and Purkis argue with de Certeau that 'story telling and story writing is not a substitute for reality' a mere theoretical or methodological move in the game but a way in which one can meaningfully contest hegemonic meanings and so 'create space out of place'' (1996, p.226). This view of story-telling has much in common with Boje's notion of the antenarrative as a messy, subterranean, highly interactive activity which constitutes and constructs 'evolving and shifting prestory connections' (2003, p.87). This is a position which echoes Deleuze and

Guattari's notion of the rhizome and smooth spaces of ephemeral becoming and, as such, it is of particular relevance to this thesis.

In this chapter I hope to unravel some of these narrative threads and to examine the ways in which stories are told within and between coalition movements. I also wish to explore the way in which these protest stories travel (some might say stagger!) towards the academic mainstream. Consequently I have traced the movement of stories from one type of alternative space to another as well as from activists' spaces to mainstream spaces. I have also tried to explore the ways in which the same space, whether they are discussion spaces or demonstration spaces, can be told differently. However in the process of collecting and then arranging these fragments of experience I have inevitably constructed my own story and in doing so I have inevitably defined, framed and stilled, what was and still is, an ever changing political terrain.

The stories within these pages have been gathered in many different ways. As such they are an attempt to assemble a rhizomatic patchwork of insights which constitute a broadly ethnographic account the ways in which protest coalitions communicate with both themselves and the mainstream. In doing so I have followed Hammersley and Atkinson who purposely refrain from making a 'hard and fast distinction between ethnography and other sorts of qualitative inquiry' (1995 p.2). Thus while I have used traditionally ethnographic approaches such as participant observation and interviews I have also utilised a multiplicity of other techniques. For example, I have teased out the narrative strands which constitute the communicative strategies of protest coalition movements through a textual analysis of the alternative media they produce, through an examination of activists online and offline discourses and through an exploration of the ways in which they have been represented by both alternative and mainstream new sources. Utilising a multiplicity of methodological procedures in this way enables one to construct a fuller and more textured understanding of the cultural terrain occupied by both coalition activists and mainstream journalists.

Rhizomatic Stories, Arborescent structures

The first section of this chapter will use the city as metaphor to reflect on the relationship between researching for and then writing up, a thesis. The second section will examine the way in which the stories for each chapter were gathered, while the third will explore the issues and problems surrounding the processes of participant observation in more detail. This section will focus in particular on the difficulties inherent in establishing interviewer/interviewee rapport and the ways in which my role as an activist and an academic both contributed and impeded the development of that rapport. However before going on to discuss the methodological tools that I have utilised in this thesis I would like to pause for a moment in order to reflect upon a metaphor which has been central to its construction.

In *The Practice of Everyday Life* de Certeau describes standing at the top of the World Trade Centre and gazing on Manhattan spread out below. According to de Certeau the city seen from above 'provides a way of conceiving and constructing space on the basis of a finite number of stable, isolatable and interconnected properties' (1984, p.94). In other words, it imposes order upon the 'ordinary practitioners' who live 'below the thresholds at which visibility begins' (1984, p.93). De Certeau likens himself to Icarus and describes the way in which the doomed boy's flight turned him into an all seeing, all knowing 'solar Eye' and writes

> His elevation transfigures him into a voyeur; it puts him at a distance. It transforms the bewitching world by which one was 'possessed' into a text that lies before one's eyes. It allows one to read it, to be a solar eye looking down like a God. (1984, p.92)

However de Certeau is also careful to point out that this understanding of the city is a pleasurable 'misunderstanding' (1984, p.93) of the moving network which constitutes city spaces. Moreover he suggests that by relinquishing the privileges offered by the solar eye and 'stepping in through proportions, sequences, and intensities which vary according to the time, the path taken and the walker' (2004, p99) one can immerse oneself within a

differently experienced city space. This requires one to adopt a far more uncomfortable in-the-middle position which entangles and enmeshes the walker within the 'murky intertwining daily behaviours' of city dwellers (1984, p.93).

In this analysis de Certeau draws a parallel between walking and reading. Thus he argues that this 'elevation transfigures him into a voyeur' enabling him to read the city as if it were a text, 'to be a solar eye looking down like a God' (1984, p.92). He contrasts this clear and all powerful position with that of being enmeshed in the 'murky intertwining daily behaviours' of the proliferating inhabitants below. Thus he argues that city dwellers exist 'below the thresholds at which visibility begins' (1984, p.93). He goes on to suggest that their entangled routes through the urban landscape constitute an 'intertwining unrecognised poem in which each body is an element signed by many others' but which elude legibility (de Certeau, 1984, p.93).

I would suggest that this notion of an elevated and God-like position is a particularly helpful way of thinking about how we experience the construction of both urban and textual public spaces. The city as a text viewed from above but experienced from within structures many aspects of this thesis and is synthesised with an analogous distinction between arborescent and rhizomatic thought. Arborescent thought has been described as 'taking a god's eye view of things' while rhizomatic thought has been described as requiring one to look at the world 'from the ground up' (Gilbert, 2008, p.145). These different ways of seeing are used implicitly in chapter three as a way of focusing on mainstream representations of polyvocal dissent and activist articulations of polyvocal dissent. Chapter four draws on the parallels de Certeau makes between traversing textual space and actual space when he asserts that the 'act of walking is to the urban city what the speech act is to language' (1998, p.97). This topological view is developed further in chapter five which analyses the ways in which protesters' occupation of the city can be read as a contest between rhizomatic and arborescent structures, smooth and striated spaces.

However, before going on to examine the methodological procedures undertaken in these chapter, I would like to reflect upon the ways in which the tensions inherent in these two different ways of reading the city (and reading a text[28]) have been oddly replicated in my experience of researching and then writing a thesis. It seems to me that the process of research requires one to adopt a rhizomatically in-the-middle position which acknowledges the historical specificity of one's position, while the process of writing up demands one to step up and out into more overarching and arborescent ways of thinking. In this way the critical ethnographic approach which I utilise attempts to combine 'universal theoretical knowledge with local practical knowledge' (Foley and Valenzuela, 2005, p.217).

As Hammersley and Atkinson point out in *Ethnography: principles in practice* ethnographic research of the type conducted in this thesis cannot be planned in advance or pre-programmed because its 'practice is replete with the unexpected' (1995, p.28). Unexpected events have unsettled and sometimes even altered the routes my research has taken. For example the attack on the World Trade Centre in 2001 required me to extend my research focus to include the advent of the anti-war movement. Similarly, issues and events which initially appeared to be central to the development of this thesis were revealed, over time, to be less important. For example, I anticipated finding that the internet was central to the definition and organisation of coalition protest movements, but found technological innovations to be largely tangential to the developing articulation of polyvocal dissent.

The research process has therefore unfolded haphazardly and as such, it has refused to progress through the ordered system of points and deadlines laid out in my research plan. Indeed I would suggest that this thesis has developed rhizomatically by 'variation, expansion, conquest, capture and offshoots' (Deleuze and Guattari, 2004, p.23) and it has come into being unevenly. Its constitutive elements have not been deployed and then set aside, instead they echo back and forth across the chapters. Quotes re-appear in different contexts, themes re-emerge with a different emphasis in such a way as to run across chapter boundaries. This is an approach utilised by Deleuze and Guattari in *A Thousand Plateaus*

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[28] This is a theme which runs through out the thesis and will be returned to most explicitly in chapters four and five.

and, as Massumi points out, while some might call their style repetitious, 'Deleuze and Guattari call it a refrain' (2004, p.xv). In an attempt to foreground these cross-chapter connections I have used the in-between spaces offered by footnotes as a way of foregrounding the narrative themes which interlink different textual spaces.

These in-between spaces are of central importance to this thesis, they are the spaces which both separate and connect its many disparate elements. In *Orality and Literacy* Ong maintains that 'speech and thought always exist essentially in a context of give and take between real persons' (Ong 1982, p.79). In other words, they exist in the spaces in between reading and writing, the first draft and the second, this chapter and that chapter. I would argue that this sense of conjunctions and fluidity characterises much of the research and early writing up period. Like handwritten manuscripts, unpublished drafts are 'in dialogue with the world outside their own borders' (Ong, 1982, p.132). They are smooth spaces constantly fluxing and adapting to external influences which, like the glosses or marginal comments of pre-print manuscripts, frequently get 'worked into the text in subsequent copies' (Ong, 1982, p.132). Ong goes on to argue that

> Writing fosters abstractions that disengage knowledge from the arena where human beings struggle with one and other. It separates the knower from the known. By keeping knowledge embedded in the human lifeworld, orality situates knowledge within the context of struggle. (1982, p.43)

Thus, while the move from research to writing is a prerequisite element of completing a thesis, it also requires one to sacrifice the sense of intimacy and accountability encountered in the research period.

De Certeau's description of the way in which city walkers' 'intertwined paths give shape to city spaces' (1984, p.97) echoes the ways in which my research encounters, conducted below the threshold of visibility, inevitably construct and give shape to the finished text as it is viewed by an 'elevated' and all powerful reader. In contrast to researching this thesis, the writing up phase demands 'a sense of closure, a sense that what is found in the text has

been finalised, has reached a state of completion' (Ong, 1982, p.132)[29]. In this way, one is required to move from a thinking space characterised by embeddedness, multiplicity and flow and towards one which privileges a single, coherent and unified narrative structure. Thus the open-endedness of a smooth research space must ultimately be 'translated and traversed' (Deleuze and Guattari, 2004, p.524) into the far more striated form of a doctoral thesis.

I feel that it is important to acknowledge that by picking out 'certain fragments' (de Certeau, 1984, p98) of the terrain and exposing them to an extended and rigorous analysis I inevitably unravel the tangled 'poem' constituted by the multiplicity of agitational activities I have encountered. I clean up the ambiguities and contradictions inherent in their intertwining behaviours and replace them with a single, coherent, unified academic narrative. Deleuze and Guattari point out that this sort of translation is a complex process which 'undoubtedly consists in subjugating, overcoding, metricizing smooth space'; however they go on to argue that such a process also creates a 'milieu of propagation, extension, refraction and renewal' (2004, p.536). Thus, while one may sometimes resent the 'severe distortion' imposed by linearity (Rosello, 1994, p.139) one must also embrace that 'good trick' of speaking from an omnipotent standpoint' (Foley and Valenzuela, 2005, p.218).

Redefinition and Negotiation

> *But settings are not naturally occurring phenomena, they are constituted and maintained through cultural definition and social strategies. Their boundaries are not fixed but shift across occasions, to one degree or another, through processes of redefinition and negotiation.*
> Hammersley and Atkinson, 1995, p.43

Hammersley and Atkinson point out the importance of remembering that 'the process of identifying and defining the case study proceeds side by side with the refinement of the research and the development of the theory' (1995, p.43). This has certainly been the case

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[29] The political implications raised by the relationship between walking and searching will be developed further in chapter four of this thesis.

in this instance and the research methods outlined below are ones which have unfolded and evolved over a period of years. I have been methodologically inspired by Hartley's explicit rejection of what he describes as a 'spurious unity or comprehensiveness in favour of a methodological approach which includes 'documentary, forensic, historical, argumentative, metaphorical and textual' (1996, p.6). Following Amad, Hartley describes this approach as 'theory shopping' (Amad, 1994, p.13) but is careful to point out that such a methodological approach should not be confused with an 'anything goes postmodernism' arguing that it should be understood as 'a scrupulous and responsible (albeit exciting and purposeful) model of intellectual work' (1996, p.7).

Textual Spaces

I begin by exploring the ways in which organisational systems impact upon textual spaces. This strand is underpinned by an analysis of four news sources from the radical left: *The Socialist Worker, Indymedia, Circus Free* and *The Greenham Factor*. Hammersley and Atkinson maintain that 'the problem of obtaining access to the data one needs looms large in ethnography' (1995, p.54). I would argue that the same can be said of accessing textual data. Thus while anyone can, in principle, access texts which have appeared in the public domain, in practice one tends to encounter a series of obstacles. Moreover, these obstacles and the means of overcoming them frequently highlight and reveal issues of wider methodological and theoretical relevance.

This viewpoint can be illustrated by briefly examining the obstacles which I encountered (or indeed failed to encounter) in accessing the texts analysed in chapter three. *Socialist Worker* is produced by the Socialist Workers Party and is supported by a formalised and permanent system of production and distribution which has enabled it to endure over the decades. Thus the paper can be obtained weekly by subscription for £4.50 a month. Subscribers are also encouraged to obtain additional copies at no extra cost and sell them on to family, friends and colleagues. Copies can also be bought on an individual basis from street sellers and from some independent retailers. Thus while there are some geographical

locations in which accessing the *Socialist Worker* remains problematic, it is relatively easy to access current issues of the publications.

Any lingering distribution problems have been addressed by the fact that the weekly newspaper is now accessible in PDF format on the internet. At the time of writing, the *Socialist Workers* searchable online archive currently goes back as far as 1993 and is constantly being extended. *Indymedia*'s existence on the internet creates a similarly centralised archive of materials which enables activists (and academics) to utilise search engines which collapse the boundaries of both space and time and so circumvent the problem of access. Moreover, I would argue that it is the accessibility of *Indymedia*'s online archive which has prompted much of the academic interest in alternative news sources and may have contributed to the elision between alternative media and computer-mediated technologies which characterises much of the research of the mid to late 1990s[30].

In contrast, I would suggest that print publications which precede the internet are still peculiarly difficult to access. Protest organisations rooted in a socialist anarchist tradition tend to be characterised by a 'culture of immediacy' (McKay, 1998, p.13) which makes them both structurally and temporally ephemeral. Consequently, material produced by them is seldom held centrally and tends to become fragmented as the individual(s) actively involved in its production drift away. For example the Save Omar[31] campaigns retrospective exhibition *Rattling the Cage* did not include any of the scripts utilised by the campaign because their author had simply thrown them away. The dissipation of such publications exacerbates the sense of temporal and spatial distance between the researcher and the object of research. This tends to conceal and remove issues which could, if they were more fully examined, be of substantive significance.

This elusiveness of pre-internet alternative media forms can be illustrated by the ways in which I came across *The Greenham Factor* and *Circus Free*. I stumbled upon *The*

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[30] This is a discussion which will be developed at far greater length in chapter three of this thesis.

[31] The Save Omar group is an organisation which campaigned for the release of a Brighton resident from Guantanamo Bay. It is discussed extensively on chapter five of this thesis.

Greenham Factor completely by chance while trying to track down an entirely unconnected publication in Sussex University Library. It is the single occupant of a document box labelled 'Greenham Women' and staff have been unable to offer any explanation as to how it came to be in the library. It has been withdrawn from the library on only six occasions in the last nine years and three of those withdrawals were made by me. Since chancing upon *The Greenham Factor* I have found that copies are also held by The Women's Library and The Fraser Nuclear Disarmament Collection. However they are buried deep in the small print of their records and so in order to access *The Greenham Factor* one would have to be forearmed with the knowledge of its existence.

The collection of *Circus Free* newssheets was accessed in a similarly unexpected fashion. They were given to me by a friend who had been active in the Leeds free party scene towards the end of the 1980s. She was clearing out her loft and found them at the bottom of a box of ephemera. She had intended to throw them away but called on the off chance that they might be of interest to me. In this way texts which lay forgotten on the cultural and political margins moved into the academic mainstream and rubbish became archive! These access routes are oddly idiosyncratic and would seem to support Downing's assertion that material from a socialist anarchist tradition tends to be 'accessible only in dusty back numbers of forgotten publications and in oral history interviews with aged political veterans (Downing, 2002, p.252).

As discussed the ephemeral nature of publications from a socialist anarchist tradition make it peculiarly difficult to situate these newssheets in relation to other similar publications of the period. While I happened to chance upon *Circus Free* and *Greenham Factor,* I chose to develop these encounters because the anti-criminal justice movement and the peace movement seem to exemplify the emergence of coalition protest movements and can therefore be read as precursors to the anti-globalisation and anti-war movements discussed in chapters four and five. This connection is important because while the chapters in this thesis are inevitably situated within specific political (and technological) moments, the thesis as a whole is attempting to comment on the communicative strategies of coalition movements as a broader political entity.

Having gathered together these newssheets I examined the ways in which the organisational and editorial structures of the protest group in question impacted upon the texts as they appeared on the page. The organisational development of the Socialist Workers' Party, the Women's Movement and the Independent Media Centre are all well documented (Allen, 1985, Downing 2001, Eglin, 1987). This information was supplemented by an unstructured interview with Rebecca Tanyar, one of the founders of the Babble Collective, in which we spoke about the editorial systems and structures which shaped the pages of *Circus Free*. I then conducted a textual analysis of copies/pages of *Indymedia, Circus Free* and *The Greenham Factor* with particular reference to the textual spaces in which members of the public could articulate their own issues and concerns. Consequently I focused in detail on the letters page in the *Socialist Worker*, reader's contributions in *Circus Free* and *The Greenham Factor* and 'comments' and 'additions' in the pages of *Indymedia.*

Actual Spaces

As my research progressed I moved away from analysing the textual spaces produced by different alternative media forms and began to examine the actual spaces of resistance constituted by mass demonstrations. I began by focusing on a traditionally structured demonstration organised annually by the Greater London Authority Trade Union Council, comparing it with an alternatively organised demonstration called by Reclaim the Streets in 1999. I chose to focus on these demonstrations in particular because Mayday has historically been set aside as an international day of solidarity amongst workers since the US Federation of Organized Labour and Unions called for an eight hour working day in the late 1800's[32]. The Greater London Authority Trade Union Council demonstration is very clearly rooted in this tradition whilst the Reclaim the Streets' Carnival against Capitalism offers an alternative articulation of proletarian solidarity. Moreover Carnival against

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[32] The origins of mayday can of course be traced further back a time when the 1st May was a pagan celebration of spring. Mayday's association with working class resistance is probably rooted in the Catholic church's attempts to outlaw the celebration towards the end of the 17th century

Capitalism acted as a precursor, both ideologically and methodologically, to the silent swell of the anti-globalisation movement.

I approach these demonstrations as texts and begin by 'reading[33]' these demonstrations as one would read a text in order to reveal and examine the underlying power structures between different protest elements and between the entire protest and governmental authorities. I develop this methodological framework further by going on to explore the eruption in the late 90s of globalised coalition protests on the streets of Seattle, Washington, Gothenburg and Genoa. I examine some of the more confrontational protest repertoires deployed by anti-globalisation activists and reflect upon the ways in which the anti-globalisation movement negotiated their occupation of mainstream urban spaces. Thus chapter four focuses on the way in which affinity groupings[34] are used by protesters as a mechanism to facilitate the internal expression of both solidarity and difference.

The material in this chapter is gleaned from the online and offline activist discourses which surrounded the demonstrations under investigation. The research was conducted as events unfolded and the data taken from activist websites such as *Indymedia, Reclaim the Streets* and *Alternet*. These sites became spaces for withdrawal and regroupment in which activist could (and did) 'formulate oppositional interpretations of their identities, interests and needs' (Fraser, 1990, p.68). As such it was possible to 'listen in' on key debates as they were discussed and developed. For example, the notions of *hamas* and *hamoq* were first discussed by George Monbiot in the *Guardian* and quickly spread across alternative sites as activists debated, contested and redefined these categorisations. In this way it was possible to trace the flux and flow of ideas between differently orientated protest clusters. This chapter also draws on some of the many activist authored books which appeared in the years after the demonstrations.

The last phase of this research project was undertaken in the years following the attack on the World Trade Centre and the subsequent invasion of Afghanistan and Iraq. It examines

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[33] The relationship between reading texts and reading cities is discussed in detail on pages 77-79
[34] Affinity groupings are collections of like minded protesters and are discussed on pages 169-177

the myriad of localised campaigns which, like the anti-globalisation movement, have sought 'local solutions to globally produced problems' (Bauman, 2004, p.6). It reflects in particular on Brighton and Hove's anti-war movements and its attempts to maintain and extend localised protest spaces in the inhospitable political environment created by the polarised rhetoric of the Bush administration's global 'war on terror'. I chose to focus on Brighton because its anti-war movement is characterised by two particularly vibrant, localised responses to the American-led 'war on Terror'. Save Omar which is a civil rights/humanitarian group which campaigned successfully for the release of Brighton resident Omar Deghayes from Guantanamo Bay and Smash EDO which is an anarchist/autonomous pressure group campaigning for the closure of a factory run by EDO MBM[35] which produces trigger mechanisms for the Paveway bomb system.

Whereas chapters three and four were characterised by a spatial and temporal distance, the research process for chapter five was defined by what I would describe as a sense of closeness or proximity. This sense has manifested itself in a number of ways. Firstly, the temporal proximity of the anti-war movement means that, unlike the protest stories of the eighties and nineties, anti-war narratives are still in a state of historical flux. Secondly the spatial closeness of Save Omar and Smash EDO means that the scarcity of material discussed in relation to chapters three and four, is replaced by an easily accessible abundance of rhizomatic and sometimes highly contradictory activity. Consequently the themes under discussion in chapter five are constantly being redefined, and so negotiating a route through the field has been a complex and occasionally rather fraught process.

This chapter is rooted in an analysis of alternative and mainstream coverage, participant observation of public demonstrations and interviews with activists and journalists. It is important to note that some of this material does not appear on the pages of this thesis. As has been discussed previously, the process of writing a thesis requires one to move from an enmeshed 'in the middle' position to one which privileges the overarching narrative of the stories being told. As a consequence of this movement much of the data that has been

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[35] EDO MBM were a subsidiary EDO Corporation. EDO corporations was a US based arms multinational. EDO corporation was bought by ITT Defence and Electronic Services in 2007. For further information please see http://www.mbmtech.co.uk/ and http://www.defense.itt.com/

gathered during the research process must sadly be set aside. However while this material may not appear explicitly, one should remember that it has never-the-less informed the structure of the arguments set out in the pages below. After all, debate in the academic sphere is, like debate in the public sphere, shaped by exclusion as well as by inclusion.

As acknowledged at the start of this thesis, this project was inspired by my own experiences as an activist. Consequently while I have not been personally involved with either the Save Omar or the Smash EDO campaign, I am politically sympathetic to both organisations and am generally familiar with the political milieu which they occupy. However I was anxious that my 'intellectual engagement' (Lovatt and Purkis, 1996, p. 250) with the field should not be clouded by things I mistakenly thought I knew! I therefore began the research process by examining the alternative and mainstream coverage of Brighton and Hove's anti-war movement.

Firstly I examined the websites produced by the groups involved and mapped the ways in which different organisations were both separated from and connected to each other. This involved following online links and offline references in order to create a 'genealogy' of Brighton and Hove's anti-war movement. This enabled me to confirm the suitability of Save Omar and Smash EDO as a research focus. I also pieced together a timeline of events and debates by examining the online and offline archives of alternative media sources, such as *Indymedia South Coast* and *Schnews*, as well as mainstream media organisations, such as *The Brighton and Hove Argus* and *BBC South Today*. I did this by utilising the search engines of individual organisations using the terms 'Save Omar' and 'Brighton' and 'Smash EDO' and 'Brighton'. During this process I tried to develop a more textured understanding of the ways in which Brighton and Hove's anti-war movement was represented by 'the media'. For example I made a note of particular names and/or locations which appeared in 'the media' and attempted to trace their route through emerging narratives. Finally I looked briefly at which, if any, of the localised frames went on to appear in the pages of the national press.

Having done my best to establish the 'facts' which structure the narratives constituted by the Save Omar and Smash EDO campaigns, I went on to develop a sense of the values which underpinned the activists' every day experience of the campaigns. I attended numerous (but by no means all) of the public meetings called by Save Omar, Smash EDO and Sussex Action for Peace. These have either taken place in public halls such as the Quaker meeting house and the Arts Centre in central Brighton or on the streets of Brighton and Hove. I also observed various public events and demonstrations. These included rallies, 'die ins' at the local shopping centre, outdoor performances of *Air Guantanamo*[36] and ceremonies at which the names of the dead were read. The most significant of these were a Smash EDO demonstration which took place in the summer of 2006 and a coalition demonstration which took place in the spring of the following year.

On some of these occasions I took notes as event unfolded. For example, during meetings at which individual activists presented information to the wider group it was possible to take notes unobtrusively. However on many occasions note taking was inappropriate, for example it would have been unseemly to be scribbling away in my note book during the naming of the dead ceremonies. On other occasions, such as the more rowdy street demonstrations, note taking was physically impossible. Consequently, I generally wrote up my field notes immediately after each meeting/event/demonstration. The majority of these field notes broadened my understanding of the cultural and social context within which further analysis could be situated. However, notes taken after events, such as the 2006 and 2007 demonstrations were used more exhaustively and have been expanded to become a key element of this thesis.

As time passed, I found myself limiting my attendance at smaller meetings and events because it became increasingly difficult to maintain a sense of critical distance. Small acts of courtesy, such as helping an activist carry a table, would drift almost imperceptibly into slightly larger ones such as pinning up a poster which would merge almost seamlessly into handing out leaflets and talking to the public. In short my role as an academic was in

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[36] *Air Guantanamo* is a piece of street theatre which highlights the processes of extraordinary rendition by parodying the safety information given by commercial airlines before take-off.

constant danger of dissolving into that of an activist, observing was always on the brink of metamorphosing into campaigning. The following section will therefore focus in more detail on the issues raised by the interview process in general and the difficulties I experienced in maintaining the academic/activist distinction in particular.

Problems and Dilemmas

Once people come to know the researcher as a person who can be trusted to be discrete in handling information within the setting, and who will honour his or her promise of anonymity in publications, access may well be granted that earlier would have been refused point blank
Hammersley and Atkinson , 1995, p.71

Over four years I formally interviewed representatives from all the organisations under consideration. I conducted seven semi structured interviews (interviewee details can be found in appendix one while a copy of the interview guide used for all these interviews can be found in appendix two), I also talked informally and extensively to activists from Save Omar, Smash EDO, Sussex Action For Peace and non-aligned individuals who are more passingly involved with the anti-war movement in Brighton and Hove. I began by compiling a list of activists whose names appeared in either the alternative or mainstream mediated narratives of the Brighton and Hove anti-war movement. Over the course of the research period, and as rapport developed, I approached these individuals and asked if they would consent to being interviewed. During these interviews, interviewees frequently named other activists who they felt could contribute to my investigations. As a result of these interviews further activist interviewees were suggested. In this way I utilised both a purposive strategies and snowball sampling techniques.

I also spoke to and/or formally interviewed various non-activist observers. The most significant of these were the interviews I conducted with journalists from the *Brighton and Hove Argus.* These journalists were selected because their names regularly appeared in the by line of articles covering Brighton and Hove's anti-war movement in general and the Save Omar Campaign in particular. (A copy of the interview guide for journalists can be found in appendix three.) During the course of the research period I also interviewed a

sympathetic member of the legal profession and a samba master. These encounters were the result of opportune moments and were therefore entirely unstructured. The only organisational group I did not approach, either formally or informally, is the Sussex Police. This is because to have done so would have seriously jeopardised my research relationship with some activist groupings.

In an attempt to impose some sort of narrative order upon the mass of information acquired during these encounters I decided to utilise what Foley and Valenzuela describe as a 'new, more reflexive' ethnographical approach. This approach has much in common with Lovatt and Purkis' position and foregrounds 'the intense self-other interaction that usually marks field work and mediates the production of ethnographic narrative' (Foley and Valenzuela, 2005, p.218). The first part of this section will therefore focus on the obstacles I encountered in establishing a rapport with Brighton and Hove's anti-war activists, while the second part will reflect upon the problems raised by my position as an academic within a field of activists.

According to the influential ethnographer James Spradely, rapport is of primary importance in establishing productive interviewer/interviewee relations. Spradely maintains that there are four stages involved in establishing rapport. First there is a period of apprehension during which the interviewer asks broadly descriptive questions in order to introduce and define the areas which are of particular interest to him/her. This is followed by a stage in which rapport is established and these areas are further explored and developed by the interviewer and interviewee. By the third stage it is hoped that both parties have established an atmosphere of mutual co-operation and know what to expect from each other and from the interview process. The final stage is described by Spradely as 'participation' and is characterised by 'heightened sense of co-operation and full participation in the research' (1979, p83). I hope to use these four stages as a means of reflecting upon the ways in which my methodological approach developed over the research period.

<u>Establishing and Developing Rapport</u>

In the planning stages of this thesis I anticipated that the Save Omar campaign's emphasis on building public support and lobbying parliament would mean that activists would be accustomed to explaining the aims and objectives of their organisation to interested outsiders. Moreover, I predicted that as a well-educated, middle class woman in her mid thirties, I would have few problems 'blending in' (May, 1997, p.115) with activists from the Save Omar campaign who also tended to be slightly older and from a similar educational and social background. However, I suspected that this would not be the case with the Smash EDO campaign whose most prominent members were young men still free enough to run the risk of arrest. I was therefore a little anxious about my ability to develop a colloquial and/or intimate working relationship with activists from Smash EDO.

Initially I intended to approach Sussex Action for Peace, Save Omar and Smash EDO in exactly the same way in the hope that a uniform approach would minimise the possibility of my presence influencing 'the behaviour of the people under study' (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1995, p.71). Save Omar and Smash EDO both stem from a socialist anarchist tradition and have adopted organisational systems which reject the adoption of formal roles. In the absence of a designated spokesperson or leader I planned to introduce myself and my research by e-mail. Having established contact I intended to send each group a copy of the same questionnaire which would introduce and define the areas of particularly interested to my research. I then intended to follow up these answers by taping a 'semi-structured interview' with a representative from each organisation.

I hoped that a semi-structured format would enable me to develop and redefine my focus whilst also creating a space in which interviewees could answer questions 'on their own terms' (May, 1997, p.110). Thus I hoped to be able to combine a number of generic questions such as 'who do you consider to be the primary target of your campaign?' or 'how would you describe your relationship with the *Brighton and Hove Argus*?' with more organisationally specific enquiries such as 'how did you organise the construction of a stone sculpture on Brighton beach?' or 'why do you choose not to inform the police of demonstration routes?'. In this way I hoped my questionnaires would balance the

commonly perceived tension between objectivity and subjectivity in such a way as to produce data which could be both independently developed and meaningfully compared.

However, it quickly became apparent that my pre-prepared methodological approach was unworkable. In the first instance I found that, I already knew several of the activists involved in the Save Omar campaign. Consequently I found myself quickly drawn in to a plethora of informal chats and exchanges with other members of the organisation. This rendered my introductory e-mail redundant and made the prospect of a formal questionnaire suddenly feel uncomfortable and inappropriate. I felt that pursing such a formal line of enquiry would place Save Omar activists at an awkward social distance and would impede rather than develop the establishment of interviewer/interviewee rapport.

Indeed I quickly became more concerned with the need to maintain a sense of critical distance and therefore invested a considerable amount of time and effort in attempting to distinguish my role as an academic. While I was keen not to interrupt or disturb the increasingly easy and colloquial nature of my research relationships I did feel the need to mark the boundary between general conversation and potential research encounters. I found that taking out my pen and note pad created a moment in which I could foreground my position as a researcher and double check the respondent's willingness to participate in research with an implicitly public dimension. Similarly, putting my things away clearly but unobtrusively signalled the move out of semi-formal conversation and back into everyday private chat.

Given the lack of autobiographical connections with Smash EDO I did initiate contact by e-mail which I followed with a questionnaire. However, while this proved to be a successful way of initiating contact it became apparent that a top down line of enquiry was going to be inappropriate. Smash EDO's emphasis on direct action means that while broad based support is desirable (and has the all important protective function which will be discussed at greater length in chapter five) it is not a prerequisite for action. Smash EDO activists are therefore frequently far less focused on communicating their political position to the wider public. Moreover, the need to preserve secrecy in the build up to actions which are legally

ambiguous, such as trespass, combined with the ever present threat of arrest means that activists from direct action campaigns tend to be 'cagey' rather than open (McKay, 1998, p.9).

This sense of caution can best be illustrated by commenting briefly on Smash EDO's reaction to being taped. Having responded to my e-mailed questionnaire, a 'spokesperson'[37] from Smash EDO agreed to discuss their answers further and an interview was arranged. I deliberately chose a very relaxed and informal setting and initially the respondent seemed happy to have the conversation recorded. However, when I asked a broadly descriptive and tentative question about the organisational hierarchy of the group, the interviewee immediately asked for the tape machine to be switched off. She went on to give a thoughtful and generous reply to the question so it was clearly the recording rather than the asking which had been problematic. As a result of this experience I realised that recording interviews in an environment in which some activists felt themselves to be under state surveillance was going to be problematic.

As my research progressed I quickly realised that in order to facilitate comfortable and functional organisational relationships with both Save Omar and Smash EDO, I would have to allow them to be flexible and primarily activist led. I therefore decided to abandon the 'straightjacket of predetermined questions and categories' (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1995, p.34) and adopt an approach advocated by Holstein and Gubrium which views interviews as 'interpretative active, meaning-making occasions' and data as 'unavoidably collaborative' (Holstein and Gubrium, 1995, p.112). This approach enabled me to move away from a position which sees respondents as some sort of 'vessel of objective knowledge' (Holstein and Gubrium, 1995, p.115) and towards a notion of an interview as a shared space in which activists could define the issues and themes which they perceived as important. I feel that this approach enabled me to redefine my questions as activist narratives changed in response to wider political events and to negotiate a route through the

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[37] It later transpired that this spokesperson, only existed in the virtual world. This is a scenario which will be discussed in detail in chapter five of this thesis.

field without jeopardising long-term research relationships with individuals and/or organisations.

Therefore I finally decided to limit myself to an analysis of conversations, meetings and events which took place in the public domain. On the rare occasions when I have utilised information gleaned from private conversations I have always obtained permission from the activist in question in advance. While I invariably took notes during conversations and meetings, I decided against using any recording devices. I also ensured that all names and identifying features were removed from the papers and articles which have been generated by this research. These decisions have enabled me to tread carefully around issues relating to confrontational actions, organisational responsibilities and documented proceedings which, in the light of ongoing police actions, could have been problematic. In these ways I have tried to protect both my interviewees and myself from accidentally straying in to potentially incriminating terrain.

<u>Academic/Activist distinction</u>

As discussed at the start of this chapter, the type of research undertaken in this thesis does not prioritise the notions commonly associated with positivist thinking. Consequently, rather than attempting to neutralise self-other interactions, it foregrounds their role in the production of academic narrative. According to this approach the researcher's role 'is bought into parallel with that of the people studied, as actively making sense of the world, yet without undermining the commitment of research to realism' (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1995, p.19). As such, the 'field worker's perceived identity' inevitably becomes of central significance (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1995, p.62). The following section will focus on the ways in which my role as an academic impacted on the ways in which Brighton and Hove anti-war activists communicated with both the mainstream and each other.

Spradely argues that a shared political or cultural perspective can erode the critical distance required of a researcher (1979). However I would argue that sharing a political perspective

has greatly facilitated the progress of this research project. Indeed I would suggest that an expression of political sympathy is almost a prerequisite for this type of enquiry. Had I been perceived as lacking in political sympathy – or worse still as hostile to the basic principles of the anti-war movement – then interviewer/interviewee rapport would have been much harder, perhaps even impossible, to establish. Moreover my personal experience of activism equipped me with the cultural capital required to successfully negotiate the field.

However there were two occasions when I was required to go beyond abstract expressions of political sympathy and actually step into the political arena. On both of these occasions my position as a sympathetic but distanced commentator became useful to the organisations I was observing. The first occasion was prompted by a hostile article by Daniel Foggo and Abul Taher which appeared in *The Times* ('Imam backs terror attack against Blair', *Times,* 18th July 2006). This article accused Abubaker Deghayes, Omar Deghayes' brother, of radicalising a local mosque and advocating terrorist acts against Tony Blair. Save Omar activists were particularly upset about this smear because, in the course of Abul Taher's investigation, the reporter had 'infiltrated' several Save Omar meetings. Save Omar activists had spoken freely to Taher, who had not revealed his identity as a journalist or his intention to write an article for the *Times*, and consequently felt partially responsible for the misrepresentation of Abubaker Deghayes. The following week I was asked to give a brief talk on both the journalistic practices involved in this type of exposé and on the potential avenues of redress available to the group.

The second occasion was prompted by a court action against one of Smash EDO's most prominent activists. As discussed previously, the relationship between Smash EDO and Brighton and Hove Police is not good. In 2005 EDO MBM brought a civil injunction against Smash EDO. This injunction was bought under section 3 of the Protection of Harassment Act and attempted to limit demonstrations to groups of less than ten, limit demonstrations to a period of less than two and half hours and ban the use of amplified sound. The injunction was eventually rejected by the courts (February 2006), but in the interim period the police adopted a particularly rigorous policing strategy which resulted in

a number of violent arrests. Protesters believed that the police were deliberately arresting and re-arresting certain individuals in an attempt to decapitate the – theoretically leaderless – organisation. The activist in question was arrested during a city centre demonstration and charged under section 12 of the Public Order Act with inciting others to fail to comply with conditions imposed on the protest. This is a serious offence which carries a possible prison sentence. Smash EDO knew that I had attended the demonstration in a professional capacity and I was therefore asked to stand as a witness for the defence.

On both these occasions I complied with activist requests. There was both an ethical and a practical dimension to this decision. My thesis springs from a desire to address the inequalities which exist between grassroots activists and mainstream structures and systems. In both instances my position as a sympathetic but distanced observer could clearly contribute to this end. In the case of Save Omar I could reassure activists who were shocked and, in some cases, a little intimidated by the hostility expressed towards them in the *Times*. In the case of Smash EDO my articulate and well-dressed presence in court prevented activists from being framed as violent and unprincipled trouble makers. Thus, whilst stepping into the field clearly affected the development of the events under observation, I felt that a refusal to participate would have been an abdication of my obligation as an active citizen to participate. I share this position with Hammersley and Atkinson who argue that 'Ethnographic research should be concerned not simply with understanding the world but with applying its findings to bring about change (1995, p,15).

These ethical issues were compounded by more pragmatic considerations. Had I refused these requests my research relationship with both organisations would undoubtedly have been damaged. Communicative barriers which I had invested a great deal of time in circumventing would have quickly been re-imposed, and the viability of the research project would almost certainly have been called into question. As it was, these small but public contributions to unfolding events reassured activists who were still uncertain about the validity of my role and therefore facilitated my engagement with both Save Omar and Smash EDO. This was particularly important in the case of Smash EDO and led to a situation where activists who had been acting as 'gatekeepers' to the wider organisation

became my 'sponsors' (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1995). As a result I was able to introduce topics which would previously have been difficult, if not impossible, to discuss.

However, while on these two occasions my status as a slightly distanced academic observer was perceived as contributing to the wider aims and objective of the anti-war movement, there was also one occasion when my position as an academic was perceived as a threat. In June 2007 I gave a paper on the ways in which the internet enables protest spaces and mainstream spaces to overlap. I illustrated these arguments with a supportive but academically critical analysis of Smash EDO's use of a virtual spokesperson[38]. Unfortunately the paper was briefly and mistakenly uploaded onto the internet by conference organisers. It was taken from the conference website (by persons unknown) and uploaded onto *Indymedia South Coast*. The unexpected appearance of this paper which was written for an academic audience in an activist forum made me look somehow duplicitous and prompted some Smash EDO protesters to denounce me online, as elitist and/or careerist.

While this situation was personally very distressing, it had surprisingly little impact on my network of research relationships. I would like to think that this is because a majority of activists recognised my critique of *Indymedia* as an open but occasionally slightly intolerant political forum. However I suspect that the lack of reaction was rooted in the fact that the constant flux and flow of activists in organisations as diffuse as Smash EDO make it difficult to build on previous exchanges. Consequently opinion tends to disperse very quickly. In this way the very factors which made establishing and developing rapport with Smash EDO activists difficult, served to protect me from the full force of some activists' disapproval.

Alternative Truths

...a search for alternative truth
Hetherington, 1998, p.118

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[38] The material which appeared in this paper can be found on pages 207-218.

As discussed in the beginning of this chapter, Lovatt and Purkis argue that in order to avoid 'objectifying meta theories of culture', it is sometimes necessary to put empathy on a level with explanation. There are of course potential problems with this approach. Indeed authorities as well-established as Habermas have maintained that the public sphere will inevitably be undermined by any form of discourse to which one 'does not respond by arguing but only by identifying' (1964, p.206). However I believe that, given the fluid and radically committed nature of both the subject matter and the wider theoretical context in which it is situated, a methodology which privileges the 'web of pre-existing historic or contemporary connection' (Lovatt and Purkis, 2000, p.260) is appropriate and has much to offer the field. I have therefore attempted to adopt an ethnographic approach which accommodates 'the expressive, the romantic and the local' (Hetherington, 1998, p.33) without entirely abandoning the communicative rationality favoured by Habermas.

Researching and then writing this thesis has been a journey through a terrain constructed by activist narratives. Hetherington's description of travelling as 'a search for alternative truth' (1998, p.118) implies that such a journey can have no predetermined destination and is therefore by definition an open ended search. The inevitable sense of doubt and uncertainty which accompanies such a search is identified by Patton who points out that the political philosophy of Deleuze and Guattari 'offers no guarantees: it is not a narrative of inevitable progress, nor does it offer the security of commitment to a single set of values against which progress can be judged' (2000, p.8). Despite the difficulties inherent in such a muddled and intertwined position there is also an important and counterbalancing sense of optimism and abundance.

Finally it is important to point out that the paths I have taken 'actualise only a few of the possibilities' (de Certeau, 1984, p.98) available to someone wishing to research the ways in which activists from protest coalitions communicate with themselves and the mainstream. The same elements could have been ordered and emphasised in such a way as to tell different story. There are research routes which remain unexplored, waiting for someone else to find and follow them into entirely unexpected directions and in doing so to create an alternative patchwork of truths.

Chapter Three
Technology, Ideology and Alternative Media

A networked uprising

Spaces of resistance

- Textual spaces
- The book and the page

Voyaging smoothly

- Becoming Smooth
- Polyvocal dissent

Walking the net

A Networked Uprising?

We are the network, all of us who speak and listen.
Subcomandante Marcos, 2001, p.125

At midnight on the 31st December 1993 the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) was ratified. In an attempt to create a second 'Mexican Miracle' certain economic sacrifices had been deemed necessary. To secure a 300 million dollar loan from the World Bank, the Mexican Government abolished Article 27 of the Constitution – a 'cherished legacy' of the 1920 revolution – which (theoretically at least) protected indigenous lands from national and international agribusiness. The Salinas Government also deregulated coffee prices and disbanded the state agencies responsible for assisting small growers. As a result the indigenous share of the market fell from 16% to 3.4% in a single year[39]. However, while the politicians in Mexico City were busy heralding in a new and profitable era, the Zapatista National Liberation Army (EZLN) was stealing down from the mountains and occupying key areas within the state of Chiapas. By morning they had declared six large cities and hundreds of farms to be autonomous free zones.

The Mexican army's response was entirely as expected – they immediately shelled the Chiapas mountainsides killing at least 145 indigenous people (Hansen and Civil, 2001, p.445). However, by the second week of January, it became clear that the military were not going to go on bombing and shooting until every last insurgent was dead. Within a fortnight a unilateral ceasefire had been declared and the Zapatistas withdrew victoriously back into the mountains. It may seem odd to view not being killed as a successful political outcome. However the Mexican government has a long history of brutally putting down indigenous uprisings. For example, the Party of the Poor's entire leadership, supporters and suspected supporters had either been shot or 'disappeared' twenty years earlier without particularly impacting on the national or international mainstream (Krøvel, 2008, not paginated). So what had happened? What made this uprising – and the many coalition uprisings that it has since inspired – so successful in comparison to those that came before?

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[39] The quotes and figures in this paragraph are taken from Ana Carrigan's (2201) afterword to *Our Word Is Our Weapon; Selected writings of Subcomandante insurgente Marcos*.

Many commentators in the global south have argued that the answer to this conundrum lies in organisations like the Zapatistas' use of new communication technologies (Castells, 1996, Olesen, 2004, Cleaver, 1998). When the government first denied and then dismissed the conflict, news of the uprising begun to disappear from the national papers. However activists' enthusiastic[40] use of alternative websites and mailing lists created an electronic 'lifeline' (Ponce de Leon, 2001, p.xxv) which prevented the story from dying. In this way the inflexible structures of both the government and the mainstream media were overwhelmed and overcome by rhizomatic forms of internet based communication. Consequently Krøvel maintains that the existence of news lists such as Chiapas-L forced the national press to realise that 'unless they reformed, they would [have] run the risk of becoming irrelevant' (Krøvel, 2008).

The implications raised by this use of the internet can be best illustrated by returning briefly to Doherty's work on environmental activism discussed above[41]. Doherty points out that the 'manufactured vulnerability' of protesters can be a useful tool in conflicts where the 'authorities are constrained by public opinion in their use of force' (2000, p.71). This was certainly the case in Chiapas. The ratification of NAFTA meant that Mexico was already in the global media spotlight. Subcomandante Marcos' use of the digitalised word enabled the Zapatistas to make use of this 'external public of onlookers' (Kant, 1991, p.183) and led to the mobilisation of mass demonstrations in Mexico City and across the rest of the world. The realisation that Mexico's international reputation was being seriously damaged forced the government to suspend its military campaign and embark upon peace talks. In this way the global gaze could be said to have protected local activists from some of the Mexican authorities' more punitive measures.

As a consequence of the Zapatistas' sophisticated use of such media strategies, the mainstream press began to position anti-globalisation movements within an increasingly

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[40] The term enthusiastic is being used here in a Kantian sense to describe the sympathetic 'attitude of the onlookers as it reveals itself in public' (1991, p.182). See page 58 for a more complete discussion of enthusiasm.

[41] See page 50 for a wider discussion of activist's use of a 'manufactured vulnerability'

technological narrative. For example by the beginning of January 1999 the *Guardian*'s environmental correspondent John Vidal referred to the Zapatista uprising as 'the 'first ''cyber'' or ''net'' war' (*Guardian*, January 13th 1999). Despite the use of such media frames, the authorities in America and Europe appeared to remain unaware of the ways in which activists were using the internet to forge global connections (Graeber, 2004, Kingsnorth, 2003). Early anti-globalisation protesters exploited this gap between institutional and alternative organisations' use of new information technologies and their demonstrations therefore appeared to leap mysteriously from the mountainsides of Chiapas to the sidewalks of Seattle, Washington, Quebec and Gothenburg.

One could argue that the initial success of the anti-globalisation movement was partly rooted in the technical expertise of its activists. However, as Bennett points out, the importance of the internet goes beyond its ability to facilitate the organisation of simultaneous protests, it also contributes to the 'global imaging of those events' (2003, p.31). Alternative news wires such as Indymedia aspired to become a space in which globally dispersed activists could both organise agitational activities and 'formulate oppositional interpretations of their identities, interests and needs' (Fraser, 1990, p.67). Consequently it has been argued that the internet has become more than an organisational tool for coalition protest movements and that it has become a constitutive element of globalised protest movements. A mainstream media narrative has been constructed in which the anti-globalisation movement is 'web-like…look[ed] like the internet and …couldn't exist without it' (Viner, *Guardian*, September 29th 2000).

The many similarities between the networked spaces created socially by anti-globalisation movements and technically by the internet have been explored by activists and academics alike. The ways in which the internet enables the media-literate to articulate their oppositional identities and needs to a global community has been thoroughly documented by activists such as Sarah Berger (2005), Kate Coyer (2005) and David Graeber (2004). The more theoretical implications raised by these issues have been explored by academics such as Lance Bennett (2003), John Downing (2003) and Stuart Moulthrop (1994). Both of these important areas of work acknowledge and establish the importance of internet-based

networked communication systems to protest coalitions, such as the anti-globalisation movement and the anti-war movement. However in this chapter I intend to question the extent to which the anti-globalisation movement's organisational successes have in fact been shaped by their use of the internet and to ask whether the anti-globalisation movement cannot be more usefully understood by separating the medium from the message.

This chapter is divided into three sections. The first section Spaces of Resistance begins by briefly outlining the arguments from the late 1990s, which suggested that the technological innovations offered by the internet created spaces which were inherently more political than print spaces. In the late 1990s it was argued that hypertext and hypermedia represented a 'revolutionary change' in the ways in which we read (Ess, 1994, p.226) and may even provoke inherently new 'modes of thought' (Escobar, 1996, p.124). The implications underlying this type of rhetoric were not only that the electronic word was a better version of the printed word, but that it heralded an entirely new era in both literacy and society at large. These rather euphoric claims were countered by authors who considered 'cyberspace' to be nothing but 'a chaotic flux' (Thu Nguyen and Alexander, 1996, p.103) in which political information quickly lost its 'coherent and cohesive value' (Thu Nguyen and Alexander, 1996, p.110). While these debates are in many ways outdated, their influence over the perception of the internet as an alternative means of political communication remains formative.

The second section argues that the relationship between the printed and the digitalised word is in fact far more nuanced than the accounts of the late 1990s would suggest. Part one examines the ways in which radical politics has been, and continues to be, articulated in very mainstream forms. Thus, for example, newspapers produced by organisations following a soviet tradition, such as *New Worker, Industrial Worker, Labour Worker* and *Weekly Worker* tend to utilise very traditional editorial systems. This argument is illustrated by an analysis of the way in which the arborescent organisational systems of the Socialist Workers Party lead to the creation of correspondingly striated editorial spaces in *Socialist Worker*. These systems are compared with the smooth online spaces produced by more rhizomatically structured political organisations.

Part two problematises the distinction between rhizomatic online and arborescent offline structures, smooth and striated spaces, by examining the smooth textual spaces produced by more rhizomatically structured political organisations stemming from what Downing describes as 'a socialist anarchist tradition' (2002, p.245). In doing so I attempt to trace the connection between rhizomatic organisational structures and smooth editorial spaces through activists' use of the photocopier and then of offset litho printing presses. I examine the ways in which the organisational and editorial structures behind a publication entitled *Circus Free* facilitated the articulation of polyvocal dissent. Finally I highlight the ways in which the rhizomatic organisational methodologies of the *Greenham Factor*, a publication which clearly predates the internet, also created ideologically smooth spaces which could accommodate the articulation of multiple view points. Thus this section argues that smooth media forms, unlike striated media forms, enable protest coalition movements to publicly reflect upon their oppositional needs and identities (Fraser, 1990, p.67) in a way which 'does not destroy … political association' (Mouffe, 2005, 20).

The final section of this chapter, Walking the Net, returns to the issues laid out in the first section and argues that the smooth qualities of protest coalitions are rooted in ideological, rather than technological factors. Thus I argue that while content can be generated by form it is not determined by form. Moreover it suggests that that the mainstream's tendency to represent globalised protest coalitions within an explicitly technological frame is rooted in the desire to occupy an all-seeing and all-knowing position above the 'swarming activities' and 'proliferating illegitimacy' of activists' everyday life (de Certeau,1984, p.96). The problems associated with this distant and elevated position is discussed briefly here and returned to in far greater detail in chapters four and five.

Spaces of Resistance

> *We employ a dualism of models only in order to arrive at a process that challenges all models. Each time mental correctives are necessary to undo the dualisms we have no wish to construct but through which we must pass*

Deleuze and Guattari, 2004, p.22

This section develops some of the theoretical arguments laid out in chapter two of this thesis. As has been discussed, the printed word is accorded a particularly privileged position within liberal bourgeois models of the public sphere (Habermas, 1974, 1992 Peters, 1993, Garnham, 2000)[42]. Habermas argues that the emergence of daily political newspapers in the second half of the eighteenth century transformed the nature of power by establishing 'the principle of supervision' (1974. p.52).). As a result the 'principle of existing power', as an inherent right of the nobility, was infiltrated and then replaced, by the notion of shared power. The production and distribution of news via the printed word has been considered to be of central importance in 'the struggle for freedom and public opinion, and thus for the public sphere as a principle' (1974, p.53). This section focuses on activists' utilisation of newspapers, newssheets and newswires to inform the wider public on matters of 'general interest' and to instigate change (1974, p.53).

Textual Spaces

James Curran maintaines that '[a] basic requirement of a democratic media system should be … that it represents all significant interests in society. It should facilitate their participation in the public domain, enable them to contribute to the public debate and have an input into the framing of public policy' (1991, p.30). However, many marginal political groups feel excluded from public debate and blame the media for failing to articulate their views fully or fairly. Indeed, many activists point to the political economy of the media and argue, rather convincingly, that the mainstream press actively misrepresents their views in an attempt to prevent them from influencing or framing public opinion (Monbiot, http://www.tlio.org.uk, Mary Black www.alpr.org). While this sense of injustice could simply be dismissed as paranoia, Curran points out that various socio-economic factors have created a media drift to the right and suggests that this has contributed to the mainstream press' tendency to stigmatise dissident voices (1996).

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[42] See pages 47-49 for a more detailed elaboration of these arguments.

Many individuals and organisations have responded to this bias by attempting to create their own counter-balancing sources of news and views, a strategy best illustrated by alternative political organisations' production and distribution of monthly newsletters. These range from very small localised organisations such as Brighton's Seven Dials Conservation Project to globally recognised organisations such as Greenpeace and Amnesty International. Atton argues that this type of publication offers 'the most thorough going version of alternative news values' (1999, p.52). He justifies this assertion by claiming that a grassroots periodical, 'produced by the same people whose concerns it represents, giving a position of engagement and direct participation', constitutes a forum for public debate in itself and therefore serves an all-important social function (1999, p.52).

Subcomandante Marcos develops this view further arguing that (textual and actual) spaces of resistance 'create counter-powers simply by existing' and consequently suggests that the influence of such spaces extends beyond the boundaries of the subaltern (cited by Kline, *Guardian*, 3rd March 2001*)*. This is a view shared by Per Hergren who maintains that 'by forcing a reaction, the whole of society, with its officials and citizens, is drawn into dialogue (cited in McKay, 1998, p, 5). These mediated spaces are politically transformative in that their mere existence enables previously excluded political positions to be articulated. In this way many alternative publications aspire to create a subaltern space in which excluded voices can 'withdraw and regroup' away from the prying eyes and stunting influences of a hostile mainstream (Fraser, 1998, p.68).

However, as Landry et al (1985) have pointed out, alternative publications are rarely read by anyone other than those who already subscribe to their political agenda and are therefore of limited value in terms of accessing wider publics. Therefore, despite Atton's belief that the alternative press' distance from the mainstream is an 'essential component of media that seek to integrate themselves with the movement they are supporting' (1999, p.69), various attempts have been made to formally transcend the boundaries of the counter-cultural realm. However, for a variety of reasons and with a few exceptions, these

publications have never really thrived or, indeed, even survived[43]. The 1997 Royal Commission on the Press found that, of all the many disadvantages faced by grassroots journalism, 'distribution is the most difficult to overcome' (cited in Atton, 1999, p.69). This is an observation supported by Herman and Chesney who point out that while 'anyone can produce a publication …the right to do so means little without distribution, resources and publicity' (1997, p.125).

The rapid expansion of the internet in the late 1990s led many to believe that the advent of the World Wide Web could offer exciting new opportunities for activists to bypass the problem of distribution and communicate with a wider public. This view is exemplified by Howard Rheingold's iconic book *The Virtual Community* in which he argues that 'access to alternative forms of information and, most important, the power to reach others with your own alternatives to the official view of events, are by their nature political phenomena' (1994, p.268). According to this rather optimistic view the internet would herald an era which echoed the political activism of the 17th century by enabling anyone 'with a modem' to become 'a global pamphleteer' (Markoff, *New York Times*, November 20th 1995). As a result of these developments, it was hoped that the internet would succeed where print journalism has failed and 'make information flows more democratic, break down power hierarchies…circumvent information monopolies … and provide an effective counter-balance to trends in corporate control of the world's information flows' (Iacono and Kling, 1996, p.98).).

The computer's ability to dramatically increase an organisation's readership through horizontal linkages is demonstrated by comparing the way in which print and electronic texts have attempted to bypass the establishment's distribution system. Copyright has always been a significant issue for alternative media organisations. The limited resources of counter-cultural organisations, combined with the inhospitable structure of print distribution networks, has led many grassroots authors and publishers to actively encourage the free circulation of their material. This anti-copyright ethos complements the ideology

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[43] An excellent account of the reasons which lie behind the radical left's forays into publishing can be found in 'What a way to Run a Railroad: An analysis of radical failure' (1985) by Charles Landry et al.

behind many radical left groups' anti-property principles and enables material to be disseminated through channels beyond the papers' own distributive networks. Thus newsletters like *Do or Die*[44] are purposefully published in photocopy-friendly form and contain the slogan 'strictly @nticopyright – customise…photocopy…distribute' (cited in Atton, 1999, p.67). This emphasis has flourished with even greater vigour on-line and almost identical imperatives can be found on the pages of websites such as *Indymedia, Schnews* and *Squall*[45].

The nature of information technology makes enforcing copyright regulations all but impossible. Thus the internet enables users to download, alter and send articles via e-mail and (perhaps most importantly, given the issue of global access) download, alter, print and send articles through the post. Corporate culture's scramble to establish a virtual presence on the internet and regain a modicum of control over the forces of production illustrates the enormity of the challenge to traditional copyright. For example Google's 2006 decision to buy YouTube for $1.65 billion dollars was quickly followed by a lawsuit issued by Viacom claiming that the internet site's 'business model …is based on building traffic and selling advertising off of unlicensed sites [which] is clearly illegal' (*Guardian*, March 14th 2007). However, while the threat to the capitalist principles of ownership and property rights poses a real problem for those intending to build their financial empires on e-commerce, it frees groups like the *Independent Media Centre* to act upon *Do or Die*'s imperative with unprecedented success.

The Book and the Page

The digitalisation of the printed word has fundamentally altered the way in which political texts reach their audience and accounts of these changes have been the subject of much scholarly research (Berry, 2008; Stokes, 2009). However internet scholar Stuart Moulthrop claimed that the advent of computer-mediated communication has changed more than the

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[44] *Do or Die* is an alternative publication which speaks for parts of the environmental movement. See http://www.eco-action.org/dod / for further information.
[45] *Indymedia, Schnews and Squall* are all examples of print and electronic alternative news media. See http://www.indymedia.org/en/index.shtml , http://www.schnews.org.uk/index.php and http://www.squall.co.uk/ for further information.

means by which texts are distributed. In his article 'Rhizome and Resistance: Hypertext and the dreams of a new culture', Moulthrop maintained that information technology in general, and the hyper-textual link in particular, could alter the ways in which we actually think. Moulthrop justified this position by making a distinction between the printed word and the electronic word. Thus Moulthrop maintained that while the printed word is 'defined and supported' by striated space, the electronic word occupies smooth space (1994, p303). In doing so, Moulthrop drew on Deleuze and Guattari's work in *A Thousand Plateaus* to tease out the further possibilities offered by this interpretation.

According to Moulthrop the word's existence on the electronic rather than the printed page altered the way in which it was read. Thus the electronic word cannot be read from left to right, from to top to bottom, from start to finish. Instead in order to progress one must choose whether to click this link or that link, whether to move forwards or backwards, whether to read this bit or skip 'rhizomatically' to that bit. In this way the familiar linear hierarchies of the traditional print as described by Ong are replaced by a sprawling ebb and flow of more rhizomatically printed clusters. Moreover these pages are continually being broken up and reformed in different and (apparently) inexplicable combinations. Thus Jay Bolter claimed that electronic writing 'offers us as a paradigm the text that changed to suit the reader rather than expecting the reader to conform to its standards' (cited in Moulthrop, 1994, p.304). In this way internet-mediated communications seemed to offer readers the opportunity to escape what Rosello described as the 'severe distortion' (Rosello, 1994, p.139) of space and time imposed by traditional linearity.

Moulthrop's views were further developed by Martin Burbles who maintained that hypertext, like the smooth spaces it occupies, invited one to 'invert the order of how we normally think about links and information points … and concentrate more on links – on associative relationships that change, redefine and enhance or restrict access to the information they comprise' (1998, p.103). Significantly this notion of information technology as a complex interlinked series of 'message pathways' (Cubitt, 1998, p.22) depended on an understanding of the internet as being in a state of perpetual motion. The imagery used to describe people in relation to the World Wide Web provides an apt

illustration of this point. Thus terms such as 'navigating cyberspace', 'the information superhighway', 'surfing the net' and even the originally print-based 'browsing' all rely on the notion of movement across time and space.

Smooth spaces rejection of hierarchy ensured that this plethora of unheard voices remains in an un-prioritised state of flux. As a consequence one could argue that smooth spaces tend to reject an understanding of society based on what Nancy Jay has described as the A/Not A dichotomy whereby 'the only alternative to the *one* order is disorder' (cited in Massey 1993, p.147). In this way Moulthrop suggested that in accommodating unpredictable and perpetual change, smooth internet spaces enabled a continuous multiplicity of previously un-articulated political positions to be expressed. According to this view computer-mediated communications could be understood as being inherently 'more hospitable to alternative non-traditional points of view and more inclusive of cultural differences' (Burbles, 1998, p.107).

However these empowering interpretations of hyper textual links were countered by critics who commented negatively on the almost unbelievable speed with which individuals - can move through virtual space. Thus for example Jay Kinney pointed out, 'the network-induced collapse of time doesn't deliver more time – it takes it away by speeding everything up' (1996, p.149). This is a view supported by many commentators including Virilo who claimed that as a result of these developments 'the tyranny of absolute speed' (1995, p.2) would inevitably thwart the possibility of truly representative democracy. Sardar maintained that this temporal paradox had far-reaching implications for 'one can't learn by simply perusing information, one learns by digesting it, reflecting on it, critically assimilating it' (1996, p.27). In Sardar's opinion, the internet simply did not and does not grant users enough time to satisfactorily absorb the information it provides. Sardar articulates the 'unbearable lightness' (1996, p.26) which these critics maintain characterises much internet activity when he describes 'surfing the net' as a 'frenzied journey to nowhere' in which users are 'perpetually looking for the next fix, hoping that the next page on the web will take them to Nirvana' (1996, p.27).

Moulthrop's emphasis on movement and relativity also dismayed critics who perceive these qualities to exist at the expense of depth and stability of meaning. Thus while Sardar acknowledged that the internet offers those engaged in serious information retrieval, and equipped with the necessary skills, an 'excellent array of tools' (1996, p.27), he also pointed out that the vast majority of activity on the internet lacks such clarity of focus. These critics tended to share a perception of the internet (and by implication smooth space) as being an inherently more superficial than striated space and the book. This view is supported by Bryan and Tatam who found that there is a 'trade off between accessibility and depth of information' on the internet which means that 'information online is even more superficial than printed material' (1999, p.165).

The sense of superficiality frequently associated with the internet existed in conjunction with a belief that the lightness of smooth space and the virtual world would somehow corrupt or even usurp the substance of striated space and the real world. Accordingly, critics such as Postman have suggested that the erosion of the public sphere is rooted in the gradual decline of the printed word (1998). This view can also be identified in Iacono and Kling's suggestion that the rise of computer-mediated communications would lead to a situation where 'other media for learning, socialising, working or revitalising the community are treated as less important. Real life is life on-line. The physical world is relegated to IRL (in real life) or life off-line.'(1996, p.99). This view implied that hypertext's lack of organisational structure and multiplicity of options actually threatened the very existence of real world organisations and therefore the future of the liberal public sphere itself.

However, as Clay Shirky points out, the perception of 'cyberspace' as entirely separated and different from the 'real world' is an understanding which is no longer recognised by a generation bought up in world where on and off line communication routinely overlaps (*Observer* Sunday 15th of February 2009). Consequently it could be argued that the comments of internet sceptics reflect the sense of abandonment felt by a generation of critics 'whose form of cultural capital has been invested almost entirely in the typographic media' (Simons, 2003, p.174). In this way, the view that the 'abandonment of writing as

the dominant intellectual technology' (Escobar, 1996, p.124) has achieved little but a 'manic frenzy' of electronic chat and data (Thu Nguyen and Alexander, 1999, p.99) could be read as a need to preserve and protect the 'lost clarity and boundaries…of easier and more definite times' (Van Zoonen, 200x, p.13).

In response scholars began to emphasise the similarities and continuities which exist across the on/off line divide. For example, as Burbules points out, while the qualities often associated with smooth space and electronic writing may be less familiar, they are nevertheless still disciplines. Burbules maintains that concepts commonly associated with smooth space, such as bricolage and juxtaposition are not entirely lawless entities but exist peaceably within their own alternative regulating structure. According to this view, bricolage and juxtaposition should be seen as 'supplements' rather than 'replacements' for concepts more usually associated with striated space, such as outline and syllogism. Escobar places a similar emphasis on continuity rather than rupture, when he draws a parallel between the rise of the written word in the past and the electronic word today. Thus he suggests that 'In the same way writing incorporated orality, information would incorporate writing' (1996, p.124).

I would argue that Burbules' broader interpretation of hypertext enables one to embrace the opportunities generated by information technology (both within and beyond the internet) without jettisoning the knowledge previously gained from previous forms of writing and thinking. According to this view the distinctions between the book and the web, the striated and the smooth are less clear cut than they initially appeared to be. Moreover, as Deleuze and Guattari themselves point out, such categorisations invariably simplify and reduce the complexities of life. They argue that the rhizomatic and the arborescent, the smooth and striated should not be set up in opposition to each other but examined in overlapping conjunction. This understanding creates a space in which counter cultural forms of organisation can offer an enlightening 'contrast to the dominant representations of social order' (Hetherington, 1998: 132) and contribute to our understanding of society as a whole. In this way smooth space and the electronic word arguably help rather than hinder attempts to grasp the nature of striated space and the written word.

In this section I have attempted to examine the ways in which both the printed and the electronic word contribute to the formation of the public sphere. I have reviewed debates from the 1990s which argued that the electronic page constituted a smooth space, understood by some critics as being particularly hospitable to the active articulation of political dissent. I have also reflected on the possibility of a theoretically overlapping position in which the apparently anarchic and chaotic qualities of smooth space supplement rather than undermine traditional forms of political discourse. Since the 1990s it has become increasingly clear that many of the political opportunities made possible by the internet are not being realised[46].

Never the less, some critics have described those who continue to advocate the inherent democratic potential of digital technologies as 'relentlessly upbeat, a historical' and 'mindlessly naïve about power and corruption as conditioners of all human politics' (Barber, 2006, p.576). However I would suggest that these debates remain of significance and continue to inform articles which reflect upon activists' use of digital technologies. Kant argued that the improving value of the French revolution was partly rooted in the enthusiasm it invoked in the 'external public of onlookers' who sympathised with the exaltation of the revolutionaries 'without the slightest intention of actively participating in their affairs'. I would argue that the sense of enthusiasm which permeated through the literature of the 1990s continues to inspire optimism and prompt action and can therefore be understood as 'a form of improvement in itself' (Kant, 1991, p.182).

Voyaging smoothly

Voyaging smoothly is a becoming, and a difficult, uncertain becoming at that.
Deleuze and Guattari, 2004, p.5320

Deleuze and Guattari maintain that 'all progress is made by and in striated space but all becoming occurs in smooth space' (2004, 357). I would argue that this distinction between

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[46] The relationship between the opportunities made possible and actually realised by the internet will be returned to in chapter five of this thesis.

'progress' and 'becoming' is particularly problematic for activists and academics rooted in a modernist tradition. The postmodern willingness to abandon a linear and coherent narrative exemplified by 'progress' and' the book', in favour of a fluctuating series of temporary connections exemplified by 'becoming' and 'the web', has been the source of much academic dismay (Jameson, 1984, Sardar, 1996, Virilo, 1995). In the section that follows I would like to focus on how the organisationally rhizomatic 'becomings' of protest coalition movements structure the textual spaces they produce. The issues raised build on some of the arguments established in chapter one, particularly the formation of us/them boundaries and the use of alternative communicative forms in the contemporary public sphere.

<p align="center">Becoming smooth</p>

According to Perryman, papers such as the *Socialist Worker*, are firmly rooted within an empiricist tradition which aims to 'expose the illusions of reform' (*Guardian*, July 11 2000) through the force of rational argument. I would argue that this position has much in common with traditional liberal models of the public sphere. In this way their faith in the revolutionary potential of revelation echoes Habermas' belief in the purifying qualities of transparency. Thus despite their rejection of reform through consensual debate, these publications mirror the liberal bourgeois aspiration to create an inclusive and egalitarian space in which reasoned challenges to the capitalist system can be examined and developed.

Papers such as *New Worker* (founded in 1977)*, Weekly Worker* (founded in 1993) and *Socialist Worker* (founded in 1968) perceive themselves to be a 'modest' continuation of 'the revolutionary socialist tradition' established by Marx, Lenin and Trotsky (http://www.swp.org.uk/international.php). For example, *Weekly Worker*, which is produced by the Communist Party of Great Britain, describes itself as a newspaper for the 'thinking left' (www.cpgb.org.uk). Similarly the *New Worker*, which is produced by the New Communist Party of Britain, fights for 'a world in which the will of the masses, the workers, the toilers, the people who work in factories and farms, is carried out'

(http://www.newworker.org). As such these papers offer a broadly Marxist interpretation of world news and current affairs and tend to foreground a political ideology rooted in the workplace, centred on a binary bourgeois/proletariat class distinction. It should also be noted that many of these organisations and newspapers are (often acrimoniously) interlinked.

I focus primarily on *Socialist Worker* as a representative of this genre which has been the subject of much academic scrutiny[47] and is reasonably well-known beyond an activist readership. However it is important to note that I am not offering a comprehensive analysis of *Socialist Worker.* Instead I will be attempting to focus on the elements of their discussions which best illuminate the tensions between traditional media forms and alternative media forms which foster the articulation of polyvocal dissent. In doing so I hope to provide a benchmark against which debates about the work of more rhizomatically organised protest coalitions can then be evaluated.

The Socialist Workers Party began life in the 1950s (as the Socialist Review Group) and was an attempt to unite the multiple struggles of international socialism (Allen, 1985). It began with a membership of thirty-three and was, according to Peter Allen, 'federal' in its structure. However, as the organisation grew, this organisational principle became more and more unwieldy. As a result of a generally accepted decline in growth in the 70's it was decided to reorganise the party according to a more Leninist concept of democratic centralism (Allen 1985). This decision was not arrived at easily and many well established members of the Socialist Workers Party were forced out of the party.

According to the Socialist Workers Party website the paper strives

> to be a source of information like no other, presenting a socialist analysis of the events and forces that have shaped today's world and sharing the voices of those involved in the many efforts to try to change that world (http://www.swp.org.uk).

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[47] See Colin Sparks' 'The Working Class Press; radical and revolutionary alternatives (1985) for a more general review of soviet inspired papers and John Downing in *Radical Media* (2001) and Chris Atton in *Alternative Media* (2002) for an analysis of the *Socialist Worker* in particular.

However while the website claims to 'respect[s] people with ideas that are different to ours' (whilst at the same time seeking 'to persuade people of our revolutionary ideas') (http://www.swp.org.uk), this is not an understanding necessarily shared by those outside the Socialist Workers Party. As a result Howard Roake from the Communist Party of Great Britain maintains that

> the whole culture of the SWP, like much of the rest of the left, precludes sharp and open clashes of opinion (http://www.cpgb.org.uk)

Indeed the Socialist Workers Party's tendency to at best minimise, and at worst actively discourage dissent, from the pre-determined 'political line' (Birchall, 1981, p.19) frequently causes the bonds of wider 'political association' to splinter and snap. The rigidity of such an organisational structure tends to stifle and exclude the possibility of internal dissent, destroying the dream of a shared socialist 'symbolic space' in which activists can prepare for a fairer future (Mouffe, 2005, p.20). In Deleuze and Guattari's terms the Socialist Workers Party might be described as being characterised the 'binary logic…of the root tree' (2004, p.5), a logic characterised by hierarchical communication systems in which each point is predetermined and allocated.

Following the split, the triumphant faction decided to try and turn around declining circulation figures and expand *Socialist Worker'*s readership by establishing 'a closer relationship between the paper and its worker readers' (*Socialist Worker*, 13th April 1974). It was agreed that the collective aim should be to create a structure that was 'centralised with a full time leadership' and 'able to make quick decisions on action' but which also allowed for 'full discussion and debate on the political line' (Allen, 1985, p.221). Tony Cliff oversaw changes in the paper's tone and presentation intended to attract a new audience and encourage workers to contribute in greater volume to the newspaper. It was hoped that these organisational and editorial changes would lead to the development of more horizontal, rather than vertical, communication links, both within and beyond the confines of the newspaper.

Allen noted with a degree of pride '… we built up a network of people in industry [so that] it was largely written by industrial workers'. However he is quickly forced to qualify this statement by pointing out that many of these industrial workers 'had come from a middle class student background but…had gone into factories' (Allen, 1985, p.211). This admission would seem to support the view of Landry et al that radical politics in the late 70s was frequently characterised by middle class attempts to foster political solidarity with the working class by the 'deliberate adoption of an 'oppressed lifestyle' (1985, p.7).

Moreover while Cliff talked a great deal about seeking 'the abolition of the abyss between producer and consumer' (1974) he went on to discuss and promote workers involvement with *Socialist Worker* in terms of the distribution rather than the production of texts. Thus he maintained that

> A worker that buys one copy of the paper has a very different attitude to it than one who sells a couple of copies…it is not therefore only a quantitative change but a radical qualitative change in the relation of the individual to the ideas…we will therefore have to organise the transformation of the buyers of the paper into sellers (Cliff, 1974).

In this way while workers were encouraged to distribute the paper, significantly less organisational effort was put into encouraging workers to write for the paper. As a result 'the bye-lines of the Paul Foots, Laurie Flynns and Tony Cliffs' (1974) continued to appear regularly in the pages of *Socialist Worker,* while the 'names' of the workers failed to materialise at all.

While Ian Birchall described *Socialist Worker* as the 'mainline of the communication between the centre and the membership and the periphery' (1981, p.19), I would argue that his use of the word 'centre' is misleading. It implies an organisational structure in which the leadership is surrounded by wider, intercommunicating tiers. However, what Birchall is actually describing is a traditional communication triangle where information is generated at the top and passed on, in an approved form, to the masses below. As a result I would suggest that the push to involve and expand its authorial base were undermined by the essentially one-way relationship which existed, between those who wrote for *Socialist*

Worker and those for whom they were writing. The working class continued to be excluded from producing the content of *Socialist Worker* and the paper persisted in offering its readers the same A/Not A choice found in the mainstream, to support and defend the chosen line or not to support and defend the chosen line.

(*Socialist Worker*, Socialist Workers Party, 2006)

This top down movement from the intellectual heart of the paper to its (pseudo) working class periphery can best be illustrated by analysing the papers letters' page. Atton points out that selected and edited letters to the newspaper are the readers' only contribution to the paper. He maintains that the impact of these letters on the publication's contents or editorial policy is unknown but probably minimal and argues that as a result 'any comments from the general readership go against the flow' (Atton, 2002, p.103). In this way political

discussion is constrained by a hierarchical editor/supplicant binary which blocks the flow of potentially challenging horizontal connections, ensuring that the power to define *Socialist Worker'*s political position remains carefully controlled and centralised.

I would argue that the editorial structure of *Socialist Worker* encourages the reader to be passive and perpetuates the notion that the Socialist Workers' Party is somehow above or ahead of its largely silenced readership. As discussed in the chapter one, Walter Ong argues that the printed word has a tendency to create a 'mind set' which separates 'the knower from the known' and therefore creates a sense of personal disengagement and distance from 'the arena where human beings struggle with one and other' (1982, 43). This 'sense of closure' and completeness inevitably removes the individual from the everyday struggles of the life-world (1982, p.132), making politics appear both alien (it's nothing to do with me) and unalterable (I can't do anything about it anyway). This editorial style depends upon organisationally arborescent systems which prioritise a single, unified narrative over a multiplicity of less ordered, possibilities.

Thus, despite its publically avowed interest in the political position of others, *Socialist Worker* obliges its readership to follow the informational route established and approved by the Socialist Worker Party and requires them to come to the same conclusions as those previously reached by its leadership. Furthermore this 'tendency to agree with party ''orthodoxy'' rather than seek out political challenges' (Roake, http://www.cpgb.org.uk) is predicated on an us/them distinction which constantly teeters on the edge of antagonistic[48]. Those who persist in articulating dissent or are perceived to threaten the friend/enemy distinction (Mouffe, 2005, p.15) are required to be silent or leave the party. Consequently I would suggest that organisations and publications from a soviet tradition tend to be riven with fractures and rifts which constantly undermine socialism's wider aims.

Never the less, the *Socialist Worker*'s choice of organisational flow does have some distinct advantages. The reassuringly authoritative tone is undeniably helpful in that it inspires confidence in the readership and lends legitimacy to its arguments within the wider

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[48] A summary of Mouffe's agonistic/antagonistic distinction can be found in chapter one, page 37

political arena. These vertical lines of communication make the Socialist Workers Party an efficient and politically enduring organisation. Yet the failure to nurture and strengthen genuinely horizontal ties means that despite the creation of what even hostile critics acknowledge to be 'a hugely impressive organisational machine' (Perryman, *Guardian*, 11th November 2000), the Socialist Workers Party has never 'realized its aim to achieve a mass readership among the British working class' (Allen, 1985, p.231). This failure seems to justify Downing's assertion that the revolutionary socialist media, despite 'their totalising claims against the monopolies of the capitalist mass media are hardly exemplars of media in action', arguing that they, like their mainstream rivals are 'hierarchical, limiting and bound by authority' (Atton, 2002, p.20).

Grassroots media are characterised by the desire to instigate social change and activate politically passive audiences (Atton, 1999, Downing, 1984, 2001). *Socialist Worker* attempted to achieve this end by inspiring the readership from above by creating a top down communication flow. However an examination of the arborescent organisational and editorial structures employed by *Socialist Worker* reveals the way in which striated publication spaces can block the readership's active participation in the construction of communicative spheres. The advent of computer-mediated technologies appeared to offer a rhizomatic route out of these static and closed down political spaces. As a result nascent protest coalitions, such as Carnival against Capitalism and Reclaim the Streets took advantage and a plethora of protest-specific sites sprung up across the internet.

Such sites were deeply embedded within a pre-existing community ethos which was non-hierarchical and rejected any formal organising structures and editorial roles in favour of more informal horizontal communication flows. In this way the ideals of a particular ideological moment coincided with the technological capabilities offered by internet mediated communications. Thus, for example, the J18 (Carnival against Capitalism) website invited activists to 'send in what you want to say about your groups or action to the June 18th website – it belongs to all of us!' (http://bak.spc.org/j18/site).

The most influential of these sites was *Independent Media Centre* or *Indymedia* which has been the focus of much academic and activist debate (Downing 2003, Bennett 2003, and Berger 2003). *Indymedia* was originally set up to cover the protest against the World Trade Organisation in Seattle. Since then it has established itself as the alternative news source for the radical left, describing itself as 'an evolving network of media professionals, artists and DIY media activists committed to using technology to promote social and economic justice'. As can be seen below at the time of writing *Indymedia* has 179 syndicated sites (in eight different languages) covering a huge range of protests (human rights, climate change, democracy…) in a variety of different formats (photos, texts, radio, video, satellite TV…)

(*Indymedia*, Independent Media Centre, 2006)

Indymedia continues to expand rhizomatically. As an organisation it strives to prevent a fracturing into incoherence by a shared commitment to three basic aims; 'generating alternatives to the basis inherent in the corporate media space', 'furthering the self determination of people under-represented in media production and empowering people through encouraging self publishing in all its formats'[49]. As a result *Indymedia* is now a huge umbrella organisation covering a plethora of issues in a multiplicity of media formats. Moreover while the Independent Media Centre is a globalised organisation, its use of syndicated sites enables it to cover many regionally-based grassroots activisms.

Whilst material which appears in the *Socialist Worker* is structured by editorial judgement, material which appears on *Indymedia* is structured by time. I would argue that this use of time creates what Deleuze and Guattari describe as Riemann space[50]. In these spaces,

> Each vicinity is [therefore] like a shred of Euclidean space, but the linkage between one vicinity and the next is not defined and can be effected in any number of ways. Riemann space at its most general thus presents itself as an amorphous collection of pieces that are juxtaposed but not attached to each other (Lautman cited in Deleuze and Guattari, 200x, p.535)

Each article appears under a timed and dated headline and introductory paragraph (a shred of Euclidean space) which is followed by a list of links to related posts and back stories (a Riemann collection of amorphous and juxtaposed linkages). This suggests that rhizomatic technological has enabled Indymedia to create a smooth public space in which content is shaped by an interwoven chronology of citizen uploads rather than top down editorial judgements. Moreover these shreds of space are connected but not attached to an ever changing network of hyper links

Burbules maintains that the hyper-textual link is the elemental structure of hypertext. He argues that links 'establish pathways of possible movement within the web-space' (1989, p.105). Perhaps more significantly, he points out that 'links create signification themselves:

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[49] The quotes in this paragraph can all be found on the 'about us' pages of the Independent Media Centre's UK and USA sites.
[50] Deleuze and Guattari's account of the relationship between Riemann and Euclidean time can be found on pages 535-536 of *A Thousand Plateaus*.

they are not simply the neutral medium of passage from point A to point B' (1998, p.110). This fluidity creates a multiplicity of equally valid pathways through the internet. The link therefore provokes an unending series of choices or decisions, which must be acted upon if the journey is to progress beyond the current page. Thus, according to critics such as Moulthrop, 'the constantly repeated requirement of articulated choice in hypertext will produce an enlightened, self-empowered respondent' (1994, p.304) who takes full 'political responsibility' (Moulthrop, 1994, p.304) for their chosen route through web-space.

The emphasis on interaction and production has always been an important element of alternative politics (McKay, 1998). In his analysis of zines, Stephen Duncombe comments favourably on the way in which the alternative press blurs 'the distinction between producer and consumer' (1996, p.315). Duncombe's perspective is borrowed from Walter Benjamin. In his essay 'The Author as Producer' Benjamin maintains that political writing should both inspire and enable others to produce, thereby compelling them to abandon mere 'contemplative enjoyment' of struggle. He suggests that writing of a 'truly exemplary character' is gauged – in part – by the 'consumers it is able to turn into producers, that is readers or spectators into collaborators' (1982, p.216). However, while this distinction has always been a central concern of the radical left, it has also been interpreted very differently. Whereas Tony Cliff maintained that readers' involvement in the distribution of *Socialist Worker* constituted production, the creators of *Indymedia* went further and defined collaboration as the production and publication of texts. The political potential of this position can be illustrated by the open publishing software used by the Independent Media Centre.

Many of the articles and audio/visual material found on the *Indymedia* are followed by an 'add your own comments' button which enables those inspired by the pieces to publish their own response. In order to encourage ordinary people to participate in their own self-representation, the Independent Media Centre has designed a system which requires a minimal degree of technological knowledge and backs it up with additional online and off-line support. It could be argued that the Independent Media Centre has succeeded in

creating an 'improved apparatus' (Benjamin, 1982, p.216) which – through the act of collaboration – facilitates the transformation of consumers into producers.

Such a system is in contrast to *Socialist Worker'*s letters page which requires all responses to be filtered through the editorial process. Sites such as *Indymedia* are completely accessible to all reader/writer and can fulfil *Socialist Worker's* failed aspirations by becoming a movement's 'diary' (Cliff, 1974). However it is important to note that the technological ability to forge these routes does not guarantee their creation. For as Stein points out there is always a 'gap between the theory and practice of social movement communication online' (2009, p.764)

*Socialist Worker'*s website provides a good example of this gap and illustrates the way in which an online space can be shaped by what I have described as print-based mindsets. The online version of *Socialist Worker* simply reproduces material from the print edition and as such it necessarily shares many of its striated qualities. The articles are categorised and prioritised by both authorial status and political relevancy and are ranked accordingly. Moreover should the reader choose to ignore this hierarchy and navigate their own way thorough the publication they will frequently be confronted by a prompt which reads 'this article should be read after…' and a link re-connecting them with the route chosen by the editorial team. The passive role of the imagined reader is further illustrated by *Socialist Workers'* 'comments' system which automatically sends comments to the publication's editors rather than uploading them straight on to the letters page. In this way, despite the technically smooth innovations offered by the internet, online readers of the *Socialist Worker* are confined to a traditional and passive role.

It is important to point out that *Indymedia'*s ability to remain fluid and flexible has not been fully tested over time. Indeed some activists view *Indymedia South Coast'*s recent decision to start ranking comments, in an attempt to control the 'ranting' and 'flaming'[51] of 'trolls'[52] as the first signs of an organisational hardening into hierarchy. Since 2005 two contribution

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[51] 'ranting' and 'flaming' are terms used to describe posts which are aggressively hostile in tone, content and/or length.
[52] 'trolls' are people who post in an attempt to trigger emotional reactions from other site users.

categories exist on the *Indymedia South Coast* website; 'additions' which are always on display and 'actually add useful information or make important factual corrections to something already posted' and 'Comments' which are listed by title only but which can by displayed by clicking on a reveal icon. This move was controversial – producing ten pages of additions/comments – but finally pushed through on the grounds that '*Indymedia* is not a discussion forum, it is a news service' and therefore has an obligation to defend its 'credibility' (http://www.indymedia.org.uk/en/regions/southcoast). Like so many of the political spaces which preceded it, this initially smooth and flexible forum, may well harden into hierarchy.

<div align="center">Polyvocal Dissent</div>

Downing argues that 'the essence of the alternative media is the creation of horizontal linkages from the public's communication networks, to assist in its empowerment.' He goes on to argue that these 'linkages contrast sharply with the vertical communication flows of the mainstream media' (Downing, 1995, p.241). Thus Downing maintains that publications can never be imagined as 'liberating forces unless they are open to lateral communication between social beings, with their multiple experiences and concerns' (1984, p. 19). This point is developed by Atton who maintains that there are two ways in which radical organisations can mobilise against institutionalised society. The first method is modelled upon 'the example of the communist media of the former Soviet block' whereby papers 'seek to enthuse its readership into action, whilst those writing remain above the readership' (Atton, 2002, p.103). The second stems from a socialist anarchist tradition and is concerned with a 'search for community, and the construction of alternative value systems' (Rau cited by Atton, 2002, p.104).

Downing suggests that social anarchist media organisations have been 'largely eclipsed in the twentieth century' by the emphasis on communism and social democracy and claims that, as a consequence, activists from a socialist anarchist tradition have become 'associated in the public mind with a love of disorder and creating chaos, even with sanctifying terroristic actions against public figures,' (2003, p.245). Consequently the

mainstream media has a tendency to dismiss such protests as (Donson, 2004), thereby delegitimizing their opinions and excluding their position from public consideration. For these reasons Downing maintains that there are too few 'systematic studies of anarchist media' (2003, p.259) and argues that in the light of the success of the *Independent Media Centre* 'it makes sense to look again at what may be found in socialist anarchist tradition' (2003, p.245).

Colin Ward describes anarchist organisations as 'small functional groups which ebb and flow according to the task in hand' (1972, p.137-8). In my terms such organisations can be usefully understood as being constituted by rhizomatic structures, utilising horizontal linkages of otherwise 'unstructured clusters of related attitudes' (Woodcock, 1962, p.453). This echoes Deleuze and Guattari's description of how 'a rhizome may be broken, shattered at a given spot, but will start up again on one of its old lines or on new lines' (2204, p.10). In order to further reflect upon the relationship between protest organisations rooted in a social anarchist tradition and technological form I examine two rhizomatically structured print-based alternative media organisations.

Circus Free which articulated the identities and needs of those opposed to the 1994 Criminal Justice Bill and *Greenham Factor* which expressed the thoughts and hopes of women opposed to the placement of Cruise missiles being sited on Greenham Common. While the anti-Criminal Justice Bill was initially understood as a single issue pressure group, it actually addressed a plethora of issues connected to the rise of neo-liberalism and the corresponding encroachment of civil liberties. Similarly, while the women's peace movement appeared to be a very specifically orientated grassroots movement, it was characterised by organisational structures which enabled it to accommodate a multiplicity of varied and sometimes contradictory protest positions[53].

Circus Free was a monthly newsletter published by the Leeds based Babble Collective in the mid 90s which opposed the Criminal Justice Bill introduced in 1994. The Criminal

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[53] This combination of unity and flexibility is also characteristic of the anti-globalisation movement and the anti-war movement and will be further developed in chapters four and five.

Justice Bill attempted to use a single piece of legislation to criminalise a huge range of previously lawful activities. Consequently it was challenged by activists fighting for many disparate rights such the right to squat in unused buildings, the right to live as a nomadic traveller, the right to hold parties in outdoor spaces and the right to organise and participate in previously legal forms of protest. This had the unanticipated effect of consolidating opposition to the Bill and uniting many very different oppositional campaigns into a single (albeit fractured and perpetually shifting) movement. This, in turn, led to the creation of the many oddly rhizomatic inter-organisational, multi-modal connections which are characteristic of contemporary protest coalition movements. While these loosely aligned grassroots organisations were never described as a 'movement', I would argue that they can be understood as organisational precursors to the environmental movement, the anti-globalisation movement and the anti-war movement.

One of the social areas specifically targeted by the Criminal Justice Bill was the 'free party' or 'rave scene'. As a result the public playing of rave music, which the bill carefully defined as music 'wholly or predominantly characterised by the emission of a succession of repetitive beats', was effectively criminalised (Criminal Justice Bill, 1994). This legal manoeuvre was particularly interesting because while most youth orientated, counter cultural movements (such as punk or rap) gain their credibility by antagonising the mainstream few are actually criminalised. Consequently while the Babble Collective existed in an implicitly political sub cultural milieu, it did not adopt a campaigning role until governmental policy begun to threaten its continued existence.

Circus Free has much more in common aesthetically, and in some ways politically, with the fanzines of the late 1970s than with the newssheets of the revolutionary left, such as the ecologically orientated *Do or Die*. *Circus Free*'s use of scissors, glue and the photocopier also enables it be far more playful than the print-bound publications. Its pages are characterised by 'chaotic design', 'unruly cut 'n' paste' and 'uneven reproduction' which characterized the fanzines such as *Sniffin Glue* and *Ripped and Torn* (Duncombe, 1997). Teal Triggs follows semioticians Kress and Van Leewen, maintaining that such publications mark a move away from 'the era of late modernity' and are multi modal in so

far as they embrace a 'variety of materials and cross the boundary between art, design and performance disciplines' (Triggs, 2006, p.69).
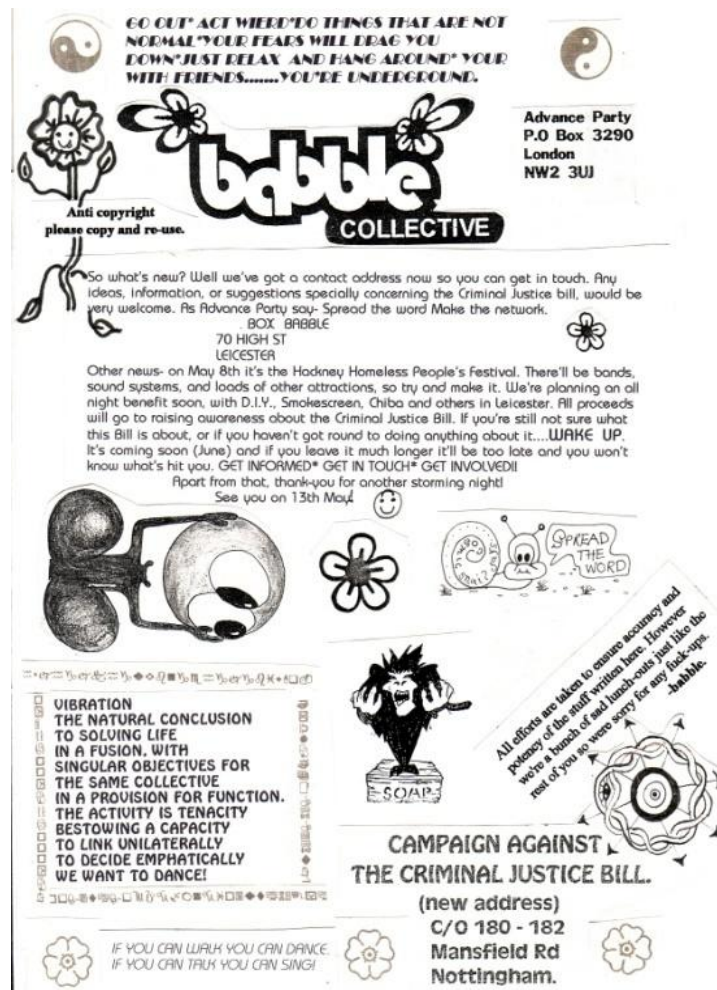
(*Circus Free*, Babble Collective, 1994)

Such a production aesthetic mirrors *Circus Free*'s ideological position. The newssheet was produced by a smaller ever-changing group of individuals connected to the Babble Collective Sound System who helped out by providing ideas and copy as well as photocopying, folding and distributing. Rebecca Tanyar, one of *Circus Free*'s many editors, describes the newssheet as an open conversation between a number of committed activists and the free party scene as a whole (2006, personal interview). Anyone from the wider Anti-Criminal Justice Bill community could contribute by sending in copy to a PO Box, although contributions were far more commonly brought up to the DJs decks or

handed in at the door of free parties. This material would then be literally cut and pasted into what Tanyar describes as a collection of 'snippets and thoughts' (Tanyar, 2006, in interview). As a result while the clearly drawn boundaries which surround reader contributions to the *Socialist Worker*'s letters page seek to inspire from above, *Circus Free* attempted to construct a 'smoothly' expanding patchworked space from within.

Circus Free's commitment to community and horizontal communication forms can be further illustrated by examining its acknowledgments section. Acknowledgments are usually a formulaic element of a publication, however in *Circus Free* they become vibrantly idiosyncratic. The very informal 'love 'n' hugs' section lists first name appreciation and makes in-jokes as well as giving highly personalised party and political thanks. The authors' refusal to adopt an authoritative top-down tone can be further highlighted by its monthly disclaimer, which reveals a slightly anxious desire to emphasise the authors' embeddedness in the free party scene.

> All efforts are taken to ensure accuracy and potency of the stuff
> written here. However we're a bunch of sad lunch outs just like the
> rest of you so we're sorry for any fuck ups.

Thus its striated opening quickly dissolves into a far smoother refusal to adopt – even temporarily – a position of authority.

The title *Circus Free* offers a useful insight into the ways in which the fluidity of its rhizomatic organisational and editorial systems can constitute smooth political spaces. The word 'circus' speaks of pleasure and a temporary escape from the drabness of everyday life. Such carnivalesque notions of pleasure also contain an important political dimension (Bakhtin, 1968) in that they challenge hierarchy and allow 'a utopian glimpse of a community of plenty, freedom and creativity' (Conboy, 2008, 114). On an obvious level the word 'free' refers to the newssheet's rejection of the commercial ethos of mainstream society – it was a free publication. However, on a slightly more complex level it also signifies the desire to be free from the striated principles of organisation which characterise modern bureaucracies and 'all the central mechanisms of power' (Deleuze and Guattari,

2004, p.19). In this way the newsletter's title encapsulates the free party movement's utopian desire to construct new and alternative ways of living, thinking and being

This emphasis on horizontal freedoms is further accentuated by the fact that *Circus Free*, like a circus ring, contains a multiplicity of acts. Thus 'snippets' (Tanyar, 2005) of information cut out from other organisations' publications, such as the Legalise Cannabis Campaign, Friends of the Earth and Festival Eye pass through the pages of *Circus Free*. Moreover the newsletter's refusal of striated editorial structures means that there is no single overarching narrative voice. Instead *Circus Free* is a patchwork of loosely connected spaces of resistance all attempting, in different ways, to 'incite, to induce, to seduce, to make easy or difficult, to enlarge or limit, to make more or less probable' (Deleuze and Guattari, 1998, p70-1).

In many ways these rhizomatic linkages and relationships can be seen to foreshadow the inter-activist connections more commonly attributed to the advent of the electronic link. The rhizomatic editorial structures of both *Circus Free* and *Indymedia* enable different 'acts' or organisations 'pass through' their pages. Thus cuttings, snippets or shreds are removed from arborescent publications and repositioned within the flux and flow of rhizomatic editorial structures. In this way one could argue that Euclidean spaces have been enveloped and overwhelmed by the Riemann spaces of politically smooth publication spaces.

Moreover *Circus Free*'s utilisation of informal activist connections collapses the editorial boundaries between key contributors and passing party-goers creating a publication which attempts to create, rather than follow pre-existing routes or channels. While *Indymedia* achieves this end by forcing the reader to choose links in order to progress through internet-mediated communications, *Circus Free* does so by surrendering many of the editorial controls utilised by publications such as *Socialist Worker*. In contrast, the pages of *Circus Free* are characterised by a vivid, kaleidoscopic quality which appears to anticipate the oddly speeded up and intense nature of (some) internet-based forms of communication.

However, despite the obvious pleasure *Circus Free* takes in being approachable and unpredictable, the newssheet necessarily contains elements of a more traditional or striated system. For example the exuberance of the newssheet's content is held together by various standardised features such as a tadpole ying and yang logo on the front cover, a Babble Collective editorial on the first page and a 'Love'n'hugs acknowledgements section with a Stonehenge Free Information Network logo at the end. These structural features, like *Indymedia*'s much reproduced web format, establish the publication as an alternative media brand. Paradoxically, but perhaps not surprisingly, it is these standardised features – editorially and textually – which prevent the newssheet from spiralling smoothly out of control[54].

Circus Free's use of the photocopier appears to foreshadow many of the internet's rhizomatically smooth qualities. This is partly because it wasn't put together by professionals on a monthly budget, but it is also because creativity and innovation have been prioritised over structure and form. *Circus Free* came into being right on the cusp of the digital revolution. Indeed the 'pleasurably laborious' (Tanyar, 2006) task of cutting and pasting a movement's many voices onto a single sheet could almost have been achieved with a click of the mouse. However, while it is tempting to assume a causal relationship between networked forms of communication and the internet, *Circus Free's* rejection of striated editorial systems within a print-based medium illustrates protest movements' technological independence. Consequently I would argue that that the communicative systems employed by global protest coalitions are rooted in ideology rather than technology[55].

The photocopier had already extended, and further democratised, the aesthetic opportunities first introduced by offset litho printing, which had made the production of magazines such as *It*, *Oz* and *Frendz* possible in the 1960s and 70s. Offset litho printing enabled designers to play with layouts without having to invest in costly metal blocks. As Marsha Rowe points out 'colour could spread over margins, pictures could be stuck down

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[54] The relationship between smooth space and control will be analysed in detail in chapter six.

[55] A detailed account of the ways in which methodology and ideology relate to each other within the public sphere can be found on page 28 of this thesis.

at odd angles and the page could be assembled so that print and colour superimposed on one another' (p.13, 1982). While these technological innovations undoubtedly created new and exciting aesthetic opportunities for alternative publications, I limit discussion here to an examination of the ways in which the printed word (rather than the image) has been used rhizomatically to foster non-linear, non-hierarchical, non-standardised ways of thinking.

This idea can be developed further by stepping back historically and engaging with a publication produced by the Women's Peace Movement on an IMB composer. The IMB composer has been described as 'a sort of glorified typewriter' which enabled activists to reproduce the effects of traditional type-setting at minimal cost (Welch, *Getting it printed in the 1970s*, 2006)[56]. Despite this use of traditional printing methods, the Women of Greenham Common were able to produce a similarly smooth production aesthetic. As such this publication from the early 1980s demonstrates the way in which the desire to occupy polyvocal spaces of resistance precedes the technological ability to do so.

Greenham Factor was produced by the Women of Greenham Common. In August 1981 forty women who had been inspired by a women-led march from Copenhagen to Paris, walked from Wales to Newbury and established a peace camp on Greenham Common. The women were protesting against the government's decision to site silos for American Cruise missiles on common land. The occupation continued for nineteen years and was supported by a surprisingly large and dedicated number of women. In the early 1990's the Cold War came to an end and American missiles and personnel left the site. The MoD declared the site redundant for military purposes in 1997 and the land was bought by the Greenham Common Trust and returned to public use[57]. A commemorative site was established in 2002 which includes a memorial to Helen Thomas, a young protester killed during the protests[58].

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[56] More information about IMB composers can be found in John Welch's article in issue 29 of *Jacket Magazine*.

[57] This information is taken from the Greenham Common Trust website: www.greenham-common.trust.co.uk

[58] This information is taken from Greenham Common Women's peace camp website: www.greenhamwpc.org.uk

(*Greenham Factor,* Women of Greenham Common)

Like the anti-Criminal Justice Bill movement, the women's peace movement articulated a multiplicity of oppositional positions to a single piece of governmental policy. The women's peace movement was also similar to the anti-Criminal Justice Bill movement in that it could be described as stemming from a tradition which advocated 'a set of notions about direct action, non-hierarchical organisation , even anti-organisation' (Landry et al, 1985, p.8). Consequently the movement developed rhizomatically and, beyond the prerequisite opposition to nuclear power made few ideological demands upon its members. Thus it is very different both ideologically and organisationally from the Socialist Workers Party which was a 'disciplined' party (McGrogan, in interview) and utilised arborescent

organisational systems as well as demanding loyalty and uniformity in order to contain and control the articulation of internalised dissent.

Josephine Eglin maintains that the Women's Liberation Movement equated means with ends. Whilst there are problems which arise from this equation, it nevertheless led the Greenham Women to reject 'the acceptance of leaders, hierarchies and bureaucracies' on the grounds that an acceptance of such systems would have 'implied a concern to seize power and to become part of the very dominant structure, which they were seeking to eliminate' (Eglin, 1987, p.245). This refusal to reproduce the traditionally arborescent power structures of the mainstream created a space in which alternative organisational systems could – and did – flourish.

The rhizomatic nature of the women's peace movement seems to have important editorial consequences for *Greenham Factor* as an alternative to the liberal bourgeois public sphere. Like *Circus Free*, the newssheet consists of a series of rhizomatically connected quotes, photos and facts, which appear to be printed more or less at random. This gives the strong impression that the publication could be dismantled and put together again in a different order without any real damage being done to its form or content. The impression is compounded by the fact that the pages are all un-paginated and printed in a wide variety of type settings and sizes. Indeed *Greenham Factor*'s rejection of traditionally arborescent editorial structures is so complete that the publication initially appears to be without structure.

However as Deleuze and Guattari point out (and as discussed above) smooth spaces ''are not without laws, even though their differences may be expressed in the guise of 'anarchy' '' (2004, p.542). The apparent formlessness of *Greenham Factor* should be understood as more than a rejection of the objective, neutralised qualities of hierarchically structured and reasoned debate. Indeed *Greenham Factor*'s adoption of deliberately rhizomatic linkages is evidently an attempt to foreground the personal and political diversity of its members by carefully, rather than recklessly, placing each voice on an entirely equal footing.

If *Socialist Worker* writes with a 'full blooded certainty' (Perryman, 2000), which depends upon a belief in an absolute truth beyond the confines of its pages, the truths posited in a social anarchist publication like *Greenham Factor* are rooted in a world more open to a multiplicity of alternative perspectives. The Greenham women's rejection of oppositional practices which are based on the A/Not A dichotomy (Jay cited in Massey 1993, p.147) enables them to go beyond the 'logic of exclusive disjunction which is supposed to govern concepts' formation in the sciences and all rigorous thought' (Patton, 2000, p.26). In this way the publication unsettles traditionally arborescent editorial structures, actively foregrounds its rejection of leaders and demonstrates its commitment to the creation of spaces which welcome the articulation of non-hierarchical, polyvocal dissent.

The significance of *Greenham Factor*'s somewhat chaotic structure should not be underestimated as it allows concepts to change and metamorphosis into new and perhaps more revealing insights. The ways in which *Greenham Factor* aspires to be the teller of alternative truths can be most clearly illustrated through an example. The following quote and accreditation appears towards the middle of the newssheet:

> If a death occurs while you are confined to the fall out room place the body in another room and cover it as securely as possible. Attach an identification. You should receive radio instructions on what to do next. If no instructions have been given within five days, you should temporarily bury the body as soon as it is safe to go out, and mark the spot.
>
> *From* Protect and Survive, *the government handbook that 'tells you how to make your home and family as safe as possible under nuclear attack'.*

Greenham Factor refuses to comment on the veracity of this statement. Instead it invites the reader to absorb this information in relation to the many other quotes which surround it and in relation to our own knowledge of the world. Within its own arborescent system (i.e. a government handbook) this quote is no doubt eminently sensible. However within the pages of *Greenham Factor* and surrounded by anti-nuclear sentiment, the contrast between the clinical burial instruction and the reference to one's 'home and family' becomes both faintly ironic and rather disturbing. Thus in its new context 'Protect and Survive' serves to

illustrate the ludicrously naïve nature of the government's response to the threat of nuclear war. Moreover it does so without having to resort to any particular ideological point of view.

Greenham Factor serves as an example of the way in which smooth spaces can be constituted by the unexpected and sometimes contradictory relationship between a multiplicity of disparate elements. In *A Thousand Plateaus*, Deleuze and Guattari maintain that 'concepts are defined not by their relations to things or states of affairs but by their relations to other elements as well as their relations to other concepts' (Patton, 2000, p.24). They argue that whereas arborescent concepts are set within their given systems, rhizomatic images 'are never stable but in state of constant flux as they are modified or transformed in the passage from one problem to the next', (Patton, 2000, p.26). While this sense of flux and flexibility strips one of much of the comforting security offered by Socialist Workers' static and ordered pages, it also a model of political discourse in which a variety of alternative truths can comment and reflect upon each other.

If *Socialist Worker* can be conceptualised as an example of 'oppositional culture' in that it rejects the reformist tendencies of the political left and aims to replace the entire capitalist system with a soviet inspired model of radical socialism. *Greenham Factor* focuses on influencing public opinion in relation to a single aspect of the existing system. While it undoubtedly challenged many of the norms of the established order, it did not offer to replace them with a centrally sanctioned interpretation of how-things-should-be. Indeed the lack of an all-encompassing ideology is liberating in that it enables the newssheet to address a whole range of related issues. By refusing to replace the existing hegemony, such a publication creates a plethora of spaces in which alternative cultures, including the status quo, can co-exist alongside one and other.

Stuart Moulthrop identifies similarly liberating implications in smooth spaces, arguing that because these spaces are in a constant state of becoming, they are 'by definition a structure of what does not yet exist' (Lefebvre, 1994, p.303). Such spaces enable elements of society to play with extremes, 'think about alternative possibilities' (1996, p21) and thus 'clarify

[the] objectives and the consequences of choice' available to society as a whole (Levy quoted in Kofman and Lebas, 1996, p12). They are spaces which can accommodate perpetual change and therefore enable a continuous multiplicity of previously un-articulated political positions to be expressed. I would ague that these spaces also fulfil many of the functions Hetherington attributed to the Blank figure[59] (2000), signifying the presence of absence without stipulating or defining what that absence should be. I would suggest that these powerful but undetermined spaces are central to the successful articulation of polyvocal dissent.

Scholars have argued that new information technologies clearly enable activists to be empowered in ways that are beyond the means of traditional print-based alternative media forms (Bennett: 2003, Downing: 2003 and Moulthrop: 1994). However I have argued that the *Greenham Factor*'s refusal to prioritise or rank contributions, like *Circus Free*'s rejection of an authoritative editorial strategy and *Indymedia*'s commitment to horizontal linkages, forces the reader to actively navigate their way through a purposefully fragmented and ever-shifting text. Moreover I have suggested that these publications' occupation of printed space rather than cyberspace suggests that the desire to provoke a non-linear progression stems directly from their shared socialist anarchist tradition and actively facilitates the articulation of polyvocal dissent.

Moreover I have suggested that the uneven and unexpected communication flows between social anarchist coalitions can be understood as a network of rhizomatically interlinked smooth spaces. Blunt and Wills maintain that anarchist principles have found currency in contemporary political protest. They argue that 'DiY culture and protest is reshaping the cartography of organised resistance, forging networks of activists across time and through space' (2000, p.36). I would suggest that rhizomatic anarchist structures also underpin the organisational systems of many contemporary polyvocal protest spaces such as the anti-globalisation and anti-war movements and in this way I would argue that protest coalition movements constitute a network of resistance across political time and space.

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[59] The notion of the blank figure is discussed in detail on pages 193-194

Walking the Net

Rob Shields argues that spaces on the fringe of society illuminate, rather than corrupt, mainstream understandings of 'normality'. Thus he claims that while the margins are almost by definition places of exclusion, he maintains that they can also be 'a position of power and critique' in that 'they expose the relativity of the entrenched, universalising values of the centre' (1991: 277). According to this view, spaces of resistance, such as *Indymedia, Circus Free* and *Greenham Factor*, can be understood as 'spaces of freedom, resistance, alternative moral order and authenticity' (Hetherington, 1998, p.129). Hetherington describes this distanced but connected vantage point as 'seeing through the prism of rejected knowledge' (1998, p.121). This is a reciprocal view which Walsh develops further when he asserts that

> 'Alternative' does not mean 'outside' or cut off from the mainstream. On the contrary, the meaning of alternative, as integrated Utopia, is contained as part and parcel of the mainstream. Its unutilized or underutilized component (1999, p.2).

According to this interpretation, spaces of resistance, such as those created by the texts from a socialist anarchist tradition, are an integral part of society as a whole and therefore have much to offer the political realm.

In this chapter, I have attempted to foreground the ways in which rhizomatic systems create smooth spaces which are particularly able to foster the interests of coalition protest movements. I have reflected upon the political implications raised by publications which are rooted in a social anarchist tradition such as *Greenham Factor, Circus Free* and *Indymedia*. I have argued that unlike *Socialist Worker*, which stems from a soviet tradition, these publications foreground fluctuating and rhizomatic relationships between concepts in an attempt to escape the striated 'dialectic of subversion and resistance' (Cubitt, 1998: 143) and to create horizontal networks of communication which refuse to occupy a position of binary resistance and therefore exist outside the managed webs of globalisation.

In doing so I have suggested that protest movements' recent occupation of virtual space is an extension of a socialist anarchist tradition. The internet is frequently described as a space which is entirely enclosed and separated from the mainstream. However if one conceptualises the internet as a margin which stands in relation to, rather than separated from, the mainstream it is possible to develop a theoretical framework which goes beyond a purely oppositional interpretation of offline and online communication and introduces a more networked understanding of the public sphere. Consequently I have argued that the internet is an elaboration, rather than the root, of rhizomatic media tendencies.

In this chapter I have examined the ways in which political communication forms impact upon a reader's ability to both access and influence public debate. While it is important to acknowledge the many ways in which media forms can be differently negotiated (Hall, 1993) I have reflected primarily on the ways in which editorial controls foreground particular reading strategies. In doing so, I have examined the democratic potential of the both printed and electronic textual spaces and followed Moulthrop (1994) in arguing that computer-mediated communications can constitute a smooth space which can more easily accommodate multiplicity. I concluded by exploring the ways in which the rhizomatic qualities of the web and the more arborescent structures of the book also overlap creating communicative spheres which are characterised by a 'de facto mix' of systems and spaces (Deleuze and Guattari, 2004, p.524).

I have suggested that both online and offline spaces of resistance can contribute to the formation of a dynamic and inclusive public sphere. I examined the ways in which rhizomatic systems characterised the communication structures of socialist anarchist organisations creating smooth spaces which are particularly open to the articulation of polyvocal dissent. I also explored the ways in which these spaces encourage readers to take responsibility for their own route through political texts, blurring the traditional boundaries between media producers and consumers. By choosing to focus on publications which very clearly predate the widespread use of computer-mediated communications I hoped to illustrate the ways in which protest coalitions from a socialist anarchist tradition have always created spaces which foster the articulation of polyvocal dissent. Thus I would

argue that anti-globalisation organisations like the Zapatistas have not been created by the advent of the internet but have adopted information systems which conformed to networked communication flows previously established by organisations rooted in a socialist anarchist tradition.

Within broadsheet narratives the internet and its capacity to facilitate networked communication systems have come to represent the organisational principles of the anti-globalisation movement as a whole. This equation is problematic in that it necessarily simplifies the complexities of the relationship between the anti-globalisation movement and the internet, and subjects activists from a social anarchist tradition to a totalising act of synecdoche. The implications raised by this technological frame can be further understood by turning to the work of Michael de Certeau. In 'Walking the City', de Certeau describes the way in which Medieval or Renaissance painters represented the city from a perspective beyond their technical means. De Certeau goes on to argue that while such mapping practices make the complexity of the city/text 'readable' they are also problematic in that their 'opaque mobility' is immobilised into a 'transparent text'. As a result, resisting stories which once produced 'anti-text effects, effects of dissemination and escape' – such as the Zapatistas' uprising in Chiapas – are simplified into 'rumours propagated by the media' which 'cover everything and…wipe out' the possibility of resistance (de Certeau, 1984: 107-8).

Rhizomatic anarchist structures underpin the organisational systems of many contemporary polyvocal protest spaces such as the anti-globalisation and the anti-war movement. The following chapters will focus on the way in which protest coalition movements create actual and textual spaces which can accommodate internal political differences whilst also maintaining cross-movement solidarity. I will argue that protest coalition movements' occupation of smooth space is empowering precisely because it forces engagement with the 'murky intertwining behaviours' of everyday political struggle (de Certeau, 1984, p.94). Thus, while denying us the pleasure and the privilege of being an all seeing 'solar eye' (de Certeau, 1984, p.94), these spaces also enable us to create new and politically challenging ways of 'thinking differently' (Foucault, quoted in Paul Patton, 2000 p.25). Chapter four

therefore discusses the anti-globalisation movement's occupation of actual city spaces, while chapter five examines the ways in which the anti-globalisation movement has unsettled the boundaries between textual and actual spaces as well as between the alternative and the mainstream.

<u>Chapter Four</u>
<u>Agitational Activities</u>

Into the Street

- Reading the City
- Beyond Text

Militant Masses

- Passionate Discourses
- Calibrating Militancy

An Entanglement of Voices

Into the Street

> *It is not easy to see things in the middle, rather than looking down on*
> *them from above or up at them from below…*
> Deleuze and Guattari, 2004, p.25

The 1994 Zapatista uprising in Chiapas created politically autonomous spaces which privileged 'democracy, liberty and justice' in the belief that they would 'eventually create counter-powers to the state simply by existing as alternatives' (Klein, 2001, p.14). The International Encounter for Humanity and Against Neoliberalism further developed this space by creating a subaltern sphere in which activists from around the world could gather and reflect upon their alternative political interests and needs. This meeting was enormously influential and culminated in the production of the *Second Declaration of La Realidad for Humanity and against Neoliberalism*. This declaration articulated 'a network of voices and resistance' (Subcomandante Marcos, 2001, p.123) and in doing so revitalised the socialist-anarchist activist tradition which had previously been eclipsed by soviet inspired models of political protest (Downing, 2002, p.245).

For six years these autonomous spaces in Chiapas continued to enable both the indigenous population of Mexico and anti-globalisation activists from around the world to 'undertake communicative processes' far from the 'supervision' of dominant groups (Fraser, 1990, p.66). However in 2001 the Zapatistas announced their intension to march from the mountainous fringe of their country to its symbolic and geographical heart: Mexico City. In this way Subcomandante Marcos attempted to move the Zapatistas from a marginal position on the edge of national debates and to occupy, albeit temporarily, the mainstream 'arena of power' (Subcomandante Marcos, 2004, p.8).

The three thousand kilometre march covered twelve states and took insurgents and international observers two weeks. It followed the routes taken by the revolutionary

heroes Emiliano Zapata and Francisco Villa in 1914 and culminated in the Zocalo[60]. The Zocalo is a huge empty square which covers the Aztec capital, Tenochtilian (razed to the ground by the Spanish conquistadors in 1519) and is fronted by the largest stone cathedral in the Americas and colonial-style governmental buildings. It is a significant political site as it symbolises the violent clash between indigenous and European cultures which continue to shape modern Mexico.

In *The Practice of Everyday Life*, de Certeau describes walking as 'the indefinite process of being absent and in search of a Proper' (1984, p.103). I would argue that the notion of walking as both a 'lack a place' and the search for a socially and politically better 'place' can usefully be applied to political journeys from the margins to the mainstream (de Certeau, 1984, p.103). When protesters converge on sites of national or global significance, they attempt to illustrate both their own lack of a place within the mainstream and to offer the wider public a glimpse of the view from an alternative political position. Consequently these city spaces become a site of both a physical *and* an ideological struggle, between those 'legitimising what is already known' (Foucault cited in Patton, 2000, p.25) and those trying to offer the mainstream 'a glimpse of what is possible…a utopia defined not as a no-place but as this-place' (Notes From Nowhere Collective, 2003, p.182).

As discussed in chapter two, de Certeau contrasts an all-empowering solar eye view over the city with the muddled, in-between experience of those who live within the city[61]. This understanding of the city can be further developed through Deleuze and Guattari's notion of the city as a striated space. According to Deleuze and Guattari, the city can be experienced as a grid-like imposition of 'Royal science', it is a 'striated space par excellence' (2004 p.531). Like the technological model of woven fabric discussed in chapter one[62], it can be conceived as a series of closed and allocated points. According to this view the capitalist city is a 'force of striation' (2004 p.531) which

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[60] See http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/programmes/from_our_own_correspondent/1222327.stm for a full account of this demonstration.
[61] See pages 77-79 for a further discussion of these spaces
[62] A more detailed description and analysis of this model can be found on pages 65-67

uses the bureaucratic systems of money, work and housing to bind city dwellers into a governable mass.

However, Deleuze and Guattari maintain that the city also re-imparts smooth space in the 'sprawling temporary, shifting shanty towns of nomads and cave dwellers' (2004 p.531). They suggest that the 'explosive misery secreted by the city' rises up from the striations of work and money and creates a patch-work of 'scrap metal and fabric' spaces which hold the possibility of counterattack (2004 p.531). Here they echo de Certeau's position by arguing that it is possible to live smoothly even in the most striated of city spaces and to distribute oneself across the city through the uneven footsteps of the urban nomad. Indeed it is in these shreds of Riemann space, constituted by an 'amorphous collection of pieces that are juxtaposed but not attached to each other' (Deleuze and Guattari, 2004 p.535) that Hardt and Negri identify the potential of the Multitude[63].

While Deleuze and Guattari set up the abstract notion of striated city spaces and smooth nomadic occupations, they are also very clear that the two spaces can never be entirely separated. The de facto mix of space means that,

> Smooth space is constantly being translated and traversed into striated space; striated space is constantly being reversed, returned into smooth space (Deleuze and Guattari, p.524).

In the following section I focus on the ways in which mass demonstrations called by protest coalition movements make the 'contest' between the rhizomatic and the arborescent, the smooth and the striated manifest in public space.

I begin by developing some of the issues raised in chapter three and focus on how space (both textual and actual) can be experienced differently. Building on earlier chapters I examine the ways in which activists physically occupy urban spaces in order to instigate 'agitational activities directed towards wider publics' (Fraser, 1990, p.68). I focus on

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[63] See pages 60 and 69 for discussion of the multitude.

the ways in which the rhizomatic May Day protest structures unsettled, challenged and resisted the arborescent systems and structures of state. These arguments are substantiated by comparing the conventionally organised GLATUC's annual May Day march with the coalition Carnival Against Capitalism which took place on June 18th 1999.

The Greater London Authorities Trade Union Council's May Day demonstration is interesting because it represents a traditional and long standing form of public protest, dating from the late 1800s May Day when was set aside as International Worker's Day. However in more recent years the class-based binaries which characterise this type of celebration have been unsettled by demonstrations, which articulate a plethora of identity-based protest positions. One such demonstration, Carnival Against Capitalism (or J18 as it is frequently known), is of particular significance because it preceded temporally, methodologically and ideologically the 'explosive' summit demonstrations which took place in Seattle, Washington and Genoa.

The second half of this chapter will reflect on the ways in which the chaotic and anarchic smooth spaces created by the anti-globalisation movements' summit demonstrations in Seattle, Washington and Genoa, were recaptured and re-enveloped by the striated systems constituting urban spaces. I examine the way in which anti-globalisation movements have inflected notions of mass and militancy in order to position their protest strategies in relation to both each other and the mainstream. I also focus on the way in which affinity groupings develop non-textual organisational systems to structure protests, preserve difference and promote solidarity.

The final section of this chapter utilises Deleuze and Guattari's notion of smooth fabrics, such as felt, being constituted by an 'entanglement of fibres' (1987, p.525). I suggest that in the build-up to a large international summit, demonstration affinity groupings can be understood as creating a patchwork of interwoven and overlapping smooth spaces. I go on to argue that during summit demonstrations these spaces merge

and meld to become a felt-like 'entanglement of fibres'(1987, p.525)[64]. I also focus on the frictions created by the points of contact between differently organised spaces and examine the implications raised by anti-globalisation protesters' refusal to be divided up into 'good' and 'bad protesters. Before going on to explore the ways in which the rhizomatic protest structures employed by coalition movements contest and unsettle public spaces, I would like to examine the ways in which traditionally organised demonstrations occupy city spaces.

Reading the city

(Approaching Aldrich, Imdoc, 2006[65])

Traditionally organised demonstrations are invariably headed by a movement's most vocal and recognisable members. These leaders (in this instance the president of the PCS Janice Godrich and the president of the TUC Gloria Mills) usually carry a large

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[64] See pages 65-67 for a discussion of felt making in relation to postmodern models of the public sphere.
[65] The pictures and captions used to illustrate these arguments were taken over a number of years and can be found online in the GLATUC picture gallery. http://www.londonmayday.org/maydayarchives.php

banner which titles the demonstration and articulates activists' principal demands. This provides onlookers with a politically clear and unambiguous focal point. This group is usually followed by a large mass of more anonymous protesters who are frequently organised into smaller sub sections by banners proclaiming membership of a particular group or organisation.

(TUC Banners, Imdoc, 2008)

These sub-sections tend to mirror the hierarchies of the demonstration as a whole. Thus they are invariably headed by the most committed local activists who are then followed by less active core supporters. This leaves non-affiliated individuals to demonstrate popular support, wave placards and generally bring up the rear.

(Marchers, RS, 2005)

Thought of in this way, it could be said that traditionally organised demonstrations read very much like a book. They have a linear narrative, which has been carefully credited, titled and broken up into more or less discrete and manageable chapters. Moreover like a newspaper, their intent can be grasped by scanning the banners which head the columns of marchers. Indeed, one could argue that traditionally organised demonstrations are remarkably text based. Political ends tend to be articulated via banners, placards and flyers which spell out the protesters' demands. Pamphlets and leaflets offering a more extend account of the demonstration's aims are also distributed amongst the crowd in the hope that these text based forms of communications will initiate dialogue between activists and non-activists members of the community.

As discussed in chapter one, the printed page is central to Habermas' conception of a well-functioning liberal bourgeois public sphere. Indeed, in the eighteenth century printed newssheets were the *only* 'specific means for transmitting information and influencing those who received it' (Habermas, 1974, p.49). As discussed in chapter three, the printed word is a communicative medium which plays to the strengths of protest groups such as the Socialist Workers Party. The arborescent organisational structures of the Socialist Worker's Party enable affiliated activists to produce and distribute placards, pamphlets and leaflets which articulate their view point widely during mass demonstrations. As a consequence, the Socialist Worker's Party's' single and clearly authored political position is frequently read as that of the whole march.

Ong argues that the 'mindset' characteristic of print culture (Ong, 1982, p.133) 'separates the knower from the known' (1982, p.43) and that this distance creates a sense of personal disengagement from 'the arena where human beings struggle with one and other' (Ong, 1982, 43). Applying this idea to the march, an individual (who is, let's not forget, a potential activist) watching the demonstration pass by, is placed in a removed and excluded position. Like de Certeau on top of the World Trade Center (or like the person holding these pages) they read a pleasing, but in many ways 'fictional', account of the political terrain spread out before them (de Certeau, 1984, p.93).

Perhaps even more importantly, activists taking part in traditionally organised demonstrations cannot 'actualise' their own route through the 'constructed order' (de Certeau, 1984, p.93). The decline in 'homemade' banners illustrates the way in which there are increasingly few spaces in which activists can articulate their own interpretation of political difference. Instead activists are required/permitted to do little more that walk the pre-arranged route, echo the pre-chosen chants and listen to the prepared speeches.

Thus both the marchers and the observers occupy a politically distanced position. The arborescent structures and systems of traditionally organised demonstrations seem to encourage activists to be the passive element in the producer/consumer binary. For anti-globalisation activists this sense of closure has depressing political implications in that it removes the individual from the everyday struggles of the life-world, making politics appear both alien (it's nothing to do with me) and unalterable (I can't do anything about it anyway). As a result, many anti-globalisation protesters argue that traditional demonstrations are 'essentially' a form of 'lobbying en masse' (Black block protesters, *Genoa beyond the Hype*, www.flag.blackened.net).

The carefully ordered arborescent structures of conventionally structured demonstrations can be thought of as mirroring many of the hierarchies found in mainstream society as a whole. This enables/requires protesters to move harmoniously within the closed spaces constituted by a 'finite number of stable, isolatable and interconnected properties (de Certeau, 1984, p. 21). The potentially smooth spaces of resistance are 'translated and traversed into striated space' which coincide with, rather than challenge or contest, the status quo (Deleuze and Guattari, 2004, p.524).

Never the less traditionally organised demonstrations retain an important role within the many and varied protest repertoires of coalition movements. This is because they create a space in which individuals who may be wary of confrontation with the state, such as non-documented migrant workers, the parents of young children, and those whose

livelihoods would be jeopardised by the acquisition of a criminal record, can demonstrate (relatively) free from the fear of arrest.

The tension between smooth and striated space can be further explored by examining coalition demonstrations occupation of striated city spaces. According to British law[66], activists must inform the police of their intent to protest within at least six days of the proposed event. However, before the attack on the World Trade Center, the police seldom invoked these powers and invariably did their utmost to facilitate the organisation of mass demonstrations. As Waddington points out this is partly because the police were (and still are) keen to maintain their reputation as fair and even-handed managers of legitimate protest. However, it also enables the police to 'enhance [their] control' of dissent, and by implication political disorder, by institutionalising these forms of public protest (Waddington, 1998, p.130).

An examination of the negotiated routes for most London-based marches illustrates the institutionalisation of protest. Demonstrations in central London usually move between Hyde Park and Trafalgar Square. These locations allow protesters the space to assemble in large numbers, listen to speeches and then disperse within easy reach of the city's major transport links. However, there are two possible routes between Hyde Park and Trafalgar Square. The police invariably 'help' protesters choose a route that takes them along Park Lane and Piccadilly. This 'unofficial 'standard route'' (Waddington, 1998, p.120) enables the police to keep 'the march contained within a '''neat and tidy'' boundary' (Waddington, 1998, p.122). In this way the police ensure that demonstrations are modulated evenly and predictably across both time and space.

The Park Lane/Piccadilly route keeps protesters away from the more heavily populated pavements and therefore severely limits the impact protesters can make upon the mainstream's political consciousness. Moreover marches tend to be scheduled in such a way as to avoid peak periods in the day such as rush hour. Thus one can argue that by

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[66] This law is interpreted very differently by different people and continues to be the subject of much debate.

utilising the quietest roads and hours traditionally organised demonstrations purposefully keeps protesters out of the public eye ensuring that the articulation of dissent can be woven seamlessly into the pre-existing striations of the city. However there is an alternative route, which would take protesters right through the heart of the consumerist city and allow protesters to engage the full attention of both motorists and pedestrians along Oxford Street and Regency Street. The fact that this maximum-impact approach is seldom utilised, lends credibility to activists' belief that protest is permitted, sometimes even encouraged, but only on the proviso that it is entirely ineffective (Reiner, 1998, p.47).

Protesters' sense of being, at best, managed within and, at worst, excluded from, mainstream public arenas, led anti-globalisation activists to challenge many of the structures which shape public demonstrations. Thus for example, while Reclaim the Streets were obliged by law to inform the police of their intent to demonstrate, they refused to enter into any of the usual pre-demonstration collaborations. They justified this position by claiming that their rejection of hierarchies and bureaucracies rendered them organisationally incapable of engaging with the police and therefore maintained that they were unable to elect a leader/spokesperson/liaison officer to conduct negotiations on their behalf. They went on to argue that their horizontal power structures made such negotiation pointless as no single person or group would have the authority to direct protesters during the demonstration (unnamed protester, *J18 1999: Our resistance is as transnational as capital*, http://www.network23.nologic.org).

This has a significant impact on how anti-globalisation protests such as J18 and international summit demonstrations which followed, produced themselves on the ground. Conventionally organised demonstrations offer onlookers a solar eye view of an unfolding, but predetermined political narrative. However rhizomatically organised demonstrations (like rhizomatically organised editorial spaces discussed in the previous chapter) refuse to rank or prioritise the political positions available. Consequently the familiar givens of a traditionally organised march are replaced by a sprawling ebb and flow of protest clusters, which emerge and dissolve, repeatedly and at random,

throughout the day and across the city. This creates a demonstrative space in which participants, spectators and the police are all immersed in the muddled in-between spaces of everyday political struggle.

These demonstrative spaces deny protesters the sense of security and direction offered by arborescent organisations. They exist at 'ground level' and are composed by a myriad of 'footsteps' which 'cannot be counted because each unit has a qualitative character: a style of tactile apprehension and kinaesthetic appropriation (de Certeau, 1984, p.97). This type of space requires individual protesters to produce their own political position, via the links and connections they make with the people/materials around them. Thus rather than consuming the city from above, anti-globalisation protesters weave through the city streets creating the 'thicks and thins of an urban 'text' they write without being able to read' (de Certeau, 1984, p.93).

However the 'gleeful delight' taken by anti-globalisation protesters in the wilful 'scrambling of conventional categories' (Graeber, 2004, p.209) is problematic for those charged with the maintenance of public order. Protesters' refusal to enter into pre-demonstration negotiations with the police has the effect of removing the usual temporal and spatial boundaries which normally constrain the articulation of public dissent. They refuse to be read by the 'totalising eye' of the state (de Certeau, 1984, p.97). In this way Reclaim the Street's rhizomatic organisational structures and systems clashed with the arborescent systems imposed by the police and other state powers. As a result the city streets became a site of contest between smooth and striated spaces, rhizomatic and arborescent systems, protesters and the police.

This deliberately unsettled position also impacts on the wider public interactions with both protesters and the police. While there are positive aspects of being forced to engage and encouraged to err, it can also create very real problems for rhizomatically organised protest coalition movements. As Deleuze and Guattari point out 'it is not easy to see things in the middle, rather than looking down on them from above or below' (2004, p.25). The loss of orientation experienced by individuals and organisations,

accustomed to occupying a comfortable (but mistaken) solar eye position can trigger a reaction of panic. Consequently the mainstream media tends to frame polyvocal organisations as constituting an incoherent, uncontrollable and therefore potentially dangerous threat to civil society (Donson, 2004, Stein, 2001).

In summary, traditionally organised demonstrations are characterised by an ordered and segmented flow which allows them to coincide with the equally administered city spaces which surround them. In contrast I have suggested that Reclaim the Streets rejection of hierarchical top-down organisational structures in favour of more flexible, horizontal communication systems, creates demonstrative spaces which are in a perpetual state of hiccupping flux. These smooth spaces have much in common with the rhizomatically organised editorial spaces discussed in the previous chapter and are characterised by *becoming* rather than *progress*. Protest coalitions, such as the anti-globalisation movement, are made up of many disparate organisations, each employing different promotional strategies and tactics. This creates a demonstrational structure that is in many ways unrecognisable to a mainstream accustomed to arborescent systems and structures. In the following section I argue that these spaces of apparently miscellaneous activity are not without structure.

Beyond text

Carnival Against Capitalism protesters' rejection of the neat and tidy boundaries expected by the public and favoured by the police, is not a rejection of the notion of organisation per se. As American feminist Freeman points out 'there is no such thing as a structureless group- the only question is what kind of structure a group has (cited by Landry et al, 1985 p.10). Anti-globalisation organisations and spaces do have a structure – demonstrations as large and successful as the May Day marches, J18 and Seattle do not happen spontaneously! However, they are structured very differently from mainstream spaces and as such their demonstrational structure is often unrecognised. But just as we do not notice the 'severe distortion' (Rosello, 1994, p.139) of space and time imposed by linearity we frequently fail to recognise the more

rhizomatic systems which structure the smooth spaces produced by organisations such as the anti-globalisation movement.

This assertion can be best illustrated by briefly examining the role of marching bands in both traditional and anti-globalisation demonstrations. Bands have always played a key role in political and military campaigns. They attract the attention of spectators, provide an uplifting focal point of interest and boost the morale of flagging participants. Traditional marching bands (i.e. those with a 4/4 rhythm) including those utilised by the GLATUC May Day demonstration, have traditionally been rooted within working communities. This enables band members to meet up regularly and develop a suitable repertoire of numbers in a sociable and convivial atmosphere. This creates a musical style that is cheerfully upbeat as well as carefully measured and disciplined.

Anti-globalisation demonstrations have developed and extended this tradition by utilising a musical style based upon syncopated samba rhythms. These rhythms deliberately interrupt and unsettle the traditional one-two-three-four beat of a marching band. The introduction of samba also reflects how the traditional class-based binaries which underpin traditional protest is interrupted and unsettled by more complex, globalised identity positions. Thus while samba has traditionally been the sound of Latin American carnivals, in recent years it has become the aural backdrop of most anti-globalisation demonstrations[67].

The basic hiccupping samba rhythm lends itself to improvisation, which enables comparative strangers (many of whom may well have flown in from all corners of the world) to play together quickly and fluently. Ian Trice, points out that samba blocks can be as 'flexible or fluid as you want' (in interview, 15th June 2004) and are therefore uniquely equipped to respond to the chaotic ebb and flow of large-scale anti-globalisation protests. They require neither sheet music nor expensive instruments, which is particularly important in a protest environment which can quickly become

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[67] During the anti-globalisation demonstrations of the late 1990s samba was a new and innovative addition to contemporary protest repertoires. Since then samba has become a firmly established element of popular protest.

confrontational. Moreover the porous nature of a samba block means individual players can fall behind, switch blocks, stop for a snack or get arrested, without jeopardising the continuation of the basic samba beat. In this way the samba band enables activists to co-ordinate their activities without forcing the individual to compromise their sense of self or their ability to move freely through differently organised demonstrative spaces.

The UK based Rhythms Of Resistance and the Seattle inspired Infernal Noise Brigade are two of the most influential bands within the anti-globalisation movement. Rhythms of Resistance describe themselves as 'a subversive version, a circus parody of the uniformed military marching bands that accompany regiments into battle' (unnamed protester, *Rhythms of Resistance*, http://www.schnews.co.uk). In this way the increasing popularity of samba could be read as part of protesters' attempts to 'create a space of carnival, where all rules are broken and everything is possible' (Whitney, 2003, p.216). I would suggest that this position attempts to combine the confrontational and the frivolous in a way which is particularly characteristic of the anti-globalisation movement.

This desire to subvert expectations and create new possibilities is echoed by the Infernal Noise Brigade who are explicit in their aim to go beyond the traditional marching bands' role of inspiring joy and boosting moral. The Infernal Noise Brigade describes itself as a 'tactical mobile rhythmic unit' dedicated to the strategic movement of large crowds and the 'propaganda of sound' (Whitney, 2003, p.218 and p.220). In this way samba bands are increasingly being used by coalition protest movements to co-ordinate the strategic movement of large, 'leaderless' crowds (Whitney, 2003, p.220). Thus the Infernal Noise Brigade not only subverts traditional protest repertoires, it also attempts to construct new ones.

The effectiveness of samba as an organisational tool was illustrated in an anti-globalisation demonstration which took place in Barcelona in 2001. The demonstration was 'tired' and on the verge of dispersing when rumours began to circulate that protesters had been arrested and were being detained without access to legal

representation on the other side of the city. Rhythms Of Resistance upped the tempo and led the demonstration across Barcelona to the police station where the activists were being held. Consequently protesters and their attendant camera crews were able to bear witness to the illegal activities of the state and so contributed to the eventual release of the activists.

Rhythms Of Resistance, like the Infernal Noise Brigade, are a reaction against the 'bleated slogans and carried signs' of traditional demonstrations. This desire to interrupt and disorder the usual sequences of political time and space with 'disorienting rhythmic patterns', as the Infernal Noise Brigade themselves point out, is, 'entirely post-textual' , (Whitney, 2003p. 20). Samba bands bring an element of cohesion to an otherwise wild and uncontrolled form of protest. In doing so they illustrate that the anti-globalisation movement's refusal to co-operate with the authorities is not a sign of political weakness or a rejection of organisation per se, but an attempt to create alternative rhizomatic organisational structures which reflect the ideological positions of the activists involved.

While this structuring quality can be viewed as a strength - in that it offers anti-globalisation demonstrations a focal point in an otherwise undefined space - it can also be viewed as a weakness in so far as it creates opportunities for the re-striation of previously smooth spaces. This can best be illustrated by examining a demonstration which took place in London in 2001. For much of the day the rhizomatically organised demonstration had been spread unevenly (and uncertainly) across the city. However, in the afternoon a samba band began to draw the crowd, which had the unanticipated effect of creating an impromptu and very traditionally structured demonstration. This enabled the police to regain control of the city by corralling the massed demonstrators between two junctions, thus re-imposing the arborescent boundaries which constitute striated spaces[68].

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[68] This policing technique has since become known as 'kettling' and is discussed in greater detail on pages 241-248 of chapter five.

In the following section I examine the formation of the boundaries which constitute both alternative and mainstream public spheres in more detail. In particular I explore the ways in which rhizomatically organised protest spaces accommodate the conflicts which difference necessarily brings. I therefore focus on anti-globalisation protesters' articulation of impassioned dissent, their use of affinity groupings to calibrate confrontation and their refusal to be disentangled by antagonistic us/them distinctions.

Militant Masses

Consensus is no doubt necessary but it must be accompanied by dissent.
Mouffe, 2005, p.31

According to Habermas, the public sphere is bought into being every time private individuals gather publicly to 'confer in an unrestricted fashion…about matters of general interest' (Habermas, 1974, p.49). However, the liberal bourgeois model's emphasis on the role of the individual in achieving consensus can be problematic. Thus, while Habermas refers positively to the ways in which newspapers and magazines, radio and television create a dispersed 'public body' capable of articulating public opinion, he remains ambivalent about the gathering together of actual public bodies in the form of mass demonstrations. This distrust is rooted in the perceived unreasonableness of the mass and the knowledge that the politically productive enthusiasm of 'the crowd' (Mouffe, 2005, p.24) can metamorphose into the physically destructive hysteria of the mob.

Despite these theoretical tensions, protest organisations continue to rely on mass demonstrations to show the strength of their commitment, draw attention to their cause and recruit fresh support. Moreover, the size of the turnout is generally seen as an indicator of the success of a campaign. This is because there is a 'moral authority in numbers' (Neale, 2002, p.148) which most democratic governments cannot be seen to ignore. Consequently one could argue that while mass demonstrations may not constitute a fully functioning public sphere in themselves, they do precipitate the creation of political spaces in which movement leaders can engage governmental

leaders in reasoned debate and resolve conflict through consensus. Thus, for example, the Zapatistas' rally in the Zocalo eventually led to negotiations between the movement leaders and the newly elected president of Mexico, Vincente Fox.

However, as Fraser discusses in 'Transnationalising the Public Sphere', the 'political efficacy' of public opinion has been complicated by the effects of globalisation (2007, p.7). Consequently the public's ability to exert influence over the political processes of the nation state appears to be waning. This is partly because of the advent of unelected bodies, such as the World Trade Organisation and the International Monetary Fund, which clearly transcend the authority of democratically elected governments. Indeed transnational organisations such as the World Bank and the International Money Fund occupy spaces constitutionally beyond the 'criticism and control' of the citizenry (Habermas, 1974, p.50) and are therefore immune to public opinion. For example when the Mexican government 'chose' to amend its constitution in order to receive a 300 million dollar loan from the World Bank, the Mexican people were entirely without democratic recourse[69].

The growing sense that the relationship between public opinion and governmental legislation is becoming increasingly tenuous has been further compounded by the failure of the United Nations to prevent the American led invasion of Iraq. The 2003 Stop the War demonstration in London was part of a worldwide weekend of protest and was attended by a record-breaking seven hundred and fifty thousand people[70]. Despite these well organised demonstrations, the government refused to recognise (and therefore legitimise) clearly articulated arguments concerning the relationship between military intervention in Iraq and acts of terror in America, Britain and Spain. As a result of the ease with which governments ignore public opinion, coalition protest movements have increasingly combined their organisationally specific political concerns with an

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[69] This loan and its consequences are discussed in greater detail in chapter three of this thesis on pages 100 - 101

[70] Organisers estimated attendance at closer to two million people. The regular discrepancies between the police's estimates and activists' estimates illustrate the ongoing importance of mass in the battle to secure political legitimacy for alternative ideas.

overarching interest in 'protecting and building democracy' in the industrialised world (Bruno, *After Carlo Giuliani*, http://www.alternet.org).

This sense of political distance and exclusion from below is accompanied by a contradictory rhetoric of inclusion from above. As, in order to demonstrate their legitimacy, global and national authorities are including more and more oppositional voices. Thus the authorities regularly call on non-governmental organisations, such as the International Red Cross, Save the Children and Oxfam, to report and advise (but not decide) upon matters which fall within the areas of their expertise. Similarly, popular cultural figures reputed to be highly critical of the establishment, such as Bob Geldof, Midge Ure and Bono are now routinely recuperated by the state and offered a seat at the table of international summit negotiations. In this way, voices which were once part of a dissenting 'them' are redefined and repositioned as part of a consensus building 'us'.

This desire to be seen to be including the opposition at an international level can also be identified within the political process of the nation state. For example, Gordon Brown sought to distinguish his administration from the discredited Blair leadership by promising 'a government of all the talents' which would unite across party differences (Ex Tory Donor to be Brown Advisor, BBC, 7th September 2007). Similarly Obama's election campaign was characterised by a strong emphasis on bipartisan consensus.

However, Mouffe suggests that spaces which appear to be politically inclusive fail to recognise both the necessity of, and the potential in, partisan politics. She argues that the desire to establish a post-political realm beyond a partisan us/them relationship 'reveals a complete lack of what is at stake in democratic politics' (2005, p.2). She goes on to claim that a sense of political belonging, defined in an agonistic relation to other political groupings, is central to a well functioning democracy. She maintains that,

> A well functioning democracy calls for a clash of legitimate
> democratic political positions … such confrontations should provide
> collective forms of identification strong enough to mobilise political
> passions. If this adversarial configuration is missing, passions cannot

be given a democratic outlet and the antagonistic dynamics of pluralism are hindered (2005, p.30).

According to this view, an agonistic us/them dynamic creates a sense of political enthusiasm and precipitate participation in the democratic process, whilst the erasure of political boundaries (via the exclusion of democratically expressed public opinion and/or the recuperative inclusion of dissenting voices) is understood as being deeply harmful to democracy.

It is important to stress that Mouffe is not advocating a return to the class divides which have traditionally structured radical politics. Indeed she explicitly rejects the notion of any single binary divide. Instead she envisages a multi-polar world in which a plethora of political identities compete and intertwine. This is an understanding of the public sphere which foregrounds an uncomfortable and complex in-the-middle position and requires one to come 'to terms with the lack of a final ground' and to acknowledge the 'dimension of undecidability which pervades every order' (Mouffe, 2005, p.17).

Mouffe goes on to claim that the move towards (an illusionary) post-political world pivots around a change in register from the political to the moral, arguing that politically productive agonistic boundaries are increasingly being replaced and re-articulated in fundamentally antagonistic terms:

> When instead of being formulated as a political confrontation between 'adversaries', the we/they confrontation is visualised as a moral one between good and evil, the opponent can only be perceived as an enemy to be destroyed…(Mouffe, 2005, p.5)

The political implications of this shift were evident in the aftermath of the 2001 attack on the World Trade Centre. The Bush administration framed its response in terms of the 'war on terror' and, as Gilroy points out, this rhetorical device disallows dissent and makes the articulation of resistance a 'minor form of treason' (2004, p.65).

Consequently political opponents become 'enemy combatants' who can be legitimately denied the rights and privileges commonly enjoyed by the citizen[71].

As Mouffe points out, an antagonistic us/them distinction forecloses and frustrates political debate which can lead to a situation in which protest organisations turn to alternative 'modes of civic resistance, both peaceful and violent' (2005, p.81). The Bush administration's use of epideictic[72] (rather than deliberative) rhetoric (Bostdorff, 2003, Murphey, 2003, Archer 2008), combined with the anti-globalisation search for alternative means of articulating dissent, created a situation in which the metaphorical boundary between the 'us' and the 'them' was extended and fortified by players on both sides of the divide.

The following section examines two aspects of the ways in which anti-globalisation protest coalitions negotiate the boundaries between agonistic and antagonistic us/them distinctions in their attempts to accommodate difference. Firstly it will analyse international summit demonstrations and explore the ways in which they offer a useful metaphor through which the theoretical us/them distinctions can be further explored. Secondly it will explore the ways in which the anti-globalisation movement has negotiated the us/them distinction in order to prevent themselves being categorised as an antagonistic 'them' and forfeiting their place within the mainstream public sphere.

<div align="center">Passionate Discourses</div>

In his book 'One No and Many Yeses', Paul Kingsnorth describes Seattle as the first 'post-modern street protest' (2003, p.62). The demonstrations which took place in Seattle in 1999 were significant in that they included a huge range of protest repertoires, many of which were explicitly confrontational in their nature. As discussed above, these demonstrations were heavily influenced by the Zapatista uprising, but they were also shaped by the way in which international summit meetings occupied city spaces.

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[71] The ramifications of this antagonistic position will be returned to in detail in chapter five of this thesis.
[72] Epideictic oratory is one of three branches of classical rhetoric. It is devoted to publicly apportioning praise or blame.

International summits are unusual in that they require a geographically dispersed group of global players to congregate publicly, in the same place and at the same time. Consequently during summit meetings the intangible political and economic might of global organisations such as the World Trade Organisation or the International Monetary Fund, appears to materialise before our very eyes.

Summit spaces do not integrate into the urban spaces which surround them. Instead they occupy a position beyond the reach of citizens, encircled by a protective wall of concrete blocks and chain link fences. These barriers make the 'usually invisible wall of exclusion starkly visible' (Klein, *Guardian,* 23rd March 2001) and in doing so actualise the metaphorical boundaries between the 'them' and the 'us'. As a result, the anti-globalisation protest of the late 1990s tended to focus on breaching the barricades, which literally and metaphorically exclude citizens and activists from the democratic process. The emphasis inevitably led to conflict between activists and the police which protesters attempted to articulate as a 'clash' between legitimate political positions (Mouffe, 2005, p.30).

The success of protest movements such as the civil rights movement in America in the late 1950 and 1960s was rooted, in part, in their use of non-violent protest. The protest repertories employed by civil rights demonstrators, such lunch-counter sit-ins and freedom rides, emphasised what could be described as the enlightenment end of 'value vectors': reason, freedom and sacrifice (Garnham, 2000, p.274). As Waddington points out, it was in part, the 'dignity', 'eloquence' and 'high ideals' of civil rights leaders such as Martin Luther King which made 'the espousal of white supremacist views increasingly disreputable' (1999, p.76).

However, the wider public's lack of enthusiasm for political matters, combined with the intensification of commercial pressures, has made it increasingly problematic for activists to access the media and influence the formation of public opinion. The difficulties inherent in accessing a neo-liberal public sphere have led some elements of the anti-globalisation movements to try and create protest positions which can

accommodate grittier emotions and even the possibility of physical confrontation. While this understanding is clearly incompatible with Habermas' model of the liberal public sphere, it is one which can be accommodated by Mouffe's more radical interpretation of politics and the political.

Protesters have always felt strongly about their cause - indeed, political passion is almost a prerequisite for political action. Likewise as journalist and land reform activist Monbiot points out, conflict has always been 'an essential prerequisite for change' (*Guardian,* 24th July 2001). However anti-globalisation protests were novel in that the physicality of a small number of particularly committed protesters was accepted as purposeful by the far larger number of protesters who chose not to engage in confrontational protest acts. In this way these developments were accompanied by a growing, 'painful and reluctant' realisation that 'the G8 leaders, the press and the millions of people for whom these issues were meaningless just a few years ago, are now discussing them only *because* of the fighting in the streets' (Monbiot, *Guardian,* 24th July 2001, my italics).

Thus, whereas in the past property destruction and violent arrests were understood as of politics gone wrong, they are increasingly being understood (by some coalition movements) as an inevitable and in some ways mundane tool in the wider battle for democracy. Such a position moves away from the notion of confrontation as an almost personal act (often a sacrifice) made for the greater good and requires the legitimisation of the less virtuous ends of the binary pairings outlined above, i.e. passion, power and aggression. This has led many within the anti-globalisation movement to try and formulate an understanding of the relationship between impassioned protest and traditional reason-based democracy.

In Seattle, protesters realised that the 'threat of implied violence' from a minority of protesters inevitably increased the demonstrative potential and potency of the non-violent majority (an unnamed Earth First protester, *Do or Die*, issue 9, p.12-4). As a result, certain elements within the anti-globalisation movement experimented with

demonstrative tactics which attempted 'to make the idea of conflict legitimate again' (Tute Bianche spokesperson, Il Manifesto, 2001). This creates a particularly complex relationship between reason, political enthusiasm and physical confrontation within the public sphere and raises important questions for civil societies in a globalised era.

According to liberal bourgeois models of the public sphere, confrontational violence and hostility is 'an archaic phenomenon' (Mouffe, 2005, p.3) in the process of being eradicated by the introduction of political systems which foreground transparency and reason-based communication processes. Physical confrontation has been viewed as the enemy of democracy, with advocates of Habermas' understanding of the public sphere argue that violence at best distracts private individuals from the reasoned resolution of conflict and at worst coerces them into accepting resolutions which do not promote the greater good. In the generally more mature democracies of the global North confrontational politics is therefore frowned upon and physical strength has been replaced, in principle at least, by the force of reason.

Proponents of the liberal bourgeois models make a clear distinction between consensual political discourse and potentially criminal confrontational action. As Waddington argues, traditional protests are expected to be 'merely symbolic' and ensure that 'those whom protesters oppose will not be attacked' (1998, p.130). So that confrontations which take place during public protests tend to be interpreted as a breakdown in the proper articulation of politics, rather than as a legitimate political expression. However, as discussed in chapter one, in a heavily mediated world, the boundary between demonstrative acts of violence and actual acts of violence is increasingly difficult to distinguish.

The anti-globalisation movements' capacity to function on many levels means that its demonstrations invariably go beyond merely symbolic forms of protest. Symbolic challenges, such as creating political tableaux in the heart of the city are accompanied by more disruptive actions, such as blockading buildings, as well as by actual challenges, such as smashing the windows of prominent banks. The fear, real or

imagined, that demonstrators pose an actual physical threat to 'our' shops, banks and fast-food outlets creates an atmosphere that teeters on the brink of the revolutionary and complicates the agonistic/antagonistic divide.

The divides which underpin liberal bourgeois models of the public sphere are further complicated by the rise of identity politics which foreground the private by making it public. As Mouffe points out, according to classical models, in order to engage meaningfully in political debate, the individual must leave the private realm and enter the more dispassionate reason-based public realm. However, the postmodern tendency to blur boundaries complicates these neat divisions between public and private, reason and feeling (Simons, 2003, Van Zoonen, 2004). Thus, as Szerszynski discusses in relation to activists from the anti-roads movement, protest gestures from contemporary protest coalitions tend to be 'both intensely personal and intensely public' (Szerszynski, 2003, p.197).

It is no longer enough to make (and mean) a political declaration in public - one must also live out the consequences of that declaration within the private sphere. For example, a public commitment to preserving the environment must be accompanied by personal willingness to consume less, recycle more and eschew unnecessary air travel. In this way the anti-globalisation movements' focus on authenticity rather than sincerity[73] erases the traditional distinction between private feelings and public expressions, creating a route through which political passion can move from the private to the public realm. In doing so it creates a space in which the confrontational articulation of dissent can potentially be legitimised.

A key element of this debate focuses on a critical re-evaluation of the ''moves' permitted' by Habermas in the 'language games' which constitute a reasonable and well-functioning public sphere (Dana Villa, 1992, p.716). In his article entitled 'Postmodernism and the Public Sphere', Dana Villa builds upon the radical democratic

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[73] A more complete analysis of the differences between sincerity and authenticity can be found in Trilling's book 'Sincerity and Authenticity.

notion of a public sphere characterised by conflict rather than consensus. He discusses Lyotard's attempts to rescue 'the political by unmasking the ideal of consensus' and argues that the assumptions underpinning Habermas' classical model do 'violence' to both the heterogeneity of language games and the plurality of players. He goes on to suggest that Habermas' 'regime of discursive practices' repress the 'spontaneity, initiation and difference' which characterise 'agonistic speech' and therefore 'flatten' the democratic potential of a postmodern public sphere (Dana Villa, 1992, p.716).

This understanding of the public sphere attempts to conceptualise a space which can begin to accommodate the chaotic complexity and multiplicity of protest coalition movements. It also celebrates both the diversity and, perhaps more controversially, the volatility of the anti-globalisation movement and its 'pagan' style politics. According to Villa, the 'emergence of discordant language games' frees political practice from the 'tyranny of science' and opens up new and alternatively structured political spaces (1992, p.716). I would suggest that these spaces are more able to accommodate rhizomatically structured elements of coalition protest movements which refuse to order or prioritise their articulations of dissent. This creates smooth political spaces in which a heterogeneous collection of protest pitches, tempos and intensities can fluctuate and flourish.

The unusually impassioned nature of anti-globalisation demonstrations calls into question the ways in which the numbers on a demonstration and the militancy of a demonstration must be calibrated in order to challenge the status quo whilst also maintaining public support for the values and ideals they espouse. The need to balance these two imperatives foregrounds two aspects of political communication which are of particular significance to this thesis. The first concerns the ways in which different elements of coalitions distinguish their protest positions from those around them. The second focuses on the ways in which those different elements of coalitions maintain movement solidarity across difference.

Calibrating militancy

The need to reconcile the 'varying goals and multiple identities' of protest coalitions with their 'commitment to respecting and protecting difference and diversity' (Bartholomew and Mayer, 1992, p.144) has led to some protesters attempting to rethink the notion of political confrontation. In an article which has been reproduced and discussed extensively in alternative and activist forums, George Monbiot turns to the work of Islamic activist Hamza Yusef Hanson[74]. Hanson makes a distinction between '*hamoq*' which is defined as 'uncontrolled' or 'stupid anger' and '*hamas*' which is 'enthusiastic but intelligent anger' (Monbiot, www.guardian.co.uk). Thus, according to Monbiot, *hamas* is an act of mindful violence which can be comprehended as both a 'protest and an exposition of the reasons for that protest' (www.guardian.co.uk). On the other hand acts of *hamoq* are gratuitously violent and contribute nothing to, but distract from, the wider public debates. This distinction is a particularly useful way of distinguishing between the many differing protest strategies of the anti-globalisation movement as it attempts to integrate confrontation into a traditional reason-based understanding of the public sphere.

One of the ways in which the anti-globalisation movement has attempted to calibrate militancy is through the use of affinity groupings. Affinity groups are a small collection of like-minded individuals and could be described as the smallest organisational unit in the network of organisations that make up the anti-globalisation movement. They were first developed during the 1996 International Encounter for Humanity and against Neoliberalism in Chiapas. However their ideological and structural roots seem to stem from an anarchist notion of autonomy and community rather than being explicitly anti-neoliberalist. Thus like anarchist cells, affinity groups claim to be 'voluntary, functional, temporary and small' and are designed to 'ebb and flow, group and regroup according to the task in hand' (Ward, 1972, 137/8).

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[74] Hamza Yusuf Hanson is a western born Muslim who has established an institute of Islam in America and teaches in Morocco's oldest and most prestigious University, the Karaouine in Fes.

This combination of flexibility and mutual supportiveness is particularly relevant to anti-globalisation protesters. As a consequence of the lack of a centralised leadership structure, preparations for summit demonstrations are invariably chaotic and confusing. However these protest spaces are not without structure. In this way affinity groups are designed to streamline the decision-making process whilst also adhering to the principles of a fully participatory democracy. When faced with pre-demonstration decisions, each affinity group establishes a consensus and despatches a spokesperson to liaise with the wider anti-globalisation community. This process is, in principle, repeated and repeated until a unanimous consensus is established. This is, of course, an enormously time-consuming and frequently deeply frustrating process.

Affinity groups enable protesters from all over the world to situate themselves both within the wider movement and within an unfamiliar urban landscape. They are also an attempt to support activists who have to contend with the fear engendered by such heavily policed demonstrative events. During the demonstration, affinity groups stop being a deliberative arena and become a social support unit designed to protect members from the twin protest hazards of wrongful arrest and police violence. This unusual combination of fluidity and commitment is summed up by a protester in Genoa with the words 'with big hugs to my people I said goodbye. I acquired a new affinity group' (Kalpana, cited in Neale, 2002, p.147).

Affinity groups are characterised by a particular political focus and are colour coded accordingly. In this way activists can become a part of a 'red' communist-based affinity group or a 'green' ecologically based affinity group. However these groupings go beyond straightforwardly political categorisations and also reflect activists' protest positions. The anarchist black block actively seeks conflict and confrontation while the white block adheres to a strategy of strictly non-violent resistance. The appealing simplicity of the red block/green block, black block/white block binary divide is consequently fractured by an almost infinite number of political/protest style combinations. More militant environmental organisations such as Earth First! create

'green' affinity groups which are characterised by a very confrontational demonstrative style while many community-based anarchist groups eschew any forms of violence.

Yet, while anti-globalisation protest may look chaotically disorganised they are actually held together by a rather sophisticated and complex structuring system. I would argue that the networks of affinity groupings which constitute the anti-globalisation movement are inherently rhizomatic in their structures. The smooth spaces created by these rhizomatic groups are similar to those proposed by Deleuze and Guattari's analysis of patchwork. Thus, networks of affinity groups are constructed, 'piece-by-piece' in 'infinite, successive addition' to create an amorphous collection of juxtaposed fragments that can be joined together in an infinite number of ways' (Deleuze and Guttari, 2004, p.525 and p.526).

Before going on to discuss the ways in which the anti-globalisation movement attempts to calibrate its many protesting voices, it may be helpful to pause and examine the three particularly illustrative affinity groupings in greater detail: the pink and silver block, the *tute bianche* and the black block. Whilst these three affinity groupings do not represent the anti-globalisation movement in its kaleidoscopic entirety, their attempts to communicate with the mainstream best illustrate some of the problems experienced by anti-globalisation movements.

The pink and silver block's demonstrative style plays on notions of carnival and rebellion. Activists often dress outlandishly in an attempt to emphasise the more pleasurable aspects of political protest. The *tute bianche* block is an off shoot of *ya basta*: a group of Italian anarchists who acted as a human shield for the Zapatistas in the early days of the Mexican uprising. They wear white padding in order to highlight the physical vulnerability of protesters in the face of frighteningly well equipped state forces. Finally the black block are an anarchist-based grouping of protesters who utilise symbolic property destruction as an empowering means of courting the public's attention. These protesters are 'intentionally menacing'; they wear black clothing and

masks in order to protect themselves from tear gas and governmental reprisals (Black, *Letter from inside the Black Block* http://www.alternet.org).

The way in which these groups function in relation to each other will be illustrated by examining the strategies used to co-ordinate the summit demonstrations in Prague and Genoa. On these occasions the streets surrounding the summit were divided up into 'pie slices' focusing in towards the red exclusion zone. Each slice was occupied by a particular affinity group utilising a particular tactic or means in order to converge on a shared goal or end. I should point out that anti-globalisation demonstrations are also constituted by non-aligned individuals, i.e. by people who do not know about or choose not to join an affinity group.

The pink and silver blocks exploit the connections between carnival and rebellion. This protest position not only seeks to invert social order but attempts to do so with 'joyous abandon' (Carnival against capitalism, Quebec, cited in Holmes, 2003, p.346). These protesters follow Bakhtin in arguing that carnival is an inherently political act which creates a 'second world and a second life outside officialdom' (Bakhtin, 1968, p.6). Moreover, by emphasising the more pleasurable aspects of protest, pink and silver activists attempt to 'bring [] in to question, subvert[] and overturn[...] the hierarchical dualities that shape our thinking' (unnamed protester, *Why we do it* www.rhythmsofresistance.co.uk). Thus I would suggest that the protest spaces they create, like the pages of *Circus Free*, can be understood as being rhizomatically structured and smooth in so far as they reject order, hierarchy, and stasis in favour of heterogeneity, flux and flow.

The pink and silver blocks aim to create 'a zone through which a whole range of people, not just physically confident able-bodied adults, can act together in challenging the power of capitalism to order our existences' (unnamed protester, *Why we do it* www.rhythmsofresistance.co.uk). Perhaps as a direct result of this emphasis on pleasure and inclusivity, the pink and silver block has an unusually large female membership. This is particularly significant when one considers the almost inevitable violence of

major summit demonstrations. As one protester from Quebec grimly stated 'No one has come here expecting a safe or peaceful struggle. Everyone who is here has overcome fear and must continue to do so moment by moment' (Starhawk, 2003, p.340).

The pink and silver block addresses the fear felt by women confronting all-male police lines, by exaggerating and exploiting the vulnerabilities traditionally associated with femininity. The photogenic contrast between the brightly coloured, fragile bodies of anti-globalisation protesters and the darkly helmeted, padded up bodies of the riot police also offers protection in that it inevitably attracts the media's attention. As one unnamed protester puts it 'no police department wants a reputation for beating a battalion of ballerinas' (Notes From Nowhere Collective, 2003, p.179). Thus the Tactical Frivolity dancers develop protest repertoires which 'place[] the responsibility for the protesters safety in the hands of the authorities' (Doherty, 2000, p.71).

The creation of pleasurable political spaces also has important implications for the formation of activist/not-activist boundaries. The photogenic nature of pink and silver protesters tends to create an entertaining, and therefore implicitly less antagonistic, 'them'. Moreover by challenging the authority 'of the policeman in our heads' as well as 'the policeman on the streets', (unnamed protester, *Why we do it* www.rhythmsofresistance.co.uk) pink and silver activists dare the imaginations of ordinary members of the public to 'expand their limits (Notes From Nowhere Collective, 2003, p.175).

The frequent physical confrontations between protesters and police lead certain sections of the media to represent police as part of the mainstream 'us' and protesters, as an antagonistic 'them'. However, the pink and silver block's use of carnivalesque protester repertoires enables them to unsettle these boundary distinctions and articulate alternative possibilities. They attempt to reach beyond the boundaries of the anti-globalisation movement as an alternative public sphere and communicate with a possibly sceptical but increasingly engaged mainstream. Consequently they entice the mainstream and attempt to politicise them by stealth.

The pink and silver block occupy a celebratory position within the patchwork of political philosophies which make up the anti-globalisation movement. The inclusiveness of this ethos is articulated differently by other affinity groupings. Like the pink and silver, the *tute bianche* block aims to include as many people as possible. They accept that summit demonstrations will inevitably involve a degree of conflict but 'seek to minimise violence and aggression' wherever possible (Pink and silver protester, *Genoa: Pink and Silver on 'actions' day - report* www.uk.indymedia.org). This emphasis on inclusivity and participation is designed to encourage ordinary members of the public 'to step off the pavement and into the street' (unnamed protester, *Why we do it* www.rhythmsofresistance.co.uk) and unsettles the mainstream notion of 'protester as elite expert' (Purkis, 1996, p205).

The Italian priest Don Vitaliano, who participates in the *tute bianche* block, maintains that 'in the face of the total control of the world, which the owners of money are exercising, we have only our bodies for protesting and rebelling against injustice' (*The body as a weapon for civil disobedience,* http://www.nadir.org). It could therefore be argued that the *tute bianche* strategy shares the carnivalesque desire to bring 'the body back to public space' (Notes From Nowhere Collective, 2003, p.175). I would also suggest that this notion further develops Dana Villa's conceptualisation of a postmodern public sphere characterised by the 'agonistic dimensions' of emotion and the private self. A *tute bianche* protester describes the blocks strategies as 'literally embodying our feelings – performing our politics with our whole bodies' (Notes From Nowhere Collective, 2003, p.202). Here the public sphere goes beyond being a discursive realm, characterised by reason and restraint and becomes a sphere of embodied and emotional conflicts.

The *tute bianche* also develop and extend the pink and silver block's ability to deploy photogenic visual metaphors which differently articulate their position in relation to the police and the political mainstream. For example, the *tute bianche* use white padding in an attempt to focus the world's attention on the brutality of the state and to recast

protesters as the political heroes of the day. However, whilst pink and silver activists self-consciously parody uniformed marching bands and military formations they ultimately aim to avoid, or at least minimise, violence. The *tute bianche*, in contrast, follow the protest tradition established by the civil rights movement and actively court confrontation. They stand 'shoulder to shoulder' and repeatedly attempting to 'push into police lines with their shields' (Neale, 2002, p.146). As a result of the inevitable violence provoked by the strategy, *tute bianche* volunteers 'wrap their fragile bodies with foam and padding' (Ryan, 2003, p.357) in an attempt to 'shelter' themselves - and other less robust protesters, from the full force of the police's wrath.

In this way both pink and silver activists and the *tute bianche* attempt to unmask the violence of the state in much the same way as the advent of summit demonstrations has successfully unmasked the exclusivity of global institutions, such as the World Trade Organisation and the International Monetary Fund. The *hamas* of these activists can also be interpreted as an attempt to reframe or invert the mainstream media represents the relationship between protesters and the police. Protesters 'resist in a way that maximises their effectiveness but also exposes the contrast between the force used by the authorities and protesters' moral superiority' (Doherty, 2000, p.70). Importantly, this interpretation of *hamas* and its role within the public sphere attempts to rehabilitate demonstrative violence whilst still condemning the gratuitous violence which alienates so many non-activist members of the public.

Despite the honourable intentions that underpin acts of *hamas,* many within and beyond the anti-globalisation movement remain unconvinced by the arguments of pink and silver or *tute bianche* protesters. For some this is a straightforward question of principle, whilst for others it is a more strategically complex issue. This is because, in the confusion and chaos of most summit demonstrations, the fine line between acts of *hamas* and *hamoq* can blend and blur into invisibility. Moreover even carefully thought out acts of *hamas* can quickly unravel into spontaneous acts of *hamoq*. These issues can best be illustrated by examining the role played by the black block during international summit demonstrations.

The black block are routinely criticised by both the alternative and the mainstream media. Their provocative demonstrative style has been condemned as at best ineffective and at worst dangerous. Thus the mindless violence of the black block is frequently thought to rob the anti-globalisation movement of the all-important moral high ground. The black block is also accused of distracting the media's attention from the anti-globalisation movement's political agenda. Perhaps most importantly it is thought that the antics of the black block minority give the state an excuse to 'crack down' on the far more peaceful majority and therefore deters ordinary members of the public from participating in future anti-globalisation demonstrations.

On first inspection, black block violence appears to be a straightforward case of *hamoq*. After all, how can 'the destruction of cars and amenities in the working class residential areas' (Black block protesters, *Genoa beyond the Hype*, www.flag.blackened.net) of Genoa be interpreted as anything other than mindless violence? This understanding of the black block is accentuated by the mainstream media's 'perennial interest in novelty, spectacle' and, of course violence, (Rootes, 2000, p.38) which causes uncontextualised acts of violence to be photographed, magnified and sent around the world. As a result Kenny Bruno from CorpWatch argues that anti-globalisation 'demonstrations are in danger of losing their mass appeal as shattered glass, smashed ATMs and Molotov cocktail-wielding anarchists continue to be their most prominent feature' (*After Carlo Giuliani, peaceful protest must continue*, www.alternet.org).

However, in his introduction to Deleuze and Guattari, Brian Massumi points out that 'A concept is a brick. It can be used to build the courthouse of reason. Or it can be thrown through the window' (2004, p.xiii). This duality of purpose complicates the rather neat and tidy categorisation of mindful and mindless violence. Where the mainstream and the more 'fluffy' end of the anti-globalisation movement see gratuitous violence, the

more 'spiky[75]' black block maintain that they are engaged in carefully controlled acts of 'symbolic physical damage to multi-national capitalism' (Black block protester, *Statement by Black Block* http://italy.indymedia.org). According to this view, black block protesters are hurling concepts as well as bricks at the global authorities and are therefore engaged in a hostile, but legitimate form, of communication.

Black block activists argue that their actions inspire rather than deter ordinary members of the public from participating in future demonstrations. Thus they suggest that 'people at the protest, and those at home watching on TV, can see that a little brick, in the hands of a motivated individual, can break down a symbolic wall' (Black, *Letter from inside the Black Block* http://www.alternet.org). Some black block protesters even argue that 'finding joy in an act of militant protest' (Black block protester, *With love from the Black Block,* http://www.nadir.org) which counteracts the crushing alienation of life under global capitalism is inherently empowering and 'beautiful' (Black block protester, *With love from the Black Block,* http://www.nadir.org).

Finally, black block protesters also maintain that the black block's demonstrative style is as inclusive and protection-orientated as the pink and silver block or the *tute bianche*. They argue that their 'intentionally menacing' clothes (Black, *Letter from inside the Black Block* http://www.alternet.org) distorts the truly inclusive nature of the black block's activist base. As Black points out 'the behaviour of black block protesters is not associated with women, so reporters often assume we are all guys'. In this way black block protesters suggest that their 'uniform' of black combat trousers and balaclavas puts 'the group before the individual' (Black, *Letter from inside the Black Block* http://www.alternet.org) as well as protecting individual members from the pernicious gaze of the state.

Thus one could argue that the black block, like the pink and sliver block and the *tute bianche*, use clothes to articulate their protest position, encourage participation and

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[75]'fluffy' activists tend to advocate light hearted and/or non-violent forms of protest. spikey' activists tend to advocate more confrontational forms of direct action. The fluffy/spikey distinction will be returned to in chapter five.

protect activists from state violence. If the juxtaposition of violence and positive emotion is unusual, the notion of protest as empowering and uplifting is common. According to these views one could argue that black block and pink and silver protesters are simply employing different methodological means of achieving the same ideological ends.

In this section I have argued that activists' occasionally violent attempts to enter the red zone can be seen as examples of *hamas* rather than *hamoq*. The pink and silvers and the *tute bianche* constitute inclusive utopic blocks intent on demonstrating the depressingly homogeneous nature of global capitalism. Similarly, the black block's attempts to force entry into the red zone confronts and challenges the authorities' ability to exclude them from the global decision making process. Thus the network of affinity groups which make up the anti-globalisation movement calibrates and literally embodies the determination of private citizens to be included in the global decision-making process. In doing so, affinity groupings expose the determination of the global authorities to exclude them from that process. In the following section I intend to focus in on more detail on the ways in which the inclusion/exclusion distinction is drawn.

An Entanglement of Voices

> *An entanglement of many players who do their own thing while*
> *feeling a part of a greater whole*
> Notes from Nowhere Collective, 2003, p.178

As affinity groups are constructed around a personal commitment to shared political interests and protest strategies, it could be argued that well-functioning affinity groups constitute almost perfect classic public spheres. They are, after all, small consensus-based groups in which private individuals meet as equals in order to discuss the public issues of the day. However, while the 'norms of procedural rationality' (McLaughlin, 1993, p.603) may be one method of achieving consensus within affinity groups, the anti-globalisation movement also privileges passionate and intensely personal discourses.

While affinity groups are apparently open and accessible to all, they are in actuality bounded by the exclusion of non-harmonising voices. However as Dahlberg points out

> All framing of meaning, including what it means to be rational, necessarily involves exclusion. A relation of inclusion/exclusion is part of the very logic of discourse, even democratic discourse (2007, p.835).

Within protest organisations that plan to break the law and/or commit acts of violence, the inclusion/exclusion dynamic is frequently underpinned by an often justified sense of paranoia. As a result, those planning the logistics of J18 created a closed group in an (ultimately successful) attempt to thwart police surveillance and infiltration. This 'lack of transparency' creates a 'de facto 'inner circle'' (unnamed protester, *J18 1999: Our resistance is as transnational as capital*, http://www.network23.nologic.org), which inevitably undermines the anti-globalisation movement's aim, to embody the open and horizontal democratic principles of a new and better order.

While Habermas' original conception of the public sphere cannot easily accommodate the existence of such us/them dynamics, the creation of an inner grouping is far less problematic for radical democratic models of the public sphere. Indeed it can be understood as a vital element in the 'clash of legitimate democratic positions' which constitute a well-functioning democracy (Mouffe, 2005, p.30). The potential problem lies not in the formation of an us/them distinction but in the formation of us/them distinctions which are antagonistic in their nature. Consequently the challenge for protest coalitions is firstly to recognise the differences in their protest positions and then to legitimise those differences within the movement and the wider public sphere.

Anti-globalisation movements can be understood as individual elements of an 'overarching', egalitarian, multi-cultural public sphere (Fraser, 1990, p.68). This interpretation allows affinity groups to be conceptualised as 'sites of direct or quasi-direct democracy' which enable individuals to take part in discussion designed to

determine the protest strategies of both individual anti-globalisation movements and the anti-globalisation movement as a whole. Within this alternative sphere, coalition movements have developed a series of rhizomatic protest repertoires which foster difference 'in a form which does not deny political association' (Mouffe, 2005, p.20). At the same time, the 'porousness, outer-directedness, and open-endedness' of such groups ensures that the inter-cultural communications between anti-globalisation movements are, on the whole, preserved[76].

Kingsnorth maintains that the anti-globalisation movement is 'not really an organisation at all − it is rather a method' (2003, p.73). I would argue that the anti-globalisation movement is actually a multiplicity of methods. The Notes from Nowhere Collective revel in the pleasures of carnival while pragmatically noting that it 'is a tactic, nothing more' (2003, p.179). Similarly, confrontational anarchists recognise the black block to be 'primarily a tactic and…a dress code' (2001, p31). The anti-globalisation movement's decision to separate strategic means from ideological ends minimises internal conflicts. It also exploits weaknesses inherent in the authorities' use of rather traditional and very centralised communications systems. As a result there is a general consensus within the anti-globalisation movement that 'the key to the success' of summit demonstrations lies in a 'diversity of tactics, interrelating' and causing disruption in a way that is essentially 'unpoliceable' (unnamed protester, *Black Block Interview,* 2000).

The anti-globalisation movement differs from more conventionally organised radical left groups (such as the Socialist Worker's Party) in that they refuse to scapegoat their more militant members. To further reflect on the implications raised by the anti-globalisation movement's refusal to be divided (and ruled) by mainstream representations of protester violence it is necessary to return to my analysis of the summit demonstrations which took place in Genoa 2001. The ideological roots of the black block lie in autonomous anarchist movements. As a result black block activists

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[76] The quotes in this paragraph are all taken from pages 68-69 of Nancy Fraser's 'Rethinking the public sphere' article.

place a great emphasis on genuineness in general and the realisation and expression of authentic private feelings in particular. The demonstrative actions of the pink and silvers and the *tute bianche* on the other hand are controlled and metaphorical and would be described by the black block as dubiously sincere, rather than truly authentic. The black block's distaste for the 'fake' or 'manufactured' vulnerabilities of the pink and silvers and the *tute bianche* is coupled with a willingness to place their own bodies 'directly in the cogs of the mega machine'. The body is transformed into a truly authentic 'weapon and statement of resistance' (Notes from Nowhere Collective, 2003, p.202).

Indeed many black block activists argue that their protest strategies are more honest and authentic than those proposed by less confrontational affinity groupings. Interestingly their criticism of *hamas*-based demonstrative strategies have much in common with reservations traditionally held by more conservative, if very different, cultural commentators, such as Habermas and Boorstin[77]. Thus an article provocatively entitled 'Beware of the white dressed cops' by self confessed 'Italian rioters' denounce actions by the *tute bianche* as 'fake' (Tute bianche protester, *Beware of white dressed cops,* [www.insurgentdesire.org.uk/)](www.insurgentdesire.org.uk/). Like Habermas and Boorstin, they maintain that these manipulated or manufactured protest scenarios inevitably pacify potentially active members of society. The black block argue angrily that the *tute bianche* merely aim 'to catch more and more potentially angry people, willing to practically attack Power and its meetings, and take them on a do-nothing-and-look-at-us fluffy aside' (*tute bianche* protester, *Beware of white dressed cops,* www.insurgentdesire.org.uk/).

This theory was taken to its limits in Genoa when the carabinieri shot and killed an anonymous and apparently threatening black block protester. The ensuing investigation revealed the protester as a twenty-six year old called Carlo Giuliani. An emotional and articulate internet posting entitled 'with love from the black block' resolutely maintains that 'if these summits take place to the sounds of helicopter blades amid burning barricades and tear gas it unmasks the real violence hidden by the slick

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[77] These criticisms are outlined on pages 49 and 54 of this thesis.

corporate show' (Black Block protester, *With love from the Black Block,* http://www.nadir.org).

In the weeks after Genoa a cross-movement consensus emerged that argued that Carlo Giuliani's obvious vulnerability and his very public death shocked the global public into recognising the institutionalised violence of the state. The black block in Genoa provoked a situation in which the authentic vulnerability of protesters exposed the institutionalised violence of the state and therefore seriously 'undermined the legitimacy of the Italian government' (Black block protester, *Genoa beyond the hype*, http://flag.blackened.net). As a result, one could argue that the violence of black block activists revealed the hidden vulnerabilities of democratic nation states.

Perhaps more surprisingly and more importantly, echoes of this view-point emerged in the mainstream media. For example a 'bewildered' Monbiot, a life-long advocate of non-violent direct action, found himself arguing that 'it is simply not true to say that Carlo Giuliani died in vain' (*Guardian*, 24th July 2001). The alternative press too was surprisingly full of statements supporting the protest tactic of the black block. For example, *tute bianche* activist Wu Ming posted the following comment; 'we refuse to save our ass to the detriment of the black block, we regard them as fully legitimate part of the movement and refuse any distinction between 'good protesters' and 'bad protesters' (Black block protester, *Non criminalizziamo il Black Bloc!*, www.barcelona.indymedia.org).

Activists' refusal to be categorised by the mainstream press as either 'good' or 'bad' is the result of more than straightforward political solidarity. There is a growing belief that the anti-globalisation movement's 'extremely diverse' use of tactics is not a weakness but the source of its power (Black Block activist, 2000). Many activists, such as George Monbiot describe the growing sense of political futility engendered by having lifetimes of 'polite representations' ignored by the mainstream press and the powers that be (*Guardian,* 24th March 2001). 'Mary Black' contrasts this depressingly familiar scenario with the shock and exhilaration she experienced the first time she

'saw someone break a window at a demonstration and suddenly we were all on the six o'clock news' (Black, *Letter from inside the Black Block* http://www.alternet.org).

Violence clearly sells but, as most elements within the anti-globalisation movement recognise, it is not enough in itself. As Monbiot points out, Carlo Giuliani's *hamoq* 'forced a response because other people were practising *hamas*' (www.guardian.co.uk). Thus one could argue that while the violence of the black block is in many ways designed to 'court publicity' (Black, *Letter from inside the Black Block* http://www.alternet.org), it is the demonstrative actions of the pink and silver block and the *tute bianche* which add additional layers of meaning. In this way the pink and silver block's butterfly wings and the *tute bianche*'s white padding provide an essential and photogenic media foil to the more confrontational actions of both other anti-globalisation protesters and the police authorities. Thus the anti-globalisation movement creates an 'entanglement of many players who do their own thing while feeling a part of a greater whole' (Notes from Nowhere Collective, 2003, p.178).

Anti-globalisation movements' successes in inter-cultural communications depend, in part, on their refusal to conflate strategic means with political ends. Whilst previous radical movements such as the Women's Liberation Movement tended to conflate means and ends in the belief that dubious methodologies could in some way contaminate the purity of an organisation's social and political goals, the anti-globalisation movement has purposefully separated means and ends. David Graeber argues that if the anti-globalisation movement had a motto it would be 'if you are willing to act like an anarchist now, your long-term vision is pretty much your own business' (2004, p.214). This enables many disparate groups and organisations to avoid the factional conflicts which traditionally characterise left-of-centre politics and to coalesce into a single movement of many means and many ends or, as Subcomandante Marcos describes it, a movement of one no and many yeses (2001)

This is not to suggest that means and ends are entirely unconnected, but to argue that the anti-globalisation movement rejects a uniform or prescriptive attitude to political

protest which enables them to deploy a complex combination of communicative strategies. This can range from the pink and silver's attempts to create a demonstrative style which seeks 'to minimise violence and aggression' but is also unashamedly 'confrontational' (Pink and silver protester, *Genoa: Pink and Silver on 'actions' day - report* www.uk.indymedia.org) to the black block's more controversial commitment to the use of 'physical force against symbols of capitalism' (Black Block activist, *Genoa beyond the hype*, http://flag.blackened.net). Thus a black block activist movingly and intelligently describes the 'contamination' (Black block protester, *A response to press misinformation*, http://ludd.net/retort/msg00200.html) between different affinity groups merging under police attack. S/he claims that this entanglement of tactics both 'gave the space life and refused to give it up' and therefore concludes by stating that 'the smashing and burning created by the black block is as important as the music and colour created by the carnival' (Pink and silver protester, *Genoa: Pink and Silver on 'actions' day - report* www.uk.indymedia.org) .

Affinity grouping's shared emphasis on methodology enables them to articulate, preserve and overcome ideological differences. I would suggest that this ability to develop communicative strategies which articulate both solidarity and difference can be illustrated protest coalition's use of masks during public demonstrations. While protesters' use of masks initially appears to undermine the public sphere ideal of transparent communication, Johnson makes an important distinction between a mask and a disguise. He argues that

> A mask is not a disguise. Disguise hides its 'masks'. Masks hide a true identity in a visible way. Disguise asserts identity, a false identity, but the concealment is concealed. Only if a disguise is discovered can its masks be known (2001, p.96).

By utilising a communicative discourse which foregrounds overtly constructed barriers, protesters are able to draw the public's attention to the hidden structures which covertly structure political communication within the public sphere. In this way the physicality of masks foregrounds protesters' 'rouse' and highlights 'the purpose of concealment' (Johnson, 2001, p.96) so that activists become the tellers of alternative and powerful

truths. Thus the corrupt power dynamics which lie behind the façade of political access are revealed by coalition protesters use of masks.

Bruner points out that protesters frequently use 'very plain and common masks in order to more effectively 'lose themselves' in the crowd or more boldly to make collective political statements.'' (Bruner, 2005, p.140). I would suggest that this sense of interchangeable plainness is of particular importance to coalition protest movements, enabling coalition movements to bracket difference in a clearly visible way, which first overrides, and then foregrounds, political difference.

(Hamas, No credit[78], 2009)

According to popular iconography the wearer of a mask, particularly a black balaclava, is doing something secretive and/or illegal. On this level the mask can be read as a pragmatic means of hiding one's face, evading identification and therefore capture by the authorities. While this image is still occasionally romanticised by Hollywood representations of go-it-alone action heroes and cat burglars, it is increasingly becoming connected with far more serious and sinister threats. Thus images of masked

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[78] This picture can be found on many websites, including http://robertod.wordpress.com/2009/08/ [1st October 2009]

men are now more commonly associated with globalised acts of terror such as suicide bombings and hostage taking.

Within this cultural context the single masked figure has been replaced by images of multiple, coordinated and frequently militarised figures. At this point the mask's criminal connotations are replaced by potentially more powerful political ones. Images like the one above evoke the fear of an *organised* threat to society and have been used by nationally-based revolutionary/terrorist organisations such as the IRA in Britain, ETA in Spain and Hamas in Palestine. However the influential Zapatista 1994 uprising in Chiapas Mexico led to the rehabilitation of the mask as a revolutionary symbol.

(Indigenas mexicanos do Exercito Zapatista se Libertacao Nacional', No Credit[79], 2008)

While the Zapatistas have never been a separatist movement, they do articulate the neglected needs of a population rooted in a specific cultural and geographical location. Clearly, as part of an armed uprising, the Zapatista use of balaclavas still carries military connotations. Their black balaclavas therefore preserve individual anonymity and offer a degree of protection from an often punitive nation state. However, unlike other paramilitary organisations, the Zapatistas softened their use of balaclavas by

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[79] This picture can be found on many websites, including http://neoiluminismo.wordpress.com/[1st October 2009]

wearing them in conjunction with nationally undervalued indigenous clothing and symbols. This use of visual imagery confounds governmental efforts to dismiss the Zapatistas as 'a couple of hundred transgressors of the law' (Carrigan, 2001, p.431) situating them within a globalised cultural context which privileges indigenous cultures as particularly authentic expressions of political difference. This use of masks signals the Zapatistas' determination to move beyond an essentially unwinnable military campaign and to engage in a potentially more successful struggle over symbols.

The Zapatistas' use the balaclava to downplay the role of charismatic individuals and foreground collective political endeavours. This position is rooted in the anarchist ideal of 'putting the group before the individual[80]' (letter from inside the black block, 2001). This use of the mask is inflected differently by anarchists from the Black Block.

(Black bloc break away march, Schumin web[81], 2005)

Unlike the Zapatistas who are a community-based organisation rooted in a shared cultural tradition, European and American anarchists tend to comprise a geographically disparate organisation. Consequently these anarchist protesters use masks to gather together otherwise entirely unconnected group of individuals and enable them to

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[80] This ideological lineage is somewhat ironic given that the permanently masked Subcomandante Marcos has been singled out by the international community as the 'face' of the Zapatista movement.
[81] This picture can be found on many websites, including
http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:S24_Black_Bloc_1.jpg [1st October 2009]

converge and act as a discrete political unit. As such the mask takes on a methodological as well as ideological dimension in so far as it translates disparate political positions and facilitates inter-organisational literacy.

The black block wear clothes which are 'intentionally menacing' (Mary Black, 2001), engage in property destruction and actively seek violent confrontation with state authorities. In these circumstances a mask is undeniably useful. It is threatening and at the same time protective, intimidating the authorities whilst also shielding the wearer from state surveillance. While the activities of the black block are frequently dismissed by the national press as 'thuggery masquerading as protest' (*Guardian,* 2[nd,] May 2005 cited in Donson et al, 2004, p.12), it is important to remember that even extreme violence retains a political dimension and that the provocation of state violence is a protest strategy which has been used to great effect by activists as well known and respected as Mahatma Gandhi, Martin Luther King and Nelson Mandela.

Having explored some of the ways in which terrorists, revolutionaries and black block protesters use masks I now explore how other elements of contemporary protest coalitions have developed the communicative qualities of masks. The less confrontational elements of protest coalitions tend to draw on the more frivolous, carnivalesque connotations of mask wearing. According to this view, carnival 'creates a new world by subverting all stereotypes' (Notes from Nowhere Collective, 2003, p175) and within this context the mask has a long history of being used to transform and liberate the pleasure-seeking self.

This aim allows carnivalesque anti-globalisation protesters to temper the confrontational and challenging nature of mask-wearing established by the Zapatistas and the black block with a much less threatening, more media friendly, emphasis on pleasure and political revelry. This further develops the black block's aim of exposing state violence by contrasting the sparkly fluff of carnival protesters with the uniformed hardness of riot police. In doing so it develops a protest tradition which aims to reveal the preparedness of the state to impose its version of order by force.

(Pink and silver, No credit[82], 2000)

It would be a mistake to assume that this more frivolous use of masks somehow denies or eradicates its more threatening incarnations. This point is well articulated by the non-violent 'pink and silver' anti-globalisation protester who acknowledges that 'part of the effectiveness of our mass mobilisations rest on this threat of implied violence from us' (anonymous protester cited in Do or Die 2001). Indeed, in many ways the carnivalesque use of masks only functions because of those more menacing undertones. For, as Karen Engle points out in an article on the depiction of terrorists, 'the absolute threat to the state posed by a being masquerading without the proper identification, a being without a recognisable face or name' (Engle, 2007, p.397) is not to be underestimated.

The cohesive qualities of mask-wearing can be further illustrated by examining how the anti-globalisation movement has utilised both the threatening and the frivolous, connotation of the mask to create an enormously effective and imaginative organisational tool. During the Carnival Against Capitalism in London, green, red and gold masks were distributed among the crowd. Each mask carried the message,

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[82] This picture can be found on many websites, including http://www.eco-action.org/dod/no9/prague_barmy_army.htm [1st October 2009]

> Those in authority fear the mask, for their power partly resides in identifying, stamping, cataloguing – in knowing who you are. The wearing of a mask symbolises the rejection of the cult of personality so crucial to consumer capitalism. While the elite gangs of state and capital become ever more faceless their fear of the faces of everyday resistance grows (Barker, *Carnival against Capitalism,* www.vanguard-online.co.uk)

Protesters were invited to follow their colour on a collectively led 'Magical Mystery Tour' onto buses and into the underground, eluding police and creating a spectacular amount of transport chaos, before regrouping – as if by magic – into a multicoloured mass in front of the LIFFE building. Once assembled, more militant (masked) members of the protest stormed the building causing an estimated £250, 000 worth of damage to what was perceived to be a symbol of global capitalism (Barker, *Carnival against Capitalism,* www.vanguard-online.co.uk)

This use of masks also highlights how coalition protests relate to mainstream structures and organisations. In particular it demonstrates the ways in which rhizomatic communication structures can overwhelm the arborescent structures of the mainstream. According to the activists who organised J18, the 'success' of the demonstration was rooted in a 'complete collapse of police communications' (Barker, *Carnival against Capitalism,* www.vanguard-online.co.uk). The police used a traditional, centralised communication structure which could not cope with the traffic chaos caused by the plethora of multicoloured protest fractions. As a direct consequence of this loss of communicative control, the police also temporarily lost control of the city itself, enabling protesters to disrupt the hierarchies which usually structure the city and to offer the wider public a glimpse of alternative ways of being.

In this way one could interpret the mask as a coalition movement's post-modern answer to the banner in that it both unites and directs protesters into a more or less coherent whole. Neil Postman suggests that

> Embedded in every technology there is a powerful idea, sometimes two or three powerful ideas. These ideas are often hidden from view because they are often of a somewhat abstract nature. But this should not be taken to mean that they do not have practical consequences (Neil Postman, 1998, p.5).

Thus I would argue that while the banner is a textually prescriptive technology of communication, the mask (like the Samba band) enables activists to articulate an open-ended range of protesting positions. In this way activists from both idealistic and antagonistic traditions can occupy public space using a protest technology which communicates both political difference and 'political association' (Mouffe, 2004, p.20).

This is not to suggest that the use of masks is entirely unproblematic. The frictions created by the use of masks as a protest repertoire can be illustrated in a number of ways. For example the fact that anti-road protesters at Newbury in the late 1990 were advised against wearing masks in general and balaclavas in particular, on the grounds that images of masked protesters would alienate the all important middle ground, illustrates this ambivalence and demonstrates how some more traditional elements of coalition protests still find the use of masks deeply disturbing. Similarly, the internet is full of anger directed at non-violent activists who purposefully remove the masks of activists engaged in property destruction (Mary Black, 2001). I am not trying to suggest that masks present a means of unifying coalition movement protest repertoires into a single and coherent whole but that they allow for a multiplicity of narratives in a nuanced and sometimes contestatory relation to one another.

In the section above I have examined some of the ways that masks enable protest organisations to communicate across difference. I now engage with how coalition protest movements use masks to highlight a further cluster of issues which are of central concern to my argument: namely the way in which protest movements disrupt the us/them dynamics customarily defining the parameters of the classical liberal public sphere. In this section I reflect upon the ways in which as well as communicating *across* protest coalitions' differences, the mask can also be used to communicate protest coalitions' political differences *to* a wider and more politically distanced

mainstream. This is a theme which will be discussed in far greater detail in the following chapter.

(Subcomandante Marcos, Mayavision[83], 2008)

The political potential inherent in these qualities can be introduced by pausing briefly in order to explore how balaclavas and hoods have been used to unsettle the communicative barriers which commonly exclude polyvocal articulations of dissent. If the Zapatistas' black balaclava has become an iconic symbol of indigenous protest in Mexico, it does more than simply disguise the identity of the wearer. It also situates the latter in a cultural terrain which repositions the Zapatistas politically, within both the national and international arenas. Marcos argues that the balaclava acts as a mirror reflecting and incorporating the identity of all those who observe it. As such the mask does not negate identity; instead it signifies the possibility of a multiplicity of identities. According to this view the mask articulates the struggles of those 'fighting injustice' whoever and wherever they may be, enabling 'anyone anywhere' to become a Zapatista (Subcomandante Marcos cited in Klein, 2001).

The mask's reflective qualities have allowed the black balaclava to move beyond being a mere object of criminal disguise and to become instead a unifying symbol of the anti-

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[83] This picture can be found on many websites including flickr.com/photos/25301411@N05/2390727499 [1st October 2009]

globalisation movement's revolutionary identity. This is a potentially confrontational position which has been taken up and re-articulated by carnivalesque affinity groupings. In this way carnivalesque protesters insist that they wear masks 'to transform ourselves…to show that we are your daughter, your teacher, your bus driver, *your boss*' (my italics, Notes from Nowhere Collective, 2003, p.346). The mask articulates a protest position which foregrounds elements both separating and connecting the protester from the non-protester. According to this view the mask becomes 'a soft weapon' (Holmes, 2003. p. 346) which both reflects and empowers those who have been excluded from the public domain.

In an article on the constitution of social order, Kevin Hetherington points out that 'blank elements allow us, in certain circumstances to ignore or override difference' (2000, p. 171). Hetherington proposes that a blank 'represents the presence of absence within the social order' (2000, p. 176). This position has much in common with Laclau's conception of zero as an 'empty place' (cited in Gilbert, 2009, p.157) which makes mathematical systems possible. I would argue that one of the qualities that enable coalition protesters to use masks in this way is rooted in the emptiness or blankness of the mask. By introducing a blank element into political discourse, the mask creates a space which can be occupied by those who perceive themselves to be excluded. Moreover the blankness of such spaces explicitly refuses to shape or filter that which could be heard. Thus the Zapatistas' use of the balaclava can also be viewed as the articulation[84]of a 'blank figure' and acts as 'rectifiers and communicators' of alternative identities and needs (Hetherington, 2000, p. 181).

In this way the Zapatistas' balaclavas stop being a barrier to localised identity and become an internationally recognised mechanism drawing protesters into a flexible and inclusively dissenting 'us'. This reflective use of mask has important theoretical implications as it creates a space in which dissenting becomes the key criteria for inclusion. The mask as mirror enables anti-globalisation protest coalitions to preserve

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[84] Gilbert points out that Subcomandante Marcos, who is an ex-academic, also calls himself *Delegado Zero* and suggests that his deliberate self-effacement may be rooted in an encounter with the work of Mouffe and Laclau.

(in a backgrounded form) internal political differences while foregrounding (in a highlighted form) political differences from the global mainstream. In this way nuanced and textured opposition to neoliberalism can be comprehensively articulated. Moreover this use of masks necessarily redefines the us/them distinctions which authors such as Mouffe (2005) and Dahlberg (2007) identify as defining the public sphere, creating a space in which one can begin to renegotiate the boundaries between political inclusion and exclusion.

(Gitmo inmate, Hermione Gee[85], 2009)

This conceptualisation of masks suggests a way of thinking about blankness as a means not only of *erasing* difference but also as a means of *articulating* difference. Hetherington points out that

> blank figures have a very specific location; they are found in the spaces between, in the middle…in the in the uncertain spaces of connection (2000, p. 181).

I would argue that this assertion is particularly pertinent to this discussion as it enables one to go beyond thinking of the mask as a barrier and to begin to conceptualise the mask as a transformative threshold between different types of identities, organisations

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[85] This picture can be found on many websites including http://www.rnw.nl/int-justice/article/former-gitmo-inmate-photos-show-abuse [1st October 2009]

and spaces. In this way the mask articulates voices which are, at best, backgrounded and, at worst, actively ignored.

This point can best be illustrated by briefly examining the use of masks by anti-war protesters in the form of Guantanamo-style hoods. Anti-war protests frequently employ orange jumpsuits and black hoods in order to evoke a detainee's denial of basic human rights. This use of masks not only unsettles boundaries by reflecting differently ordered us/them dynamics, it also acts as a window offering us insights into other places which then require us to re-consider us/them distinctions. In this way the hooded figure, like the Afghani blacksmith heard by Roger Silverstone, 'creates a sense of there being an elsewhere; a sense of that elsewhere being in some way relevant to me; a sense of my being there' (Silverstone, 2007, p.10). However, unlike Silverstone who describes masks as a barrier which 'separate the worlds which it might otherwise connect' (2006, p.21), Hetherington argues that they act as 'facilitators of new possibilities in the connections they make between spaces otherwise not connectable within the recognised order of things' (Hetherington, 2000, p. 171).

This chapter has endeavoured to focus on the ways in which protest coalitions challenge the organisational, and by implication ideological, structures which construct city spaces. It began by examining different ways of experiencing the city and exploring how striated and rhizomatic protest systems integrate with urban spaces. In doing so, it focused on some alternative, and therefore unrecognised, ways of organising mass demonstrations. It went on to argue that rhizomatic demonstrations allow protest coalitions to articulate difference internally whilst also preserving political solidarity and to suggest that these processes require the negotiation of a new framework around the notion of political conflict.

The second half of this chapter further developed the notion of non-textual organising structures by examining how the anti-globalisation movement use affinity groupings to structure their demonstrations. It focused in particular on the formation of us/them boundaries between different coalition groupings and between the wider movement and

the mainstream. It then went on to examine the anti-globalisation movement's emphasis on demonstrative conflict by examining the ways in which confrontational protest repertoires both separate and connect the anti-globalisation movement as a whole. Finally it analysed masks as constituting a type of threshold which both separates and connects different identity formations and spatial dimensions.

Protest coalition movements are often criticised for failing to define themselves, both politically and in terms of organisational form. However, their rejection of the usual political norms has enabled them to escape the usual 'A-not A' dichotomy and strike out on an altogether more innovative and challenging route towards the mainstream. One could therefore argue that the rejection of standardised methods in favour of less easily defined communicative strategies, has re-invigorated the mass demonstration as a form of political protest. However the tendency to blur and mix up boundaries also creates a new set of problems for those protesters focused on accessing the mainstream. The difficulties created for protest coalition movements by these developments are discussed in the following chapter.

Chapter Five
Unsettling Spaces

From the margins…

Preserving the gap

- Policing the boundary
- Unsettling space
- A shared here – occupied space

Bridging the gap

- Wishing Omar was here
- Unsettling space
- A shared here – inviting spaces

…To the Mainstream

- A broad view
- A narrow view

From the Margins…

> *However limited a public sphere may be in its empirical*
> *manifestation at any given time, its members understand themselves*
> *as part of a potentially wider public.*
> Fraser, 1990, p.67

The escalation in violence which characterised many of the demonstrations called by the anti-globalisation movement in the late 1990s was abruptly halted by the attack on the World Trade Center on September 11th 2001. Governments hosting international summits cited the threat of terrorism and began to hold meetings in geographically inaccessible locations. For example, when Britain hosted the G8 summit in 2005 they chose an isolated hotel in Scotland. Similarly, the Italian government held the 2007 G8 summit on an island just off the coast of Sardinia. The removal of summit meetings from the metropolitan centres effectively re-concealed the briefly-made-visible boundary between the politically included and the politically excluded. As a result, the radical left has begun to explore alternative means of accessing mainstream public arenas.

The development of alternative protest strategies was complicated by the introduction of the Patriot Act (2001) in America and the Anti-Terrorism, Crime and Security Act (2001) in the United Kingdom. Both these acts were hastily introduced in the aftermath of the attack of the World Trade Centre and make it far easier for the authorities to pre-empt and/or control the articulation of dissent. For as Gilroy argues,

> The state of permanent emergency enacted through the declaration of
> the 'war on terror' allows minimal scope for active dissent. In many
> countries dissidence has been criminalised as a minor form of
> treason (2004, p.65)

Despite the frequently hostile reception, activists continue to promote alternative ways of thinking. However much of the time and attention which activists invested in challenging the political and social implications raised by the growth of neo-liberal policies has been re-channelled into attempts to co-ordinate a global response to the

invasion and continued occupation of Afghanistan and Iraq. Despite this shift in focus, the anti-war movement continues to utilise and develop protest strategies introduced by the anti-globalisation movement. For example, it tends to reject bureaucratic hierarchies in favour of more horizontal, rhizomatically organised communication flows.

In previous chapters I examined some of the ways in which rhizomatic organisational systems and structures contribute to the creation of smooth, potentially empowering political spaces. Chapter three focused on the relationship between organisational, technological and alternative media spaces while chapter four explored the relationship between grassroots political movements and the organisation of protest spaces. As these chapters show, there are many organisational and ideological advantages to be derived from communications systems and structures which foster inclusive upward-flowing communicative networks. However, there are also more problematic consequences which can arise from the utilisation of such systems and structures.

This chapter will examine the uneven frontier between chaotic 'rhizomatic' structures of the anti-war movement and the more regimented or 'arborescent' structures of the mainstream. It will argue that the internet and demonstrative events can – with varying degrees of success – create spaces in which the mainstream's need for narrative order and protesters' preference for creative flux, temporarily overlap, circumventing some of the organisational differences which have traditionally underpinned the protester/non-protester relationship. Moreover, it will suggest that these shared spaces can contribute to the renegotiation of the boundaries which both separate and connect the political margins to the mainstream and therefore contribute positively to the formation of an invigorated and agonistically inclusive public sphere.

This chapter is particularly concerned with the unevenness of rhizomatic systems and structures and the difficulties inherent in activists' attempts to integrate with the more arborescent systems which surround them. These arguments are illustrated by an analysis of Brighton and Hove's anti-war movement in general and two of its protest groups in particular: Smash EDO and Save Omar. I analyse the tensions and

contradictions which shape these activists' occupation of mainstream spaces and explore their attempts to redefine the antagonistic us/them boundaries which constitute global debates on the 'war on terror'. Finally I examine the ways in which both campaigns have been covered by alternative and mainstream, national and local print media forms.

First, however I try to establish a clearer understanding of the key places, organisations and issues involved. Historically the town of Brighton has always existed on the physical and symbolic margins of the country. It grew in reaction to the 'ordered, confined, corporatist life' of spa towns such as Bristol and Bath and as such has always been 'associated with pleasure, with the liminal, and with the carnivalesque' (Shields, 1992, p.73). Brighton and Hove is a city which has always enjoyed pushing social boundaries and I would suggest that these qualities also characterise its political life. Brighton is home to many well established and vibrant activist networks such as Schnews, Rough Music and Brightonactivst.net[86]. as well as a plethora of locally orientated campaigns such as the Titnore Woods protests[87] and the Magpie recycling projects[88]. There are also a number of more globally orientated groupings which attempt to highlight issues raised by the on going conflicts in the Middle East. These would include organisations such as the Brighton and Hove Palestine solidarity campaign, Sussex Action for peace, Smash EDO and Save Omar[89].

Sussex Action for Peace was set up in 2003 'to campaign against the occupation of Afghanistan and Iraq and US and UK foreign policy' (http://safp.info/). It used to meet fortnightly and has organised a number of events designed to express public dissatisfaction with the foreign policy decisions made by the New Labour government. For example, it commemorated the death of the 100th British Soldier in Iraq by reading the names of those killed in the conflict at a candlelit vigil in Brighton's city centre and

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[86] More information about these newssheets can be found at http://www.schnews.org.uk/index.php, http://www.roughmusic.org.uk/index.html and http://www.brightonactivist.net
[87] More information about these protests can be found at http://www.protectourwoodland.co.uk
[88] More information about these projects can be found at http://www.magpie.coop
[89] More information about these campaigns can be found at http://www.brightonpalestinecampaign.org, http://www.safp.info, http://www.smashedo.org.uk, http://www.save-omar.org.uk

organised a public demonstration in response to the continued bombing of Iraq, Afghanistan, Palestine and Lebanon in 2006. While Sussex Action for Peace continues to act as an umbrella organisation for Brighton and Hove's wider anti-war community, it no longer meets regularly, its activities having been largely subsumed by the Smash EDO and Save Omar campaigns.

Smash EDO is an anarchist/autonomous pressure group which campaigns to close down the British arm of a US-based arms multinational: EDO MBM. EDO MBM has a factory on the outskirts of Brighton which produces the release mechanisms of the Paveway bomb system. The campaign's activities were initially directed entirely towards the workers and management of EDO MBM, with protesters engaging in a series of on-site direct actions. These included largely symbolic actions such as the weekly noise demos, during which activists attempt to disrupt the working day by banging drums, ringing bells and blowing whistles. These demos were supplemented by more elaborate demonstrative events. For example at Halloween, protesters were invited to attend a masked Ghosts, Goblins and Ghouls party (e-mail received 30th October 2006), while the bombing of Gaza and Lebanon was marked by a Horrors of War Exhibition 'for the staff of the death factory' (e-mail received 18th July 2006).

Smash EDO has also engaged in far more forceful direct actions designed to impede the production of trigger mechanisms. The EDO MBM site can only be accessed by a slip road. As a result activists have invested a considerable amount of time and energy in separating the factory from the rest of the city. For example a metal cage has been used to block the slip road, concrete and manure have been dumped at the gates, and the doors have been glued shut. Activists have also attempted to infiltrate the factory. They have organised telephone blockades, painted slogans on the walls and hung banners from the roof. Finally, unknown protesters have interrupted the manufacturing process by sabotaging industrial fans and 'decommissioning' office equipment. As a result of these more confrontational actions, protesters' relations with EDO and the police became increasingly strained.

As the campaign progressed, arrests during on-site demos were becoming more and more frequent. Protesters believed that the police were deliberately arresting and re-arresting certain individuals in an attempt to incapacitate the organisation and provide material which might justify the injunction bought against activists by EDO MBM[90]. There was a strong feeling among Smash EDO activists that the police's behaviour during the weekly noise demos was deteriorating because it was unchecked by public opinion. In an effort to protect themselves from what they, possibly rightly, saw as police brutality, Smash EDO took the decision to move the focus of their campaign from the factory site (a geographically and symbolically marginalised position on the fringes of the city) into the symbolic and commercial heart of the city centre.

This position was articulated by the campaign's spokesman, Andrew Beckett, who told the *Argus* that 'part of the reason for holding demonstrations in the centre of town is so there are lots of people watching who can see how the police behave' (Anti-war protesters converge on city, 11th June 2007). In this way it was hoped that the state activities would be subject to critical scrutiny and the force of public opinion' (Fraser, 1990 p.58). In 2001 the campaign currently combines on-site-small scale, direct actions with larger mass demonstrations in more accessible public spaces.

Save Omar is a very different type of campaign. It is a civil liberties orientated organisation which campaigned for the release of a Brighton resident Omar Deghayes from Guantanamo Bay. Omar Deghayes was born in Libya but fled with his mother and siblings following the assassination of his father in 1987. The family were granted exceptional leave to remain in Britain and settled down in Saltdean, on the outskirts of Brighton. In 2001 Omar went travelling in Malaysia, Pakistan and Afghanistan and attempted to return to Britain following the attack on the World Trade Center. However, he was captured by bounty hunters in Pakistan who mistook him for a Chechenyan rebel and returned him to Afghanistan. He was held in Bagram airbase before being transferred to Guantanamo Bay, sometime in 2002. His arrest, transportation, internment and torture were all breaches of his human rights as laid out

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[90] More information on the injunction bought against Smash EDO protesters can be found on pages 95

by articles 5, 9 and 11 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Having been detained illegally for five years, Omar Deghayes was finally released without charge and returned to Britain in December 2007.

Save Omar activists engaged in tried and tested protest repertoires, such as gathering petitions, organising public meetings and lobbying key political figures. However the campaign also attempted to instigate change by embarking upon a series of public relations initiatives designed to win over public opinion and strengthen its negotiating position. Consequently activists invested a considerable amount of time and energy in creating and promoting (through their increasingly close relationship with the local paper, the *Argus*) a series of eye-catching demonstrative events. Examples of such events would include creating political tableaux, orchestrating 'die ins[91]' and performing *Air Guantanamo* in front of key mainstream and alternative venues in Brighton and Hove such, as the Royal Pavilion and the Amnesty International shop.

Since Omar's release the group has changed its name to Brighton against Guantanamo. Brighton against Guantanamo continues to support Omar Deghayes and has recently organised a leafleting campaign in response to racist attacks upon his family home. It also campaigns for the release of the remaining 'enemy combatants' from detention and is particularly concerned with securing the release of Shaker Aamer, a detainee from Bournemouth. Deghayes attended a retrospective exhibition[92] of the campaign's protest materials and is now a frequent contributor to the Brighton against Guantanamo e-mail list.

I would suggest that Brighton and Hove's anti-war movement can therefore be read as a rhizomatically organised protest coalition movement. The political aims and objectives of Sussex Action for Peace, Smash EDO and Save Omar frequently overlap. As a result, a small group of dedicated activists tends to be found dividing and splitting their

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[91] A 'die in' is a demonstrations in which as many people as possible 'die' as noisily and messily as possible.

[92] *Rattling the Cage* was held at the Phoenix Art Gallery in Brighton in March 2009. This was an event at which I spoke about the impact of Save Omar's activists' relationship with journalists for the *Brighton and Hove Argus*.

time and attention between various rhizomatically associated meetings and events. The flux and flow of ideas and activists which characterises the inter-organisational linkages within the wider anti-war movement is replicated within Save Omar and Smash EDO's internal structures which have expanded and contracted 'organically' over a period of years (Smash EDO activist, 2005). Notwithstanding the sense of inter-organisational flow which characterises Brighton and Hove's anti-war movement, the coalition is not a homogeneous grouping; it is perpetually shifting, textured and uneven.

Guedes Bailey et al maintain that rhizomatic (media) organisations are elementally defined by 'elusiveness and contingency' (2008, p.27) and argue that these qualities enable them to destabilise the 'rigidities and certainties' of both market and state whilst also protecting them from the mainstream's dominating force (2008, p.29). However despite this sense of optimism, Guedes Bailey et al are forced to acknowledge that the 'lack of a clear 'common ground' (2008, p.30) between differently constituted organisations has the potential to create a whole new series of problems. For example, the lack of a 'unifying structure' identified by Guedes Bailey et al (2008, p.30) almost inevitably creates a communications gap between rhizomatically structured protest coalitions and more arborescent mainstream organisations. Such a gap is particularly problematic in mature western democracies, where political change is predicated on the increasing support of the electorate. In these circumstances the need to bridge this gap and communicate effectively with the wider public becomes paramount.

I would argue that the mismatch between rhizomatic and arborescent communication systems can impede the flow of information from the political margins to the mainstream. Moreover, I would suggest that this clash is experienced particularly acutely by those who are accustomed to working within more bureaucratic or arborescent systems. Journalists, for example, who are accustomed to working within the tree-like command structures of subject desks frequently find themselves at a loss when attempting to access organisations which have chosen not to develop similarly

'hierarchical modes of communication and pre-established paths' (Deleuze and Guattari, 2004, p.23)[93].

Acknowledging the need to bridge the gap between their own marginalised political spaces and the wider mainstream, many resource-poor organisations now routinely use internet press rooms to promote their concerns. Organisations such as Save Omar and, to a lesser extent, Smash EDO, also use demonstrative events in their efforts to create durable and positive frames around complex global issues. These protest strategies construct spaces in which the needs of coalition activists and professional journalists temporarily overlap, creating a route through which information can travel from the political margins to the mainstream.

Changes in the media environment are making such spaces particularly attractive to mainstream media providers. As a direct result of economic pressures for example, corporate news organisations are being encouraged to move away from the expensive and time-consuming strategies of investigative journalism. Instead, news organisations have moved towards more reactive forms of journalism that rely on a 'routine source supply' (Curran, 2000, p.35). Moreover, as local journalist Andy Dickens points out, many news stories reach journalists through their inboxes (in interview, 2007). Thus, while protest organisations remain at a considerable disadvantage in that they must enter mainstream arenas without the economic resources and professional expertise enjoyed by their establishment opposition, this type of information management redresses some of the power imbalances traditionally experienced by resource-poor organizations.

Moreover as George Monbiot points out, demonstrative events in fact offer protest organisations an advantage over their more arborescently organised corporate counterparts in that they tend to be 'colourful, fun, outlandish and outrageous' and more likely to capture the jaded eyes of professional journalists (http://www.urban75.com/Action/media.html). Of course 'passive news gathering'

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[93] Activists' response to these reporting conventions will be discussed below.

(Aldridge, 2007, p.46) is viewed by some as 'a deadly serious dependency' which both demeans and undermines public trust (Dinan and Miller, 2007, p.3). This is a view which has been explored thoroughly by academics such as Franklin, (1994), Howard Tumber, (2000) and Dinan and Miller (2007) and is shared by many anti-war activists in general and Smash EDO activists in particular. As a result the push towards engagement with the wider public is complicated by a simultaneous desire to maintain a critical distance from mainstream organisations, such as the media and, less surprisingly, the police.

It is to activists' attempts to protect and preserve the integrity of coalition protest spaces from the striating influences of the mainstream that I now turn. This section is written with particular reference to Smash EDO's use of the internet. It will examine the way in which the advent of internet mediated communications has exacerbated long standing tensions within the activist community between activists who advocate dialogue with a 'mainstream' ripe for conversion, and activists who are fearful of the corrupting influence of corporate culture. This section will conclude by focusing on the way in which Smash EDO has successfully used internet press rooms to allow oppositional systems to occasionally overlap, creating spaces of political engagement accessible to all interested parties.

I will follow this with a section entitled 'Bridging the Gaps' in which I will further develop the notion of overlapping spaces of political engagement. Within this context I will examine the implications raised by Save Omar's use of demonstrative events to re-define a complex series of political relationships and focus in particular on the way in which activists have re-articulated the anti-globalisation movement's emphasis on the local. Thus I will suggest that by emphasising neighbourliness, the campaign has been able to override the religious, political and social differences which commonly defined agonistic us/them discourses surrounding the detention of enemy combatants in Guantanamo Bay. In this way I will suggest that the campaign's use of demonstrative events positioned protesters and members of the public in an unsettling series of social

interactions which redefined the previously antagonistic boundaries between the political margins and the mainstream.

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Having examined some of the ways in which demonstrative events and the internet can momentarily still the chaotic flux and flow of protest culture creating a journalistic snapshot which can then be circulated throughout the mainstream, the third and final section of this chapter will examine the boundaries which both separate and connect marginal and mainstream spaces in more detail. It will begin by examining the way in which both the Smash EDO and the Save Omar campaigns have interacted with and been represented by alternative and mainstream, local and national print media. It will then go on to examine the way in which these interactions have contributed to the wider debate surrounding the articulation of polyvocal dissent in a political environment still being shaped and defined by the attack on the World Trade Centre in 2001.

Preserving the gaps

> *Policeman – 'I believe that you are an organiser of this procession. I notify you that…'*
> *Protester – 'I'd like to notify this officer that there are no organisers on this procession…'*
> Anti-arms trade protest 2005[94]

As an anarchist/autonomous organisation, Smash EDO foregrounds the rejection of fixed roles and bureaucratic hierarchies of traditional organisational systems in favour of horizontal communications flows and collective decision-making. The absence of formalised communication structures combined with activists' reluctance to adopt potentially incriminating roles such as 'leader' or 'organiser', means that these organisations seem to find communicating with a hierarchical 'mainstream' particularly problematic. This situation is further exacerbated by the fact that mediating mainstream organisations, such as the police and corporate journalists, frequently interpret the

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[94] A you tube clip of this protest can be found on http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MwaGn6iaWio

reluctance to adopt social roles such as 'leader' or 'organiser' as being wilfully abstruse at best and downright hostile at worst.

Much has been made of the internet's capacity to overcome these problems and facilitate the campaigning activities of autonomous protest. The use of e-mail lists by Smash EDO and Save Omar is indicative here, the Save Omar list enables a disparate and often geographically dispersed group of protesters to communicate horizontally effectively. The list is used by protesters from many different countries to facilitate campaign-related activities. Some activists post frequently and regularly, while others have only posted once; many have never posted at all. The list has also occasionally been used as a means of communicating more personal information – such as passing on news of ill health or issuing party invitations. Thus the communication possibilities offered by computer-mediated technologies allow activists to combine online and face-to-face discussions with apparent ease.

The informal and courteous atmosphere on the Save Omar list contrasts sharply with that of Smash EDO. While the tone of the Smash EDO list is not unfriendly, it is impersonal and at times a little opaque. 'Andrew Beckett' and 'Michelle Tester' use the list regularly. However, most postings, used as a means of distributing information from the aliased one to the anonymous many, are simply attributed to 'Smash EDO'. Moreover the list has never (to my knowledge) been used to communicate horizontally. This top down use of the internet confounds (some) academic expectations of alternative media and raises serious questions about the internet's inherent ability to facilitate the polyvocal articulation of dissent.

<u>Policing the boundaries</u>

These issues can be further explored by examining the online and offline debates prompted by Smash EDO's strategy of non-engagement with the police. Smash EDO is part of a DiY protest tradition which tends to be a 'youth-centred and directed cluster of interests and practices' (McKay, 1998, p.2). These counter-cultural clusters frequently

define themselves in direct opposition to the interests and practices of the mainstream and foreground lifestyle issues which 'have left the realm of the intimate and the private and become politicised' (Mouffe, 2005, p40). Consequently George McKay has described the attitude of many anarchist/autonomous protest groups as 'cagey' (1998, p.9). This is unsurprising given the borderline legality of many direct actions.

Indeed, in many ways protesters are quite right to feel suspicious of 'outsiders'. An inquiry found that following the attack on the World Trade Center, the online and offline activities of anti-globalisation protesters was routinely monitored by American intelligence services (NY police spied on anti Bush protesters, *Guardian,* 6th March, 2007). It was also been revealed that the police authorities regularly recruit 'informants' from within the activist community (Police paid informants £750000 in four years, *Guardian,* 8th May, 2009; Police caught on tape trying to recruit Plane Stupid protester as spy, *Guardian,* 21st April 2009).

Smash EDO's decision to define itself in opposition to the mainstream creates clearly demarcated spatial, political and cultural spaces between activists and non-activists. These pre-existing sub-cultural tensions have been exacerbated by activists' more recent occupation of internet-based subaltern spheres. The internet has undoubtedly played an increasingly important role in the organisation of anarchist-based political protests, with some academics arguing that the internet allows 'global activists' to 'communicate with each other under the mass media radar' as well as enabling them to 'get their message into mass media channels' (Bennett 2003, p.18). Proponents of this view argue that the internet can fulfil the dual functions assigned to subaltern public spheres by Fraser, whereby 'on the one hand, they function as spaces for withdrawal and regroupment, on the other hand they function as bases and training grounds for agitational activities directed towards wider publics (1998, p.68)'. However, this position fails to fully recognise the important and contradictory tension which exists between these two functions.

In analysing this contradictory dynamic Sarah Thornton's work on rave culture is helpful. Thornton maintains that the movement of 'previously subversive signs' (1994, p.180) from the sub-cultural margins to the mediated mainstream is frequently perceived as a form of cultural betrayal. According to this view, the cardinal cultural sin of 'selling out' actually means '*selling to outsiders*' (Thornton, 1994, p.180). This dynamic is particularly problematic when the sub-culture in question has an explicitly political dimension. This ambivalence frequently frustrates the ability of some subaltern spheres to successfully promote their politics: the need to communicate with the wider public is complicated by a desire to maintain the boundaries which separate them from what they perceive to be a commercially mediated and essentially inauthentic mainstream.

The use of archives on alternative newswires such as those used by the Independent Media Centre illustrates this dynamic particularly well. Downing argues that 'having a non-sectarian open archive that can be accessed easily, retaining arguments over time in the language of the time about how to organise contestation and media activism, represents a vital step forward' (2003, p.252). There is an important element of truth to this assertion. As discussed in chapter three, the advent of digital archives has the potential to compensate for the grassroots tendency to privilege 'a culture of immediacy' at the expense of history and theory (McKay, 1998, p.19). According to this view, open archives contribute to the Independent Media Centre's ability to function as a space in which activists can equip themselves with the communication tools to engage the mainstream.

However while the internet gathers material smoothly (Moulthrop, 1994), I would suggest that the processes of tagging for searchable information are striated in so far as they automatically rank that material into a series of fixed and static points. Moreover those points are arranged hierarchically according to a pre-existent system of 'stems or channels' (Deleuze and Guattari, 2004, p19) so that archiving is a structural form which imposes stillness and order upon spaces which were previously in a state of perpetual and experimental flux. The practice of searching archives has the potential to be equally

problematic, in that it grants outsiders an entry point into social spaces that were previously smooth and difficult to access. In other words, it removes protest discourses from the secure realm of 'dusty back numbers', 'forgotten publications' and 'oral interviews with aged political veterans' (Downing, 2003, p.252) and places them within a transparent, centrally organised system which fixes and frames still evolving ways of thinking. In this way information is striated by both the processes of tagging for searchable information and the practices of searching an archive.

Unsettling space

Further issues concerning the internet are thrown up by examining the online and offline debates prompted by Smash EDO's strategy of non-engagement with the police. There was a 'cagey' quality to communications leading up to direct actions which took place in the build up to the 'Blix bloc inspection[95]'. In order to commemorate the 2003 invasion of Iraq, Smash EDO activists performed a 'citizen's weapons inspection' of the factory site ('Blix bloc in Brighton' www.indymedia.org.uk, 11/08/05)

(Blix bloc in Brighton, Indymedia[96], 2005)

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[95] The Blix bloc inspection was named after the UN Weapon inspector Hans Blix
[96] This picture can be found at http://www.indymedia.org.uk/en/regions/southcoast/2005/03/307464.html
[11th August 2005]

Protesters wearing white boiler suits and dust masks marched up to the gates of the EDO factory at Home Farm and demanded the right to inspect the property for weapons of mass destruction. As a result the police, citing the threat of intimidations and coercion, restricted the demonstration to an hour under section 14 of the Public Order Act (1986). When some activists refused to disperse within the allotted time, several arrests were made.

The organisation of the Blix bloc inspection took place in face-to-face meetings between known activists in traditionally alternative venues such as the Cowley Club, Friends' Meeting House and the Arts Centre on Ship Street in Brighton. Smash EDO's preference for this type of meeting stems from a long anarchist tradition designed to foster an atmosphere of 'trust and mutual support' (Hollingsworth, 1986, 295). Such exclusive face-to-face meetings are particularly important to direct action organisations as they enable activists to accept newcomers into the activist community, whilst controlling the outward flow of potentially incriminating information. In this way, geographically bounded subaltern spheres enable activists to 'undertake communicative processes that were not, as it were, under the supervision of dominant groups' (Fraser, 1998, p.66).

Despite the implementation of these protective organisational strategies 'the impossibility of a fully inclusive 'rational consensus' (Mouffe, 2005, p11) was revealed by the discursive aftermath of the Blix bloc inspection. Following the arrest and eventual release of the Blix bloc inspectors, it became clear that divisions existed within Smash EDO regarding the strategies which had been employed during the demonstration. These divisions were articulated on the Indymedia South Coast website and illustrate how the loss of the reassurance offered by traditional face-to-face communications contributes to a situation in which the friend/opponent distinction can tip over into a far more antagonistically orientated friend/enemy distinction.

Interestingly, the arrested activists' ire was directed not at the police who arrested them, nor at the journalists who later misrepresented them, but at the distinctly un-cagey activists who had chatted to the police during the demonstration. Thus, despite articulating a strategically reasonable argument in favour of engagement with the police (based on the idea that if everyone was arrested and constrained by bail conditions then the day-to-day running of the campaign and the weekly noise demo would become unviable), these activists were perceived as being somehow less 'committed' to the cause and subjected to very high levels of counter-cultural disapproval for infringing the unofficial embargo on inter-sphere communications.

The online discussion began with one of the arrested activists forcefully maintaining that 'on good demonstrations, the police are made to feel unwelcome and are made to go and stand away from protesters' (Jaya, 2005). When another activist questions the validity of this strategy s/he is quickly turned upon by other members of the group who suggest that s/he 'examine some of the secrets of your soul and see where that leads you' (Taff, 2005). These comments suggest that subaltern spheres are as effectively policed from the inside as they are from the outside and the borders of alternative or subaltern spheres, like the borders of the mainstream, are in a state of perpetual re-negotiation.

The hostility directed towards activists who interacted with the police can be read within the context of the 'advent of sub-politics' (Mouffe, 2005, p.32). In her work on direct actions within the environmental movement, Szersznski argues that the demonstrative actions of protesters invite us 'to understand their signs, gestures, as in some way extensions of their personal beings' (Szerszynski, 1999, p.193). According to this view, a willingness to be arrested demonstrates the 'authenticity…commitment… [the] rooted realness of action' upon which protest culture is predicated (McKay, 1998, p.32) so that, individual transgression of these values can be read as a dubious, inauthentic and a potentially contaminating weakness which devalues the 'sub-cultural credibility' of the group as a whole (Doherty, 2000, p.71).

As Mouffe points out, 'in the field of collective identities we are always dealing with a 'we' which can only exist by a demarcation of a 'they'' (Mouffe 2005 p.15). This is a view shared by Dahlberg who argues that a 'relation of inclusion/exclusion is part of the very logic of discourse, even democratic discourse (2007, p.835). In this instance I would suggest that the more committed or 'spikey' activists felt that the more conciliatory or 'fluffy' activists were 'putting into question the identity of the 'we'' (Mouffe, 2005, p.15). Moreover the antagonistic us/them distinction involved securing the 'goodness' of activists willing to provoke arrest through the 'condemnation of the evil' in those activists who were reluctant to do the same (Mouffe, 2995, 74). This 'move[97]' served to justify the exclusion of voices that were perceived to be 'bad' from public debate.

Jaya's comments were quickly followed by a discussion as to whether the site is a 'safe' place to have a 'private' discussion. Thus 'Baa-baa Black Sheep' maintained that 'a public forum like this, accessible to all is not the place to do it…publishing this kind of internal conflict only strengthens the enemy and also gives them information they can use against us' (Baa-baa Black Sheep, 2005). This comment presumes that the site is being monitored by hostile forces and illustrates how a dialogic encounters between 'friends' can be haunted by the ever present possibility of 'enemies'[98].

The fear of surveillance is exacerbated by activists on Indymedia tendency to protect themselves from the 'supervision of dominant groups' (Fraser, 1998, p66) by posting under multiple and ever changing aliases. It therefore becomes very difficult – if not impossible – to know who is saying what to whom and for activists to orientate themselves both within and beyond the groups' collective identity. This leads to a situation in which the possibility of surveillance prevents activists from engaging in full and frank discussion.

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[97] Further discussion of this 'move' can be found on pages 161 - 162

[98] All quotes in this paragraph are taken from 'Blix blok in Brighton' www.indymedia.org.uk, 11/08/05).

An incident which took place on the Indymedia website in December 2005 illustrates this more negative conceptualisation of the public sphere. A Smash EDO activist posted an e-mail she had received from community police officer Sean McDonald, addressing the group's refusal to discuss possible demonstration routes. It was widely ridiculed as 'bizarre' and 'unrealistic' by activists ('Police try to 'negotiate EDO march' and 'Additions; march summary', www.indymedia.org.uk). However, humour quickly turned to anger when PC McDonald confirmed activists' fears that the site was being monitored by attempting to engage them in the debate. PC McDonald was promptly and vigorously flamed off the site. This leads one to conclude that the virtual subaltern sphere, like the actual official sphere, employ ridicule and vilification to police its own 'private dinner party' boundaries (Hollingsworth, 1986, 288).

The fear of surveillance means that despite its many logistical advantages, virtual subaltern spheres are frequently perceived by activists to be essentially unknowable and therefore un-trustable places. Thus, while in the early days of the anti-globalisation movement activists benefited from the police's general lack of internet awareness, the anti-war movement now functions in the knowledge that its activities are almost certainly being monitored by state authorities. This realisation inevitably challenges the notion of the internet as offering secure and inclusive sites for political communication. The Habermasian vision of a transparent, sincere and universally accessible public space has been replaced by a Foucauldian nightmare in which individuals communicate under the silently disciplining gaze of dominant groups.

While the classical liberal model's emphasis on the universal accessibility of a single public sphere inevitably renders such interactions problematic, radical democratic models are more able to accommodate such frictions and fractures. Provided one accepts the radical democratic notion of a multiplicity of themed spheres which stand in a sometimes contestatory relationship with one and other, exclusion does not necessarily constitute a threat to a well functioning democracy. Indeed, as Mouffe points out, a radical democratic approach strives *not* to overcome the we/they distinction. Instead it struggles to 'envisage forms of construction of we/they

compatible with a pluralistic order (2005, p. 115). In this way, radical democratic models strive to foreground, rather than deny, the boundaries which necessarily formulate the construction of the public sphere. A clearer understanding of the inclusion/exclusion distinction is of particular relevance to the understanding of coalition protest movements which must constantly negotiate the boundaries between different coalition elements. Moreover coalition protest movements must grapple with issues whilst simultaneously managing the boundaries which exist between themselves and the mainstream.

A Shared Here?

Despite the tendency to occasionally preclude intermediate spaces in which smooth and striated ways of thinking can overlap, the internet does offer more open transitional spaces in which newcomers (and other interested parties) can gather information. For example the pressure group websites, which tend to be used as holding spaces for protest information, rather than as discussion forums, have the potential to bridge the gap between smooth subaltern spheres and their more striated and official counterparts. Such spaces are illustrated by examining the websites of Smash EDO and Save Omar; both offer statements of intention and information on upcoming events as well as archive previous material. They both also house online press rooms.

Here I suggest that while internet archives create an, albeit problematic, entry point into previously inaccessible political spaces, internet press rooms can afford a more controllable route through which previously unheard arguments can travel towards the mainstream. Virtual press rooms are particularly significant to anarchist protest groups in that they enable protesters to bypass the mainstream's striated and vertical forms of communication and replace them with smoother, more empowering 'horizontal linkages' (Downing, 1995. p.241). Smash EDO's website which is occupied by two virtual spokespeople called Andrew Beckett and Michelle Tester demonstrated this dynamic.

The presence of electronic virtual spokespeople enables Smash EDO activists to remain loyal to key anarchist tenets such as collectivity and anonymity, whilst also meeting the communicational requirements of striated mainstream organisations such as the *Argus*. For example, when 'outsiders' such as journalists (or academics!) contact Smash EDO, potential responses are discussed in a face-to-face environment until a satisfactory collective response has been formulated. This response is then passed to potential new activists/journalists/academics via e-mail and consequently enters the 'official' public sphere (Smash EDO activist, personal interview, 2006).

The ability to communicate anonymously and collectively in this way is particularly significant given EDO's repeated attempts to bring court actions against the 'leaders' and 'organisers' of Smash EDO. Virtual spokespeople are purposely unaccountable social figures. In this way it could be argued that Becket and Tester simply continue a long and respected tradition established by semi-folkloric figures such as Captain Ned Ludd or Captain Swing. Captain Ludd wrote threatening letters to Nottingham factory owners on behalf of the army of redressers who were breaking stocking frames. Captain Swing did the same for agricultural workers impoverished by the introduction of the threshing machines in the late 1700s. In these instances the 'functional blankness' of the authors enables them to 'represent the presence of absence within social order' whilst also preserving their anonymity and therefore their freedom (Hetherington, 2000, p. 170 and p.177).

Electronic spokespeople such as Andrew Beckett and Michele Tester are more than mere mouthpieces: they act as a mechanism which enables an organisationally smooth space to be constantly 'translated and traversed into striated space' and striated spaces to be constantly 'reversed and returned into smooth space' (Deleuze and Guattari, 2005, p.524). The Smash EDO website theoretically enables outsiders to access an otherwise complex and inaccessible sub-cultural milieu, whilst also enabling protesters to assert and maintain some level of control over both their organisational structure and their representation in the mainstream.

Journalists from the *Argus* seem to be unaware of Becket and Tester's un-embodied existence. Letters from 'Andrew Beckett' and 'Michelle Tester' appear regularly in the letter pages and their views are routinely included in articles relating to Brighton's anti-war movement. Likewise virtual press rooms allow the organisational structures of both activists and journalists to temporarily overlap, whilst also protecting subaltern spaces from 'official' attempts to impose striated order on purposefully smooth arenas. Internet-mediated communications enable protesters to bypass the mainstream's striated and vertical forms of communication and underlay them with smoother, more empowering 'horizontal linkages' (Downing, 1995. p.241). It would appear that virtual press rooms can accommodate the strategic needs of both activists and journalists, enabling activists to act autonomously while also providing journalists with a single, quickly verifiable and economically viable source of information.

This is not to maintain that such spaces solve all or any of the problems commonly associated with the radical left's attempts to communicate with the mainstream media, but to suggest that these spaces temporarily unfix the meanings usually ascribed to them, thus enabling 'each interested party' to attempt 'to place their discourse onto it' (Purkis, 2000, 216). This understanding of the relationship between alternative and mainstream spheres 'requires coming to terms with the lack of a final ground and acknowledging the dimension of undecidability which pervades every order' (Mouffe, 2005, p.17). While this approach refuses the stability of a permanent order, it is useful in that it can accommodate the complexities and contradictions of organisations which are predominantly, but never entirely, smooth. From online pressrooms as spaces in which the rhizomatic activities of protesters and the more arborescent practices of professional journalists temporarily overlap I now turn to similarly overlapping spaces in offline environments.

Bridging the Gap

Activists from the Save Omar campaign appear to have circumvented many of the problems experienced by grassroots activists attempting to attract and maintain the

wider public's attention, by organising an ongoing series of interlinked demonstrative events which are 'colourful' and 'fun' (Monbiot, http://www.urban75.com). Such events add flavour to a campaign characterised by an otherwise dull and inaccessible series of consultation papers, legal discussions and governmental committee meetings.

The demonstrative events utilised by the Save Omar campaign were always framed locally. For example, in March 2007 the Save Omar campaign decided to highlight the approach of his fifth year in Guantanamo Bay by creating a stone sculpture on Brighton beach. They made a giant 727 (his prison number which had become a central image for the campaign) out of 1740 stones (one for each day of his detention) in the shingle just below the Palace pier. The sculpture took a day to build and enabled a fluctuating number of protesters to gather and disperse rhizomatically whilst also meeting journalists' need to work within a more arborescently structured time frame. This event generated four articles and a photo over a six day period *(*Omar campaigners to build sculpture*, Argus*, 6th March 2007, Prisoner supporters leave no stone unturned for Omar, *Argus,* 7th March 2007, Supporters mark time for Omar, *Argus,* 7th March 2007, Sculpture for Guantanamo detainee, *Argus*, 12th March 2007).

The success of demonstrative events, such as the one described above, do not depend solely on their creativity. They are preceded by a reliable and engaging press release which is sent to a named journalist at the *Argus*. Journalists and photographers are then met by knowledgeable and articulate activists who have thought in advance about what they wished to say. So, in the words of Andy Dickinson form the *Argus*, a journalist is often required to do little more that write up the press release, take the photo and 'slap 'em both together' (interview, 2007). In many ways way the effectiveness of these events is rooted in the fact that the work is carried out by protesters rather than journalists.

Smash EDO have employed similar demonstrative events. Indeed the Blix bloc inspection could be read as a demonstrative event in so far as it attempts to encapsulate an alternative way of thinking in a single, photogenic image. However, the absence of

productive ongoing face-to-face relations between journalists and protesters means that Smash EDO's events appear in the pages of the *Argus* far less frequently than those produced by Save Omar. Moreover the ongoing tensions between police and protesters offer an easy (and therefore all too tempting) alternative frame for journalists covering a Smash EDO demonstrative event/direct action.

<u>Wishing Omar was here</u>

In 2005 anti-war activists produced a picture postcard which plays upon Brighton's traditional seaside image.
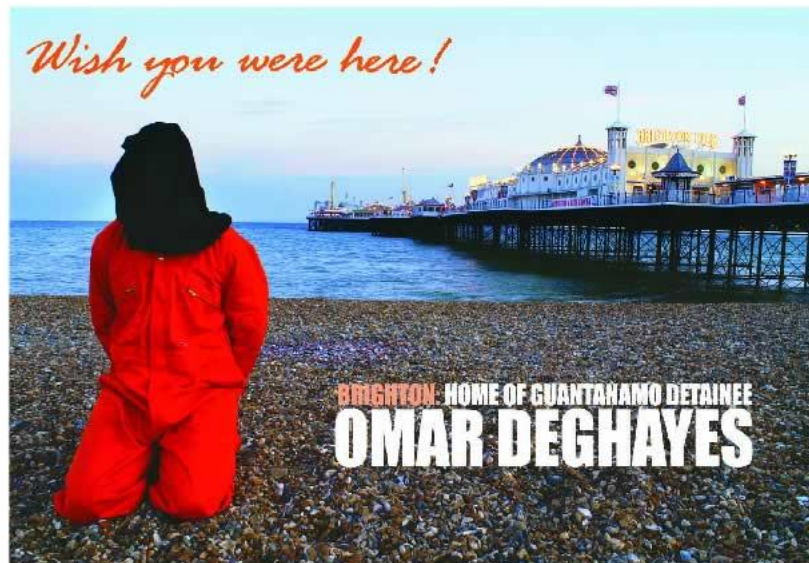
(Wish you were here, Sam Bland[99], 2005)

The familiar pebble beach fills the foreground while the sea, sky and pier − complete with fairground lights and rides − stretches away in the distance. The curly script, expresses the familiarity and warmth usually associated with postcard writing and cheerily reads 'Wish you were here!' However, this familiar and formulaic scenario is made stark and strange by the postcard's fourth element: an orange jump-suited figure

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[99] This picture came from the Save Omar website and can now be found at http://www.guantanamo.org.uk/content/blogsection/8/41/ [15th December 2009]

kneeling, bound and hooded on the shingle. The blocked letters to the right of the figure read 'Brighton: Home of Guantanamo Detainee Omar Deghayes'. The colour orange gathers and foregrounds the phrase 'Wish you were here', the jump-suited figure and the word 'Brighton' and suggests – without offering any explanation – that these three elements are in some way meaningfully interlinked.

The juxtaposition of contradictory elements deliberately unsettles our understanding of the seaside postcard as a genre. In doing so it throws up a number of unexpected questions which must be addressed and evaluated before they can be fully understood. 'Why would a Guantanamo detainee be on Brighton beach?' 'Why would we wish him to be in Brighton rather than in Guantanamo?' 'Where is here?' The text on the back of the postcard further develops this visual conundrum. It reads

> Dear Margaret Beckett,
> We ask you to make representations to the US government about the illegal detention of Omar Deghayes. If you need to know more about his case please visit www.save-omar.org.uk or come and talk to us in Brighton.
> Yours sincerely

Thus while the image on the front of the postcard addresses the spectator, the message on back addresses the government. As Billig points out, 'national topography is routinely achieved through little banal words' (1995, p.96). In this instance the words '*we* ask *you*', and 'talk to *us*' (my italics) creates a liberal, civil rights based deixis of home and community. Moreover by requesting the government to engage in transnational talks with the US government it invites 'them' to reposition themselves and become part of a localised 'us'. In this way the postcard attempts to highlight and disrupt the local, national and global identity formations which define, and to a certain extent constitute, the debates around the 'war on terror'.

The website address signposted on the back of the postcard leads to the Save Omar Campaign's homepage which gives a comprehensive account of the circumstances surrounding the detention of Omar Deghayes. Whilst material produced by the Save

Omar Campaign's website clearly asserts a belief in Omar's innocence it did not demand his unqualified release. Instead it emphasised the human rights abuses suffered by Omar Deghayes and called for his right to a free and fair trial under the rules of the Geneva Convention. In doing so it attempts to challenge the discourse around his detention and question the friend/enemy distinction which positions detainees as enemies 'whose demands are not recognised as legitimate and who must be excluded from the democratic debate' (Mouffe, 2005, p.5)

The uncompromising 'with-us-or-against-us' rhetoric of US foreign policy makes maintaining a nuanced position within the public sphere particularly difficult (Bush, *CNN,* 6th November 2001). In line with this rhetoric, mediated public debates surrounding the 'war on terror' tend to foreground religious, political and cultural differences. For example, public discourses on Muslim women's role in the western workplace centred on the notion of the veil as a 'barrier' or 'mark of separation' (Veil should not be warn says Muslim peer, *Guardian,* 20th February 2007). These antagonistic divisions make it particularly difficult for groups like the Save Omar Campaign to overcome the 'friend/enemy distinction' (Mouffe, 2005, p.15) and articulate a coherent and cohesive public response to the detention of 'enemy combatants' in Guantanamo Bay.

As discussed in chapter one, in order to move away from a view of demonstrative events and visual metaphors as somehow inherently hollow, and towards an understanding of political imagery as potentially beneficial, it is necessary to focus in more detail on the nature of the visual. In her collection of essays on the 'virtue of the image' (1996) Barbara Stafford points out that there is a long and sophisticated line of thought which 'differentiates between 'imagery used as equivalents to discourse (or as illustration)' and imagery used as 'an untranslatable constructive form of cognition (as an expression)' (1996, p.27). According to this second definition, images should be understood not as empty displays of visual rhetoric but as meaningful acts in themselves.

Crucially, according to traditionalist critiques, the manipulation of the masses by the media in general and the public relations industry in particular, takes place '*without public awareness of its activities*' (McChesney, 1997, p15, my italics). However activists' deliberate use of artifice, like their use of masks, enables protesters to foreground (rather than disguise) the persuasive nature of their appeal and thus side-step the 'sense of deceitfulness' which Corner identifies as being at the core of both propaganda and spin (Corner, 2007, p.673). In this way their symbolic (and therefore explicitly unreal) forms of protest allow them to distinguish themselves from the 'self-interested strategizing … and vapid slogans that are customarily imputed to candidates for governmental office' (Feher, 2007, p.13). Similarly, the Save Omar Campaign's use of explicitly constructed images enables them to maintain an elevated degree of authenticity and avoid both external and internal accusations of spin.

<u>Unsettling Spaces</u>

Activists' use of artificially constructed visual metaphors to produce real change in political circumstances and create new ways of thinking within the community is evident in their mobilisation of demonstrative events. In the summer of 2006, Save Omar activists learned that Starbucks was selling coffee to American service personnel stationed in Guantanamo Bay. They e-mailed the company asking them to clarify their role in operations at the camp and received a reply stating that as an international company Starbucks was obliged to 'refrain from taking a position on the legality of the detention centre at Guantanamo Bay" (e-mail received, 26th May 2006). The company went on to deny having a Starbucks outlet on the island whilst simultaneously acknowledging that they did provide coffee to US service personal based at the camp. The exchanges between Starbucks' executive liaison officer and various anti-war activists were circulated widely along the protest networks of the World Wide Web (http://www.business-humanrights.org/Links/Repository/587011, http://www.reports-and-materials.org/Further-exchange-between-Starbucks-Quilty-about-Guantanamo-May-2006.doc).

In an attempt to inform a wider non-activist, non-internet based public of this contradictory position and capitalise on another campaigning opportunity, Save Omar campaigners orchestrated a demonstrative event which took place in two Brighton Starbucks outlets. On June 3rd 2006, twenty five activists entered Starbucks on Western Road and North Road. Each group of activists included two members dressed in the iconic orange jumpsuits and black hoods that have come to signify civil rights abuses in Guantanamo Bay. These activists stood or crouched in silence while another member of the group read out a brief statement asking customers to reflect upon the circumstances surrounding Omar Deghayes' illegal detention and Starbucks' role in operations at Guantanamo Bay *while* they drank their coffee. They also distributed leaflets which gave a fuller account of Starbucks' relationship with the US military and appealed directly to the 'people of Brighton' to differentiate themselves from the global brand by 'not … 'refrain[ing] from taking a position'' (personal e-mail, 26th of May 2006).

The Save Omar Campaign's strategy follows in the methodological footprints of previous grassroots campaigns against international companies such as Starbucks, Nike and Gap. These campaigns attempt to tag global brands with negative connotations in order to provoke political, social or cultural change. In his analysis of the North American Fair Trade coffee network, Bennett argues that the organisation successfully attached its political message to the Starbucks' coffee drinking experience, thereby persuading 'one of the chief corporate purveyors of that experience' (2003, p.30) to fundamentally alter their business practices. Whilst Nike and Gap have been somewhat recalcitrant in accepting the criticisms of anti-globalisation protesters, Starbucks have positively embraced an ethical, humanitarian business ethos. In this way what was once a source of shame and embarrassment for Starbucks has become one of its most potent selling points. This shift is reflected in one of the company's leaflet and poster campaigns which proudly depicts a fair traded coffee producer beneath the trade-marked slogan 'coffee tastes best when you know that it's doing good'[100]!

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[100] This poster was seen in selected Brighton based Starbucks in the summer of 2007 and has since become part of an extended promotional campaign

Despite this apparent confidence, Starbucks is inevitably still acutely aware of the impact which an orchestrated and sustained campaign can have upon its economic bottom line. The brand is still frequently associated with negative economic and cultural trends such as global homogenisation and corporate domination. Indeed, the week before the Save Omar Campaign's occupation of Starbucks, just such an article had appeared in the *Argus* ('Coffee chain bid scares traders' 26th May 2006). While campaigners were clearly attempting to mobilise a stakeholder boycott of Starbucks, I would argue that this was not necessarily their sole concern. The occupation of Starbucks, like the postcard discussed at the start of this section is explicitly dual in its address and Save Omar campaigners were also attempting to access and then re-articulate what the company's customer care specialist describes as 'the very personal connection customers have with Starbucks' (http://www.business-humanrights.org/Links/Repository/587011). In this way campaigners hoped to provoke a re-evaluation of public opinion in relation to Guantanamo Bay in general and Omar Deghayes in particular.

In order to make this connection, Save Omar activists employed what Smith and Katz would describe as a spatial metaphor. In their article 'Grounding Metaphor: Towards a Spatialised Politics', Smith and Katz argue that

> Metaphors work by invoking one meaning system to explain or clarify another. The first [source domain] meaning system is apparently concrete, well understood, unproblematic, and evokes the familiar…The second 'target domain' is elusive, opaque, seemingly unfathomable, without meaning donated from the source domain (Smith and Katz, 1993, p.69).

Smith and Katz maintain that 'it is precisely the apparent familiarity of space, the givenness of space, its fixity and inertness that makes a spatial grammar so fertile for appropriation' (Smith and Katz, 1993, p.69).

The ways in which this dialectic between source and target domains can be opened out to create a plethora of resisting domains can be illustrated by examining the

metaphorical implications raised by the Starbucks action in more detail. According to Bennett 'entering a Starbucks puts one in a quiet world with quality product, surrounded by quality people, soothed by demographically chosen music… and tempted by kitchen coffee gadgets…'(2003, p.29). Starbucks can be seen as offering the individual 'cultural materials to fashion an identity' (Barry et al, 2000, p.122) in an environment designed to 'put people at ease for the purpose of spending time and money' (Purkis, 1996, p.215).

Moreover the outlets chosen by Save Omar activists constitute a particularly potent source domain because they are both situated in newly regenerated parts of Brighton which have come to symbolise the move away from the city's traditionally slightly seedy seafront appeal and towards a far more urban and aspirational cultural ethos. Thus, for example, the hundred metre stretch of road which brackets the North Road outlet is occupied by an award-winning environmentally friendly library, a Brazilian cocktail bar, a Japanese noodle bar and the quality food emporium Carluccio's. In this way the Starbucks on North Road exists within an architectural context designed to articulate to those both within and beyond the community that Brighton is a cool, cosmopolitan and cultured place to live.

George Ritzer maintains that '*Starbuck's major innovation has been in the realm of theatrics* (his italics)' and goes on to argue that customers take pleasure in witnessing the ongoing show taking place in their local Starbucks' (2007, p.9). However, this careful cultural construction is immediately and deliberately complicated by the activists' articulation of the metaphor's target domain i.e. the bound and hooded faux detainee. Activists' entry into Starbucks immediately crystallises two contrasting forms of public discourse into a single 'ideologically loaded' image (Ruiz, 2005, p.201). The normally unobjectionable activity of consuming coffee is juxtaposed with the appalling human rights abuses suffered by 'enemy combatants' in Guantanamo Bay. In this way protesters' actions create a situation in which not only 'the strange is rendered familiar, but the apparently familiar is made equally strange' (Smith and Katz, 1993, p.71). As with the postcard, this demonstrative action requires viewers to confront this clash of

contradictory elements and cognitively evaluate a number of unexpected issues before being able to resolve the visual conundrum.

Smith and Katz maintain that modernist critics have neutralised space rendering it politically and analytically blank in order to provide a 'semblance of order in an otherwise floating world of ideas' (Smith and Katz, 1993, p.80). However, more contemporary commentators (Fournier; 2002, Cuppers; 2005) have questioned this understanding arguing that small scale grassroots movements are particularly adept at creating politically challenging conceptual spaces. For example Szerszynski maintains that visual metaphors create a political semiotic field without 'a zero degree,' one in which there is 'no stable ground on which to stand, rather an ever-shifting surface of partial perspectives' (2003, p.201).

Further, Purkis argues that such protest spaces are particularly potent when they are located in private places – such as coffee shops – which are 'normally conceived of as safe from political agitation' (1996, p.215). '''Colonizing'' private space' (Purkis, 1996, p.215) in this way disrupts the status quo and creates a sense of 'estrangement' which makes perfectly 'normal' activities – such as drinking coffee – look suddenly 'strange, absurd, grotesque' (Fournier, 2002, p.194). The unsettled nature of these spaces can temporarily 'unfix' the meanings usually ascribed to them, enabling 'each interested party' to attempt 'to place their discourse onto it' (Purkis, 2000, p.216).

On these occasions, protesters create an 'ambivalent position between strangeness and familiarity' (Cuppers, 2005, p.12) which jolts spectators out of their usual state of distraction and encourages them to re-evaluate the discourses which surround them. Chatterton goes further and maintains that the construction of explicitly 'uncommon ground' between actors and spectators creates connections which can unsettle the essentialisms between 'activist and public, the committed and the caring' (2006, p.272). Activists' use of demonstrative events and visual metaphors open up 'a moment of hope' which 'undermines dominant understandings of what is possible and offers new

conceptual spaces for imagining and practising possible futures' (Fournier, 2002 p.184)

These spaces are particularly valuable to resource poor protest groups as they enable them to call the dominant narrative into question. Moreover, their intrinsically photogenic nature means that such events are frequently reported in the mainstream press ensuring that they reach as wide an audience as possible. Despite Starbucks' customer care manager's reassuring e-mails, the issue was raised and discussed further, both within the alternative and the mainstream community (http://www.indymedia.org.uk/en/2006/06/341924.html, Can the Coffee, *Argus*, 31 May 2006). Thus spatial metaphors create a space in which source and target domains temporarily overlap, forcing even reluctant participants to engage in an 'untranslatable constructive form of cognition' (Stafford, 1996, p27).

The activists' decision to deploy their 'prestigious right bearing bodies (Gilroy, 2006, p.89) in a key community space created an all important 'sense of there being an elsewhere' and of that 'elsewhere being in some way relevant' (Silverstone, 2007, p.10) to Brighton's collective sense of identity. Their sophisticated use of photogenic and ideologically potent visual images contributed to the wider dissemination of alternative understandings of Omar Deghayes as an 'enemy combatant' in particular and of Guantanamo Bay in general. Activists enabled the absent and silenced Omar Deghayes to escape categorisation as part of a globally feared terrorist 'them' and become part of a locally identified 'us' instead. In addition as a result of such events the Save Omar campaign gradually acquired a reputation as a reliable and innovative news source able to constantly and consistently 'come up with a new thing' (Dickinson, 2006, in interview). In the following section I examine the implications raised by this reputation and the *Argus'* decision to publicly adopt the campaign.

A Shared Here?

Since mid-2005 the *Argus* gave Save Omar extensive and favourable coverage, promoted its fundraising events and lent its weight to many of its campaigns. The increasingly warm relationship between activists and the Argus culminated in the *Argus'* formal adoption of the issues raised by Save Omar in September 2005. While the paper's campaign ran under the title of 'Justice for Omar', in many ways, it simply piggybacked on the work being done by activists. For example, the postcard discussed in the section above was reproduced in the pages of the *Argus* alongside an invitation to readers to 'make your voice heard for justice' (10th July 2006). Similarly, badges produced by Save Omar bearing Omar Deghayes' prison number (727) were later distributed more widely under the auspices of the Justice for Omar Campaign.

(Make your voices heard for justice, *Brighton and Hove Argus,* 2006)

While the paper's support of Save Omar undoubtedly amplified the campaign's concerns, it was not (sadly) an example of commercial media's conversion to a more altruistic, community-minded way of being. Indeed, their impetus for doing so had an important economic dimension. This point was underlined by the paper's most politically supportive journalist, who pointed out that regional papers will only publish what they believe the local community will buy. Thus while the *Argus'* support of the Save Omar campaign might have had a political dimension, it was also based on an

understanding that the city's audience would, quite literally, buy into this particular campaign.

Nevertheless, once the decision had been taken, the interests of the campaign and the paper became inextricably intertwined. The overlapping nature of this space is evident in a series of articles mobilising public support for Omar Deghayes. These articles ran for the first year of the joint campaign under headlines such as 'Religious leaders back detainee' (5th September 2005), 'Union backs Guantanamo detainee (6th January 2006), 'Famous faces back the fight to free Omar' (6th April 2006) before finally culminating shortly before Omar's release with 'Sussex MP campaigns for Omar' (7th May 2007). These articles were interspersed with wider appeals targeting the paper's general readership 'Sign up to support Omar' (18th October 2005), 'Badge of support for Omar' (27th October 2005) and 'Make your voices heard for justice' (10th July 2006).

As examples of how the different interests and needs of the paper and the campaign overlapped and which required very little in terms of journalistic resources, they were an economically efficient means of producing copy. The journalist covering the campaign simply rang around her list of community spokespeople and elicited the desired response. The same task would have been a huge strain on a resource poor organisation such as the Save Omar campaign. In this way both the newspaper and the campaign benefitted from articles offering new angles on a story which was always in danger of becoming old.

Meryl Aldridge maintains that the campaigns promoted by local newspapers are frequently characterised by a 'careful blandness' (2007, p.68). Despite this blandness, or even perhaps because of this blandness, articles such as those described above are to political movements. This is because a roll call of respected public figures legitimises their position and enables what was previously perceived as a fringe concern to move from the margins of the public's attention to the political mainstream. Indeed these articles renegotiated the parameters of the debates surrounding the 'war on terror' by reaching out across a local community to create a swell of paper-buying public opinion.

Indeed by the end of 2007 it would have been hard to find a public figure that did not support the release of Omar Deghayes! As Francis Tonks, one of Brighton and Hove's Labour councillors, puts it in an internationally accessible YouTube address – Omar Deghayes is 'one of our residents… a local guy…part of our community' (http://youtube.com). The paper's adoption of Omar Deghayes inevitably boosted support for the campaign and enabled it to move from being a marginal issue to one being advocated by public figures in the heart of the community. In this way activists' explicit use of artifice has enabled them, in conjunction with the local paper, to bring 'human rights abuses and the disastrous nature of the 'war on terror' to the doorsteps of Brighton residents' (Wells, *News Statesman and Society,* 31st Oct 2005). I now examine the way in which the campaigning activities of Smash EDO and the Save Omar combine in order to articulate a more nuanced and textured protest position.

… to the Mainstream

> *One task for critical theory is to render visible the ways in which*
> *societal inequality infects formally inclusive existing public spheres*
> *and taints discursive interactions within them*
> Nancy Fraser, 1990, p.65

In 2005, Smash EDO activists (via their electronic spokesman in an e-mail received 16th September) maintained that their campaign was targeted at 'a mixture of the following in order of importance:

> EDO staff – to raise awareness of the effects of their work and persuade them to take up alternative employment.

> The local population of Brighton – to raise awareness of anti-arms trade issues and show how locals can have a direct impact on the atrocities which local companies are complicit in by acting against them.

> The wider general public – for the same reasons as above by gaining national media coverage which was achieved in April around the

interim injunction trial when Channel 4 did a feature and the story was carried by the Guardian and the Times.

The activist community – to encourage activists elsewhere to campaign against arms companies in their communities.
(Andrew Beckett, personal e-mail, 2005)

In prioritising their focus in this way, Smash EDO activists were following a direct action tradition in which 'protesters engage in forms of action designed not only or necessarily to change government policy or to shift the climate of public opinion through the media, but to change environmental conditions around them directly' (Seel et al 2000 p.1).

This protest position contrasts sharply with the Save Omar campaign. The detainment facility on Guantanamo Bay is designed to be inaccessible. Consequently activists wishing to highlight its existence are required to do so by less direct means. As a result, the protest strategies of groups like Save Omar cannot be directed towards employees and tend to be orientated towards the wider general public (both local and national) and policy makers. Here I point to the alternative and mainstream, local and national coverage garnered by both Smash EDO and Save Omar and suggest the local mainstream coverage of a coalition demonstration contributed to the re-negotiation of boundaries separating and connecting the margins and the mainstream.

A wide view

The Smash EDO protests outlined above (particularly those where arrests were made) were covered regularly and extensively by alternative news sources such as SchNEWS and Indymedia. However, while these demonstrative events may well have raised awareness amongst staff at the factory, as far as I know, no employees have left EDO because of the issues raised by protesters. Despite this, an e-mail from the Indymedia South Coast process list describes the Smash EDO campaign as the most important in the region. A search of SchNEWS' archives conducted on 17th June 2007 reveals 355 Smash EDO related postings, while a similar search on Indymedia UK revealed well

over 400. The number of postings listed for Smash EDO is, in fact, far higher than four hundred. However, the count is inflated by Smash EDO's regular appearance as a tag on other inter-connected articles.

The Smash EDO campaign regularly leads both the UK and the South Coast newswire lists. It also has a dedicated South Coast action link and boasts a features archive all of its own. By comparison, the alternative coverage of the Save Omar campaign appears rather muted. SchNEWS lists 33 postings for Save Omar, while Indymedia UK lists just 73. Moreover, while Save Omar does feature in both the local and the national alternative media coverage, it tends to appear in event listings rather than in dedicated features. Consequently the coverage of the Save Omar campaign is rather prosaic in tone and lacks the slightly breathless quality which tends to characterise the first person accounts of Smash EDO demonstrations.

The Smash EDO campaign appeared ten times in the *Daily Telegraph,* the *Times* and the *Guardian*. However while the national coverage has been broadly sympathetic (with the notable exception of the *Times*[101]), it has tended to focus on questions raised by the authorities' infringement of protesters' civil liberties rather than the issues surrounding the production of trigger mechanisms for the Paveway bomb system at the Home Farm site. For example, the national papers have covered EDO MBM's decision to seek a civil injunction against Smash EDO protesters, the trial's subsequent collapse and the ongoing conflicts between protesters and police. Similarly the Guardian Group covered the Sussex and Hove Police Authority's decision to cite licensing laws in an attempt to prevent *On the Verge* being screened in Brighton, Bristol and Bath.

The Save Omar campaign has appeared far fewer times in the national press. Indeed a Lexis Nexis search conducted of the national broadsheets on 27th June 2009 revealed only three direct references to the Save Omar campaign. However this data is in many ways misleading. Stories concerning Guantanamo have appeared in the national press

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[101] Times journalists 'infiltrated' and then reported negatively on the Save Omar campaign in 2006. See pages 94 -95 of this thesis for more information.

on countless occasions, reflecting a wider national (and indeed international) concern about the detention of enemy combatants in Guantanamo Bay. Omar Deghayes has also been named individually within these stories on 101 separate occasions. Thus I would suggest that the non-appearance of 'Save Omar' in this coverage may reflect the campaign's ability to construct a frame which foregrounds the issues raised by detainees', rather than protesters', civil liberties.

Both campaigns, in varying ways and to varying degrees, have therefore reached alternative and mainstream national audiences and accessing these nationwide arenas has clearly been important to the development of both organisations. However an activist involved in the Friends of the Earth campaign in Newbury maintains that it is often the quality of local coverage which frequently structures the parameters of wider public debates (in interview, 2000). So while regional newspapers are frequently derided for their 'pedestrian agendas' (Wells, *New Statesman and Society*, 31st October 2005) I would argue that they can be of overriding significance to the success or failure of many grassroots protest organisations.

According to liberal bourgeois models of the public sphere, regional newspapers constitute a 'specific means for transmitting information' (Habermas, 1974, p.50) about matters of particular local interest. Their role is both to inform private individuals about the issues of the day and to create a space in which a reasoned consensus as to what constitutes the greater public good can be achieved. As such, local newspapers are required to be more than 'a mere organ for the spreading of news' (Habermas, 1974, p.50) and to refrain from becoming a 'medium of a consumer culture' (Habermas, 1974, p.50). This has always been a particularly precarious position to maintain and is one which, according to liberal sphere theorists, is becoming increasingly untenable.

The inexorable decline of local newspapers has become the subject of widespread debate in the national media and the houses of Parliament (Universities must fight for local papers, *Guardian Online*, Friday 3rd April 2009, BBC internet plans 'will kill off' local newspapers, *Daily Telegraph*, 14th of August 2008, MP's fearing decline of local

news *BBC Online* Thursday, 19th of March 2009). Thus there is a widespread consensus that local public forums are in jeopardy and that this will have a detrimental effect on the workings of both local and national politics. In her book *Understanding Local Media* Meryl Aldridge describes how many regional titles are attempting to protect what remains of their traditional market share by taking on an explicitly campaigning role. She maintains that this strategy allows regional papers to foreground the uniqueness of their selling position by promoting themselves as 'active and important players in local affairs' (2008, p.66). In this way local papers are trying to distinguish themselves from the free, but more lightweight and disposable, news sources currently challenging their market share.

However as Aldridge points out, these campaigns tend to focus on relatively non-controversial subjects, such as combating preventable disease or reducing street crime, and therefore address the reader as a consumer of council services rather than as a citizen of the nation state. Consequently local papers frequently produce rather bland and politically innocuous 'campaigns'. The *Argus* has followed this trend by reporting on a number of localised campaigns. They have given extensive coverage to a campaign against Frank Gehry's controversial redevelopment of Hove's seafront as well as the 'Dump the Dump' campaign which tried to prevent a materials recycling facility from being built in the Fiveways area of Brighton.

There are many reasons why local news editors choose not to cover overtly political campaigns such as Save Omar and Smash EDO. As a journalist for the *Argus* points out, distant war and allegations of terrorism are perceived as 'unglamorous' news subjects (interview, 2007). They tend to be slow-moving and politically complex stories populated by unpopular and un-photogenic characters such as politicians and lawyers. Moreover these narratives are invariably structured around interminable court cases which only very occasionally lead to incremental changes to the status quo. As a result neither campaign is particularly suited to the photo-led panels or nibs (news in brief) which make up a large part of the *Argus*.

Despite these drawbacks the *Argus* has been consistent and occasionally generous in its coverage of the local anti-war movement. While articles covering these stories clearly retain a local dimension, they are in many ways geographically distant and politically removed from the paper's traditional readership. However, as Wells points out, 'the *Argus* is projecting Brighton news onto the international stage and vice versa' (*New Statesman and Society,* 31st October 2005). The Justice for Omar campaign strives to make American foreign policy a constituency issue, collapsing the distinction between local and global. The paper's decision to supportively cover the anti-war movement in general and to campaign for Omar Deghayes in particular has been described by Miriam Wells as 'a pretty radical departure for a local rag' (*New Statesman and Society*).

In many ways, Save Omar's unusually productive relationship with the *Argus* is rooted in journalists' relationship with particular protesters. Unlike the majority of ongoing stories in the *Argus,* the Save Omar campaign is covered by a dedicated journalist. Indeed this is a rare instance of an individual journalists, requesting (and being granted) ownership of a particular story. Partly as a consequence of this allocation, the individual journalist and campaigners have been able to build personal relationships and therefore bypass many of the organisational barriers which frequently impede the communication process. In turn Andy Dickinson placed a great deal of emphasis on the importance of face to face communication with sources he knew would not 'beat me round the head' with their story (interview, 2007).

In contrast, links between Smash EDO and the media are 'individual rather than organisational' (e-mail received from Andrew Beckett, 16th September 2006). The organisational gap between Smash EDO and mainstream media providers was least evident in the campaign's relationship with the national papers. I would suggest that this is because such interactions were undertaken on a one-off basis which enables both protesters and journalists to background their organisational differences. However while such ad hoc linkages work well on an every-now-and-then basis, they become

problematic when a rhizomatically structured group attempts to engage with more arborescent media organisations on a long term basis.

'Andrew Beckett' described *The Argus'* coverage of the Smash EDO as 'patchy and inaccurate' (e-mail received 16th September 2006). The campaign's failure to secure the type of local media coverage enjoyed by the Save Omar campaign is rooted in Smash EDO's reluctance to foster a face-to-face relationship with journalists from *The Argus*. So that the coverage of the Smash EDO campaign has depended on it being 'taken up by whoever's free or has found it' (interview, 2007). As a result of this somewhat arbitrary and uncoordinated allocation of journalistic attention, the demonstrative events organised by Smash EDO have not been covered particularly well by the *Argus*.

The lack of face-to-face interaction between journalists from the *Argus* and activists from Smash EDO created a narrative void which was quickly occupied by Brighton and Hove's police force. As Couldry points out, the media's tendency to construct reports from police briefings inevitably frames the representation of political protests (2000). Next I examine the local print media coverage of Brighton and Hove's anti-war movement and reflect on how the communicative strategies of coalitions combine to unsettle mainstream news frames enabling activists to articulate textured and nuanced protest positions.

A narrow view

Protest organisations have traditionally relied on public demonstrations to show the strength of their commitment, draw attention to their cause and recruit fresh support. Here I analyse three public demonstrations in Brighton and Hove: they represent key moments in the development of mainstream narratives about Brighton and Hove's anti-war movement. These demonstrations also developed the anti-globalisation movement's 'policy' of non-engagement with mainstream authorities with activists refusing to take part in any pre-demonstration collaborations with the police.

The first demonstration was called by Smash EDO in the summer of 2005. Protesters refused to liaise with the authorities and marched from The Level to Brighton and Hove police station where they handed in a charge sheet accusing the directors of EDO MBM of complicity in war crimes (Anti war protesters to descend on city, 10th of June 2005). The second was also called by Smash EDO and took place a few months later. This demonstration took place in the city centre and was widely perceived to have been policed too heavily. The third and final demonstration was called by Sussex Action for Peace and the Brighton and Hove Palestine Solidarity Campaign, which were acting as an umbrella organisation for Smash EDO, Save Omar and other loosely affiliated organisations. This demonstration was also 'unauthorised' by the police but passed peacefully. It is important to note that there was, as always, a considerable degree of organisational intermingling and entangling during these marches.

During the early stages of the Smash EDO campaign, the police and legal authorities downplayed the significance of the protests. For example EDO MBM's lawyers dismissed the protesters' argument that the right to protest would be curtailed by the imposition of an injunction as 'malarkey' (Demo Plea by Weapons Firm, 14th April 2005). Similarly, when Smash EDO activists announced their intention to deliver evidence of EDO MBM's complicity in war crimes to the police station, Superintendent Kevin Moore described protesters as ridiculous. He told the *Argus* that his officers would 'not be investigating them [EDO MBM] for war crimes because that is nonsense' (Kevin Moore, Anti war protesters to descend on city, 10th of June 2005).

However, as the Smash EDO campaign gained momentum, Brighton and Hove Police altered their approach and began to establish a 'chaos and disorder' frame around the protests. In an article published immediately after the second Smash EDO demonstration, Superintendent Kevin Moore claimed that the march was not 'about lawful protest for their cause' but 'solely about bringing disruption and inconvenience to the city' (80 year old arrested at protest, *Argus,* 15th August 2005). This article was followed a few months later by one in which Superintendent Moore claimed that the

Smash EDO demonstrations were not about 'beliefs' but 'about causing havoc and disorder to thousands of people in the city'(Chaos Fears over Rally, *Argus*, 3rd of December 2005). In this way, the police deployed the 'Mohawk Valley Formula[102]' whereby those who articulate dissent are represented as 'disruptive, harmful to the public and against common interests' (Chomsky, 1991, p.19).

The struggle between protesters and the police began, not on the streets of Brighton but in the pages of the *Argus*. Debates revolved around two interconnected issues. Firstly, there was disagreement about what constitutes 'notification'. Protesters maintain that the 1986 Public Order Act requires activists to do nothing more than give written notice of their intention to march. The police maintain that the act requires protesters to provide additional details such as the names of organisers, the route they intend to take and the numbers of marchers they expect to attend[103]. Secondly, there was some debate over how this information should be communicated to the police. While information about the march was freely available in subaltern media forms such as flyers, posters, graffiti, stickers and websites, the police maintained that there was no information available in the public domain (80 year old arrested at protest, *Argus*, 15th August 2005, Protesters should have kept us informed, *Argus*, 19th August 2005)[104]. As a result of this 'absence', the police argued that protesters had failed to give due notice and thus classified the march as illegal.

As a consequence of these unresolved issues, Brighton and Hove police published a letter in the *Argus* appealing for leaders to come forward and negotiate an 'acceptable' route:

> We are happy for them to march as long as they go where we want them to go. If they move outside of that we will stop them (Moore, Anti war protester to converge on city, 10th June 2005).

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[102] The Mohawk Valley Formula was first used to break a steel strike in Johnstown in 1937 (Chomsky, 1991).

[103] Differing interpretations of the 1986 public order act are currently being reviewed by the courts.

[104] The use and classification of subaltern media forms in the legal system would make for a fascinating (and useful) area of research. Unfortunately it falls beyond the remit of this project.

However in laying out the boundaries of what the police authority deemed to be acceptable, Chief Superintendent Moore inadvertently made the usually unnoticed constraints on public dissent visible. Moreover his comments drew attention to the preparedness of the state to impose 'order' upon the people and, in doing so, unmasked what Fraser has described as the 'back grounded and disguised' power dynamics of public discourse (1990, p.65). The police offer to 'help' protesters organise a demonstration was revealed to be a means of controlling, rather than facilitating, the articulation of dissent in public spaces.

Chief Superintendent Moore's letter created a discursive opportunity for protesters in general, and Smash EDO's cyber spokespeople in particular, to publicly challenge the police's right to prescribe the boundaries of protest and classify protesters as criminal. Following this letter, a protester replied saying:

> We don't liaise with the police because they just use the information to stop us more effectively (80 year old arrested at protest, *Argus* 15th August 2005).

Thus protesters were able to publicly justify a protest strategy which has always been susceptible to being framed as mere chaos and disorder. As a result of this public re-positioning in the papers, the confrontation between police and protesters which took place on the ground during the second demonstration could be more easily read by citizens of Brighton and Hove as a mindful act; in other words as an act of *hammas* rather than *hamoq*. In this way 'assumptions that were previously exempt from contestation' (Fraser, 1990, p.67) were forced into mainstream public arenas.

The boundaries which had been drawn by police and refused by protesters in front of the readers of the *Argus* became actual on the day of the second demonstration. At midday on the 13th August 2005, protesters and police began to collect outside Brighton's main shopping centre. At this point the demonstration was a smooth space in so far as it was comprised of heterogeneous and loosely affiliated clusters of protest groups. There was no centralised organisation and the communicative systems were all

horizontal. For example, rather than the crowd being addressed by speakers/leaders, there was an open-mic session in which anyone could address the crowd, on any issue and at any length. This rhizomatically organised system meant that the speeches, like the pages of *Circus Free* and the *Greenham Factor* were fluid, not prioritised, and were occasionally unruly.
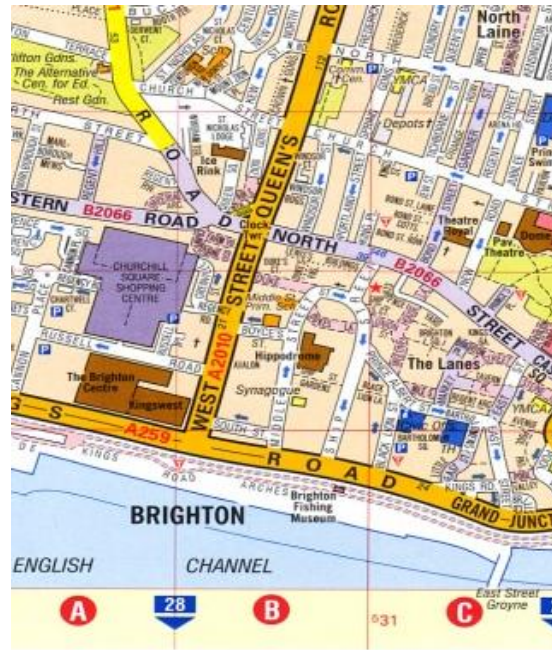
(Map of Brighton, A to Z, 2008)

Finally, and after much milling about, the collective tipping point was reached and at about twelve-thirty the march set off, past the clock tower and down Western Road. Having failed to impose their boundaries in the pages of the *Argus*, the police set about asserting their control on the streets of Brighton and Hove. They did this by employing three interrelated policing techniques now known as 'kettling'. Firstly, the police formed a line across North Street which halted the progress of the demonstration. At the same time a second police line drew up behind the march and compressed the demonstration into a 100 yard stretch of the road. These two police lines then pressed protesters off the carriageway and into Windsor Street which had already been blocked by a third police line. This had the effect of confining protesters within an area cordoned off by three lines of police. Each of these lines was two officers thick and

supported by a number of police vans and other vehicles. In this way a march which had been rhizomatic and was 'captured' and 'enveloped' by the police's imposition of rigid boundaries (Deleuze and Guattari, 2005, p.524). The uneven fluidity of the march was contained and compressed.

Having imposed these boundaries on the demonstration the police then went on to create an unbridgeable gap between the spaces inside and outside the cordoned-off area. Protesters who attempted to breach the cordon, in order to talk to passers-by or hand out leaflets were 'aggressively prevented' from doing so and pushed back into the space allocated to them (Bullying tactic won't keep us quiet *Argus,* 13th December 2005). In addition, members of the public who became angered or distressed by the escalating violence were physically escorted from the scene. The police imposed a space of about five to ten feet between protesters and the public, making the two citizen groupings separated and discrete. This technique is particularly significant because, as Waddington points out, 'patrolling the boundary of inclusion and exclusion' involves bestowing (and withholding) citizenship on the people. This imposition of striated boundaries eradicated the possibility of an overlapping in-the-middle position and ensured that there could be no potentially contaminating movement or intermingling across the previously porous boundary. In this way the possibility of being a protester *and* a member of the public was disallowed.

The police then went on to impose a second distinction between 'good' protesters and 'bad' protesters. They did this by appealing to different categories of people to leave the enclosed area. So, for example, the police offered to escort the elderly and people with small children beyond the striating police lines and into 'safe' public space. However, in keeping with the spirit of the anti-globalisation demonstrations discussed in the previous chapter, activists from very differently orientated protest groupings collectively decided to decline this offer. In this way, a coalition of protesters refused to be divided into separate groupings and chose instead to maintain solidarity across difference.

The removal of 'good' protesters would have altered the demographic dynamic of the demonstration. It would have created a homogenised space occupied only by protesters physically and emotionally strong enough to withstand the escalating tensions. This type of demonstration would almost inevitably have been dominated by the young and the physically able. Consequently it would have been particularly vulnerable to being delegitimized as an aggressive, antagonistic and borderline criminal 'them'. Such a demonstration would have justified the authorities' view of Smash EDO protesters as unreasonable individuals 'hell bent' on operating 'outside the law' (The law is key to EDO harmony, *Argus*, 9th of June 2005).

Having attended this demonstration in person I can testify to the levels of discomfort and determination that this sort of refusal requires of individuals who clearly consider themselves to be 'socially responsible', 'law abiding' members of their local community (Sometimes we have to stand up to the state, *Argus*, 6th September 2005, The way we are headed, *Argus*, 20th April 2005). 'Good' protesters' resolve to remain within the cordoned-off area, despite being 'shoved around, shouted at and generally overwhelmed by the police' (Heavy handed policing threatens free speech, *Argus*,13th December 2005) prevented the demonstration from being 'translated and traversed' back into a striated city space (Deleuze and Guattari, 2004, p.524). In this way rather than dissolving the frontier between protesters and the police, the alternative and the mainstream became stark and highly visible.

The demonstration's prolonged and disruptive occupation of the city centre meant that the police's behaviour had been witnessed by wider members of the public. As a result of this conflict, the 'uncommon ground' between protesters and the police became an 'entry point for critical engagement' with the issues raised by protesters (Chatterton, 2006 p.273). This impacted significantly upon the way in which street protests and Smash EDO demonstrations in particular were framed in subsequent coverage.

The march became the focus of an increasingly supportive public debate within the letters page of the *Argus*. Protesters involved in the demonstration wrote to the paper

complaining about how they were 'hemmed in and made to feel like a criminal' (Heavy handed policing threatens our free speech, *Argus,* 13th December). Shoppers who were delayed by the demonstrations and questioned by the *Argus* maintained that the march had not prevented them from 'enjoying their day'. Those whose shopping had been affected asserted that having 'the freedom to demonstrate is so much more important than a five minute delay to your journey' (Scuffles and arguments as marchers take to city streets, *Argus*, 13th June 2005).

When a few months later a Save Omar activist wrote a letter to the *Argus* about the series of marches, it was published in full. The unusually long letter began

> PC Sean McDonald's views of the two recent marches in Brighton would appear to suggest that a situation which could easily be resolved by demonstrators simply informing police of their intentions….

and went on to outline the arguments against engagement with the police and concluded by suggesting that

> ….There is always a degree of unpredictability and tension on both sides at demonstrations, but a tolerant police approach without the assumption that those who choose to protest without approval are simply a criminal element might surprise us all (Sometimes we have to stand up to the State, *Argus, ,* 6th September 2005).

The public support of Save Omar was particularly significant in that, by the summer of 2005, the campaign had already garnered considerable mainstream support. Thus the campaign bought with it the implicit backing of important cultural arbiters such as the *Argus,* the city council and various named MPs. Moreover the Save Omar campaign's successful renegotiation of previously antagonistic us/them distinctions within the pages of the *Argus* lent its position further credibility.

In this way letters published in the *Argus* after the first two demonstrations began to construct an alternative narrative frame which defended the protesters' right to protest

and accused the police of being heavy handed. The police found themselves in a position where protesters' citizenship was retrospectively 'redefined' by the wider public and their policing of the demonstration was 'regarded as impermissible' (Waddington, 1999, p.61). The textual consequences of their containment of the demonstration meant that the boundaries between alternative and mainstream spaces were drawn very differently in the press coverage leading up to the third demonstration.

Indeed public support for the protesters was such that by the spring of 2006 the coalition demonstration called by Sussex Action for Peace passed without incident. Once again protesters refused to liaise with police but on this occasion the demonstration marched peacefully through Brighton's city centre without the consent or the 'guidance' of the police (Marchers fight for their right to demonstrate, *Argus*, 19th March 2007). The march moved smoothly through the city and was characterised by much meandering, occasional 'rests' at major junctions and a sense of quiet euphoria.

Headlines such as *'Chaos Fears over Rally'* (3rd December 2005) and 'Factory sparks another march*' (10th August 2005) which characterised the early days of the anti-war movement's activities in Brighton and Hove were gradually replaced by headlines which emphasised the authority's role in policing dissent such as 'Protesters slam over policing' (2nd March 2006) and 'Protesters accused of protest overkill' (24th August 2006). By 2006, demonstrations called by anti-war protesters in Brighton and Hove were being attended by city councillors Francis Tonks and Joyce Edmond-Smith (Police accused of overkill, *Argus,* 24th August 2006. Moreover, the narrative strand which had focused on the way in which protesters were 'deliberately evasive' (Part of the local community not anti it, *Argus,* 7th December 2005) was replaced by one in which the police refused to answer councillors' questions about the cost of their policing strategy (Anti-weapons march takes place peacefully, *Argus,* 12th December 2005 and Protesters slam over policing, *Argus,* 2nd March 2006).

During the demonstrations outlined above, the usually unnoticed frontier between smooth and striated, textual and actual spaces was made visible and publicly contested. Smash EDO's 'policy' of non-compliance and use of virtual spokespeople, together with Save Omar's carefully cultivated re-articulation of localised us/them dynamics, combined to create a nuanced, powerful and persuasive coalition voice. This mix of different systems and structures unsettled the boundaries of inclusion and exclusion and drew protesters, the police and the public into a series of complex structural interactions. This enabled coalition activists to alter the mainstream's narrative frame and articulate an alternative and less familiar truth.

<u>Conclusion</u>

'This does not merely allow us to hope for human improvement; it is already a form of improvement in itself'.
Kant, 1991, p.182

In this thesis I have attempted to address some of the questions which puzzled me as an idealistic young activist. How do political understandings move from the margins to the mainstream? What impedes their journey? How can these barriers be overcome? These issues have always been central to our understanding of political progress in mature western democracies and have been approached by scholars from a range on interconnected disciplines. Thus contributions have been made by academics interested in new social movements, political communications scholars and alternative media theorists. This thesis is situated between these bodies of work and seeks to create a space in which different interrogative approaches can productively overlap.

The recent rise of coalition movements requires academics and activists to reflect again upon the way in which protesters contribute to the formation of public opinion. This thesis suggests that changes in the systems and structures which shape grass roots political communications require one to reconceptualise the theoretical models which traditionally frame an understanding of the public sphere within mature western democracies. Consequently it aims to re-examines the theoretical and empirical implications raised by the communicative strategies used in the articulation of polyvocal dissent and attempts to inflect them differently. It is particularly concerned with the role of the us/them divides within coalition politics and the role which protest methodologies play in managing the agonistic/antagonistic distinction.

In an attempt to better understand how the on-going relationship between the margins and the mainstream is altered by the articulation of polyvocal dissent, I have explored some of the ways in which a political system traditionally structured by clearly demarcated boundaries can accommodate articulations of dissent predicated on an entanglement of differences. Rather than focusing on one particular movement, I have

chosen to examine the organisational systems which structure both alternative and mainstream public spheres and analyse protest coalition movements communication *across* a multiplicity of political differences. This has enabled me to move beyond an analysis of individual organisations and to comment on coalition movements as a communicative force within contemporary public spheres.

This thesis is distinctive in that it contributes, both theoretically and empirically to a number of inter-related themes. Firstly, it extends the Mouffe's work by arguing that the need to combine solidarity and difference is of central importance to a notion of coalition politics. The need to autonomously manage political relationships on the brink of the antagonistic/agonistic divide is central to the well being of democracy in an increasingly fragmented and fractured world. Similarly the need to refrain from overwhelming a plethora of 'minority' differences in the interest of establishing 'majority' interests is an increasingly pertinent political challenge. This thesis explores these issues in a number of political contexts and concludes by suggesting that protest coalitions emphasis on methodology over ideology holds the key to negotiating these democratic challenges.

Consequently the second theme developed in this thesis relates to the methodologies which underpin the communicative strategies of coalition protest movements. I focused on the ways in which very differently orientated activist groupings preserve solidarity as well as political difference, arguing that protest coalitions' use of experimental organisational structures and systems distinguishes them from more traditionally organised political groupings. I suggest that alternative modes of communication have enabled activists to side-step many of the divides which characterise arborescent inter-organisational relationships of both radical left and mainstream organisations. This methodological emphasis is an extension and development of Habermas' focus on communicative procedures and creates a space in which coalition movements use of innovative and challenging protest repertoires can be better understood.

Finally, I have concentrated on the ways in which coalition groups communicate nuanced and sometimes contradictory political positions in a frequently inhospitable mainstream. I have analysed coalition activists' deployment of communicative strategies which reveal the usually unnoticed power dynamics in order to renegotiate the boundaries which exist between activists and non-activists. I have therefore focused on how political ideas travel through the complex system of connections which both bind and separate the margins and the mainstream. Thus, I have attempted to develop a more interconnected understanding of the ways in which protest coalitions contribute to the formation of public opinion.

The fluctuating dynamics under consideration in this thesis have been complicated by the ways in which the texture of coalition protests has evolved during the time it has taken to complete this research. When I began this thesis, the anti-globalisation movement was at its political peak. However, the attacks on the World Trade Center in 2001 transformed the political environment within which protest groups must function and redirected the energies of many grassroots campaigners. The end of the Bush administration combined with the global economic downturn at the end of 2008 has once again altered the relationship between public(s)and both political and economic powers. While the parameters of protest have always been challenged and redefined by the political, social and economic circumstances which surround them, there is a sense in which the last ten years *may* have fundamentally altered the ways in which dissent can be articulated.

While the contextual circumstances surrounding the articulations of dissent are constantly changing, the issues raised by this thesis are of ongoing relevance and concern. For example, while public debates around the practice of 'kettling' protesters have evolved considerably over the past ten years, the technique continues to reveal the power dynamics which exist between protesters, police and the public. 'kettling' can be read as a metaphor for the many frictions which surround the constantly changing and competing needs for freedom and security. Thus I would suggest that while the

inflections articulated in this thesis are historically specific, the issues they raise transcend the political moment.

In order to address the issues raised by activists' articulation of polyvocal dissent, I began this thesis by complicating traditional understandings of the public sphere (Habermas, 1974). Jürgen Habermas' conception of a space in which private individuals can gather in order to arrive at a reasoned understanding of what constitutes the public good is rooted in an enlightenment tradition. The enlightenment ideals of equality, reason, and transparency continue to underpin the political processes of most democracies in mature Western societies. Despite the many problems associated with these aspirational ideals the notion of the public sphere remains 'indispensable to critical social theory and to democratic political practice' (Fraser, 1990, p.57). Democracy still is, as Winston Churchill famously declared, the least 'worst form of government' (1947, p.206-7[105])

However, the increasing complexities of our globalised world accentuate the gaps which have always existed between the ideal and the actuality of our democratic processes. The perceived (and actual) decline in political participation has prompted a re-evaluation of the notion of the public sphere. Academic responses to this fissure between theory and practice have tended to focus on the constitutive boundaries of the public sphere and on the democratic legitimacy of various communicative modes (Garnham, 2007, p.207). This thesis develops both these strands of research in relation to the communicative strategies of protest coalitions. It has focused in particular on the ways in which the binary thinking, which tends to structure our democratic systems, has been unsettled and re-negotiated by the often experimental communicative strategies of protest coalition movements.

In chapter one I began by focusing on the implications raised by the articulation of polyvocal dissent in mainstream arenas still accustomed to the clear cut boundaries offered by more modernist political understandings. I built upon the work of authors

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[105] (The Official Report, House of Commons (5th Series), 11 November 1947, vol. 444, cc. 206–07.).

such as Nancy Fraser (1987, 1990, 2007) and James Curran (1991) by trying to re-imagine the constitutive boundaries of an interconnected series of public spheres. I also drew on the work of Chantal Mouffe (2005) and attempted to envisage a model of the public sphere characterised by an unsettling sense of uncertainty but more able to accommodate forcefully felt political differences. Lastly, I utilised Deleuze and Guattari's notion of rhizomatic systems and smooth spaces (2004) in order to better conceptualise a model of the public sphere able to accommodate fully entangled articulations of dissent.

The connections between the fields of research outline above are implicit but under developed in much of the work being done by social movement theorists and alternative media scholars. In these pages I have attempted to foreground and highlight the connections which exist between the aspirational certainties of a classical approach to the public sphere and the fluctuating political potential inherent of rhizomatic models. In this way I have developed a model of the public sphere which can more easily accommodate the polyvocal articulation of dissent. I hope that the approaches outlined in this thesis will be of value not only to academics working within these theoretical fields but also to activists attempting to access mainstream public spheres.

An unanticipated element in this research has been the emphasis on boundaries. I do not follow Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri (2000, 2006) in attempting to overcome or deny the existence of boundaries. Instead I endeavour to reconceptualise the ways in which the notion of the boundary is brought to bear on our understanding of political communications within the public sphere. Therefore I have argued that boundaries which are uncertain and can be renegotiated are an entirely necessary and politically productive element of our democratic system. In this way rather than striving to overcome boundaries, I endeavour to better understand the flexible connective boundaries which tend to characterise political life in general and the communicative strategies of coalition protest movements in particular. Ironically this thesis is therefore, in many ways, structured by the very boundaries and binaries it attempts to unsettle.

This emphasis on boundaries calls upon one to think about them differently. It requires one to view boundaries as a frontier with the potential to connect as well as separate differently constructed spaces. In this way boundaries stop being a barrier to be crossed and become an in-between space which can be productively occupied. As this thesis has illustrated such 'in the middle' spaces are full of exciting and unexpected political possibilities. However the price of such a productively entangled position is that everything is in a state of unstable and perpetual re negotiation. Consequently one is denied the comfort of certainty. Such a position demands that academics relinquish the possibility of a theory to end all theories and accept instead that theoretical progress is uneven, fractured and fragmented.

This thesis went on to reflect on activists' interest in the relationship between political ideologies and strategic methodologies. This focus is on particular relevance to coalition movements because they are in a position where they must maintain solidarity whilst also preserving political difference. I therefore followed Habermas (1974) and made a connection between methodological systems (such as rational consensual deliberation) and ideological spaces (such as the liberal bourgeois public sphere). I also expanded this connection to include the non-textual strategies utilised by coalition activists frustrated by the limitations imposed by traditional political modes of communication. In this way I addressed protest movements' need to both accommodate and express difference by focusing on the communicative strategies of coalition activists.

This position challenges the work of commentators such as Daniel Boorstin (1992) and Neil Postman (1985), who attribute the (perceived) decline in the standard of public debate within the public sphere to a move away from traditional communication forms. In doing so I develop the work of scholars such as Jon Simons (2003) and Lisbet van Zoonen (2004) who celebrate the political potential offered by a more postmodern interpretation of political discourse and I examined the ways in which alternative discourses contribute to the production of mainstream print narratives. In this way I

explored the political possibilities offered by alternative communicative forms, such as routes, bands and masks, and proposed a model of the public sphere which accommodates, rather than laments, changes in the systems and structures which constitute the contemporary public sphere.

It's important to note that the chapters in this thesis do not constitute the realisation of a pre-conceived plan or idea. In my view a methodological plan which determines ones route through the field limits the possibility of discovering anything other than what one was already expecting to find. In contrast an entry into the field without a map requires one to engage more thoroughly with ones environs and opens up the possibility of encountering ways in which to think about things differently. In keeping with the aspirational idea of an 'in the middle' position I have therefore adopted a methodological approach prioritises reflexivity and enabled the temporal and spatial rhythms of everyday political life to unfold.

Chapter two reflected upon the ways in which the ideas in this thesis were shaped by the processes of researching and writing. These pages were not produced chronologically but emerged rhizomatically over a protracted and occasionally fractured period of time. Consequently the issues raised are never discrete; they merge and re-emerge across chapters. Each new context inflects the themes under discussion differently and so adds a new range of dimensions, a new range of possible connections. In many ways, this thesis mirrors the organisations it examines and adopts an incremental position. Thus while the ideas in these chapters are situated within various specific political moments, they are primarily an attempt to address the issues and problems which occur across these moments.

Through these rather idiosyncratic processes, the notion of text has emerged as an unexpected and unifying theme. Accordingly, the textual and textile metaphors developed through the analysis of public sphere theory in chapter one are picked up and developed in chapter two in relation to the methodological issues raised by writing a thesis. While chapter four investigates the political implications raised by both printed

and digitalised texts, chapter five explores the notion of public city space as a text. Finally chapter six attempts to examine the interface between the many textual and actual spaces which distinguish the margins and the mainstream. In developing this approach I have drawn on the work of a diverse range of authors such as Walter Ong, Michel de Certeau and Stuart Moulthrop who examine some of the implications raised by both textual and non-textual modes of communication.

Chapters three, four and five of this thesis are organised around a number of case studies which explore the protest strategies of grassroots coalition movements. Thus I have examine the way in which single issue organisations such as the women of Greenham Common, anti-Criminal Justice Bill coalitions metamorphosed into multi issue groups such as the anti-globalisation movement and the anti-war movement. This focus has allowed me to analyse the way in which specific coalition movements communicate with both each other and the mainstream, whilst also enabling me to develop a broader understanding of the systems and structures which connect these organisations across time.

Towards the end of the twentieth century the declining interest in traditional party politics led to a rise in single issue politics. Each single issue campaign was perceived as somehow discrete and distanced from those which ran alongside them. However, this fractured notion of protest has since led to a political environment in which previously separate campaign strands have coalesced into a shared multiplicity of differing positions. As a result, coalition movements are playing an increasingly important role in political life. It is therefore important to investigate the communicative strategies employed by protest coalition movements attempting to articulate polyvocal dissent.

By examining the ways in which protest coalitions unsettle and renegotiate the in-between or overlapping spaces between their different elements and between themselves and the mainstream, I have tried to develop a more flexible and nuanced account of the democratic potential offered by organisations which privilege the impassioned entanglement of differing political views. Such an understanding

recognises the multiplicity of possibilities offered by an approach which refuses the constraints of the A not A dichotomy and celebrates rather than fears the energising forces of agonistically expressed difference

I have been particularly concerned with the move away from organisations which seek to replace mainstream systems and structures and have focused on protest coalitions which offer a far more fragmented amalgamation of views both as an alternative to, and in opposition to, the mainstream. This replaces the traditional understanding of political progress as a revolutionary movement from black to white with a more complex ideologically inclusive area in uncertain shades of grey. Such a position requires activist, like academics, to let go of traditional assurances and to embrace the perils and pleasures of uncertainty.

Chapters three, four and five are particularly interested in the ways in which protest coalitions stemming from a socialist anarchist tradition capture and construct both textual and actual spaces. I extend anarchist organisations historical emphasis on capturing geographical or actual spaces to include symbolic or textual spaces, in the belief that such a move would open up the theoretical debate on the validity of alternative communicative approaches within the public sphere. I therefore reflected upon the relationship between democratic methodologies and ideologies in my attempt to further rehabilitate non textual forms of political communication.

Chapter three began by focusing on groups which can retrospectively be characterised as coalition movements such as the peace activists who protested against Cruise missiles and free party activists opposed to the introduction of the 1994 Criminal Justice Bill. These two protest coalitions are of particular relevance because while they were considered at the time to be examples of single issue politics, their organisational systems emphasised ideological flexibility and multiplicity which is now considered to be characteristic of contemporary coalition movements. Consequently these groups offer a particularly useful insight in to the move from single issue politics (which are more easily accommodated by communicative systems which are characterised by

binaries and boundaries) to multi issue politics or coalition politics which require different systems and structures if they are to flourish.

I began chapter three by focusing on a weekly newspaper from a soviet tradition, *The Socialist Worker*. I argued that *The Socialist Worker* is characterised by arborescent organisational systems which tend to produce striated political spaces characterised by order, hierarchy and clearly defined boundaries. I compared these organisational systems and structures with an analysis of three more rhizomatically structured organisations (*The Greenham Factor, Circus Free* and *Indymedia*) and argued that these experimental communicative strategies, which refused hierarchy and prioritised flexibility, enabled coalition movements to both generate and maintain a multiplicity of protest positions. Thus I extended rhizomatic models of media organisations to include the emergence of protest coalitions and suggested that there was a relationship between the rhizomatic organisational structures utilised by protest coalition movements and their occupation of vibrantly smooth spaces able to sustain the articulation of political differences.

In this chapter I also challenged the commonly held view that coalition movements have flourished as a direct result of computer-meditated communication forms. I supported this view by analysing the rhizomatically produced web spaces of *Indymedia* and traced its smooth qualities back through the photocopied pages of the anti-Criminal Justice Bill publication *Circus Free* and into the printed pages of *The Greenham Factor* and argued that coalition movements' use of computer mediated technologies is rooted in historical rather than teleological arguments. I concluded by suggesting that the desire to capitalise on horizontal, participatory communication linkages has always been an important feature of the smooth political spaces which foster the prioritisation of polyvocal dissent.

Chapter four extended and developed the text based analysis of chapter three by exploring how rhizomatically organised mass demonstrations occupy city spaces in such a way as to challenge and unsettle previously unnoticed boundaries. I drew a

parallel between the ways in which political texts and political marches are consumed by the reader/viewer and widened my focus to include non-textual communicative modes. I focused on how differently orientated anti-globalisation protest groupings interact during large scale summit demonstrations by utilising non-textual communicative strategies in order to articulate a multiplicity of complex, but more or less unified, protest positions.

This chapter was particularly interested in the protest repertoires which exist on the very brink of the agonistic/antagonistic divide. Confrontational protest actions are of particular relevance to this thesis because they illuminate the way in which the inter-organisational systems of coalition movements are predicated, not on an absence of boundaries, but on the notion of boundaries in a state perpetual flux. I argued that the confrontational communicative strategies of some protest groupings highlight the ways in which coalition movements have developed strategies which enable them to both foreground and then overcome potentially divisive political differences. In doing so I examined the ways in which conflicting protest repertoires, particularly those which advocate radical confrontations, were assimilated into more generally cautious and reformist political movements.

Chapter Four examined the agonistic relationship between coalition movements and the mainstream. However it is also necessary for both activists and academics to reflect upon the point at which agonistic relation between the margins and the mainstream become antagonistic. A second inter related series of questions was raised in chapter five which focused on the tendency of some politically marginal organisations to advocate an absolute withdrawal from mainstream systems and structures. Both these scenarios re cast the relationship between alternative and mainstream publics and raise a new series of questions about the articulation of dissent in mature western democracies. While these issues are worthy of consideration they sadly fall beyond the confines of this thesis.

Chapter five reflected on the classification and management of public demonstrations. This chapter focused on the anti-war movement in Brighton and Hove and examined the internal and external pressures on the boundaries which both separate and connect the margins from the mainstream. It looked at the contradictory dynamic between some activists' desire to preserve alternative spaces and the need felt by other activists to access mainstream spaces. This chapter was therefore primarily concerned with the connections which lie between the protest coalition movements and the way in which these connections continue to unsettle the boundaries between alternative and mainstream spaces. It looked at how the spaces between differently organised groupings are maintained, clash and occasionally overlap. In this way it foregrounds the political potential inherent in the boundaries which both separate and connect the alternative and the mainstream, the activist and the non-activist, us and them.

Chapter five developed many of the issues raised in chapter four by further exploring the distinctions drawn between 'good' and 'bad' coalition protesters. In doing so it examined the political potential of the deliberately awkward and uncertain position chosen by coalition protesters, exploring the implications raised by occupying such an enmeshed position in 'the fabric of the rhizome' (Deleuze and Guattari, 2004, p.27). It also analysed the ways in which differently orientated protest clusters can combine into a more articulate and polyvocal whole and examined how coalition relationships with both journalists and the police contribute to the ever changing relationship between activists and the wider public. Thus chapter five attempted to collapse many of the distinctions drawn in the previous chapters in an attempt to better understand the issues raised by the communicative strategies of protest coalition movements.

This chapter could have expanded to become an entirely new thesis. The temporal and spatial proximity of both the Smash EDO and the Save Omar campaigns offered many opportunities for participant observation which, due to the confines of time and space, could not be more fully developed. For example a more extensive and precise survey of the organisational structures which shape activists interactions away from the mainstream would have offered many insights into the ways in which polyvocal dissent

is actively constructed by individual activists. However this research focus would not have addressed the questions laid out in this thesis and must therefore wait for another day!

Like the coalition movements these pages investigate, this thesis occupies a position between a plethora of very differently constructed spaces. As such I have attempted to explore some of the possibilities offered by multiplicity and flux whilst also maintaining a commitment to the aspirational ideals which constitute the democratic process. As a result I have combined very different critical and methodological approaches. I have also tried to blur the distinctions between concepts which are frequently understood in opposition to each other, such as reason and passion, the real and the unreal, the smooth and the striated, the textual and the actual, the alternative and the mainstream.

Despite the difficulties and complications I have encountered, I firmly believe that an emphasis on the 'lines' between coalition movements rather than the 'points' which isolate them (Deleuze and Guattari, 2004, p.9) has much to offer the understanding of democracy in an increasingly complex and fractured world. Moreover such a focus foregrounds issues and concerns such as the balancing of us/them distinctions, the use of innovative protest methodologies and their role in renegotiating the boundary between the political margins and the mainstream. These are concerns which are of ongoing practical relevance to both protest coalition movements and media policy makers which future research projects could develop in more empirical detail. Such understandings may soon become particularly pertinent within mainstream British arenas as the upcoming elections might well necessitate changes in political communication systems which currently find it difficult to recognise and interact with more fractured forms of politics.

The political spaces produced by coalition movements are uncomfortable in that they foreground and unsettle many of the binary distinctions which have traditionally structured communication within the public sphere. The mainstream's current lack of

familiarity with the organisational strategies of coalition movements, particularly those stemming from a socialist anarchist tradition, has resulted in a tendency to perceive a different type of order as a complete lack of order. Partly as a result of this misrecognition, the communicative strategies of coalition movements have frequently been viewed as evidence of an ongoing decline in the quality of public debate. In these pages I have therefore tried to makes visible the systems and structures which shape this 'disorder'.

However, in these pages I have argued that, far from being evidence of a terrible and somehow inevitable deterioration in the democratic processes which shape our society, the communicative strategies of coalition movements are innovative and effective contributors in the wider debate over what constitutes the public good. This view requires one to re-envisage both the parameters of public debate and the modes of communication which take place within and between differently orientated publics. While there are undoubtedly many problems associated with these differently organised in-between positions, this thesis maintains that they are also hugely productive political spaces.

Consequently this thesis has focused on the perpetually shifting, fluctuating and contradictory dynamics which characterise these in-between political spaces and analysed the ways in which these spaces interact with both the alternative and mainstream spaces which surround them. It has argued that coalition activists' commitment to rhizomatic organisational structures creates spaces in which there are far fewer limitations on thinking differently. These spaces are characterised by an emphasis on innovation and participation which has revitalised the communicative strategies of grassroots campaigning. So, whilst in the past protesters waited in optimism or despair for the day everything changed, now protesters concentrate on the small but endless opportunities for contestation. Thus I would like to conclude by following Kant and suggesting that this sense of political enthusiasm 'does not merely allow us to hope for human improvement; it is already a form of improvement in itself' (1991, p.183).

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[15th December2009]

Communist Party of Great Britain
http://www.cpgb.org.uk
[15th December2009]

Do or Die
http://www.eco-action.org/dod /
[15th December2009]

flag.blackened.net
http://www.flag,blackened.net
[15th December2009]

GLATUC
http://www.glatuc.org.uk
[15th December2009]

Greenham Common Trust
 http://www.greenham-common.trust.co.uk
[15th December2009]

Greenham Common Women's peace camp website
http://www.greenhamwpc.org.uk
[15th December2009]

Indymedia UK
http://www.indymedia.org.uk
[15th December2009]

Indymedia South Coast
http://www.indymedia.org.uk/en/regions/southcoast
[15th December2009]

Infernal Noise Brigade
www.infernalnoise.org
[15th December2009]

Insurgent Desire
http://www.insurgentdesire.org.uk/
[15th December2009]

J18 carnival against capitalism
http://bak.spc.org/j18/site
[15th December2009]

Magpie
http://www.magpie.coop
[15th December2009]

Movemento Sem Terra
http://mstbrazil.org

[15th December2009]

Newbury Bypass
http://www.ukrivers.net/newburybypass/factfile.html
[15th December2009]

New communist party of Britain
http://www.newworker.org
[15th December2009]

Orange Alternative
http://www.pomaranczowa-alternatywa.org/index-eng.html
[15th December2009]

Reclaim the streets
http://rts.gn.apc.org
[15th December2009]

Respect
http://brightonandhoverespectrenewal.wordpress.com/about-2/
[15th December2009]

Rhythms Of Resistance
www.rhythmsofresitance.co.uk
[15th December2009]

Rough Music
http://www.roughmusic.org.uk/index.html
[15th December2009]

Save Omar
http://www.save-omar.org.uk
[5th June 2009]

Schnews
http://www.schnews.org.uk/index.php
[15th December2009]

SHAC
http://www.shac.net
[15th December2009]

Smash EDO
http://www.smashedo.org.uk
[15th December2009]

Socialist Worker
http://www.socialistworker.co.uk
[15th December2009]

Sussex Action for Peace
http://safp.info
[15th December2009]

Squall
http://www.squall.co.uk
[15th December2009]

Tintore Woods Protest
http://www.protectourwoodland.co.uk
[15th December2009]

The Land Is Ours
http://www.tlio.org.uk
[15th December2009]

Urban 75
http://www.urban75.com
[15th December2009]

Zapatistas
http://www.zapatistas.org
[15th December2009]

Appendix One

Table of interviewees

Organisation	Sex	Age	Occupation	Date
Save Omar Activist	Female	45-50	Academic	8/1/2006
Save Omar Activist	Female	50-60	Retired Nurse	5/8/2006
Smash EDO Activist	Male	25-35	Unemployed	7/4/2006
Smash EDO Activist	Male	25-35	Mother	4/8/2005
Sussex Action For Peace Activist	Male	35-45	Student	7/2/2006
Brighton and Hove Argus	Male	25-35	Journalist	2/8/2006
Brighton and Hove Argus	Female	25-35	Journalist	23/6/2006
Circus Free Editor	Female	35-45	Mother	12/5/2005
Kellys Solicitors	Female	45-55	Lawyer	15/7/2005
Samba Master Various	Male	35-45	Teacher	29/6/2004

Appendix Two

Interview Guide for Activists

No.	Topic Clusters	Time
1	**Who or what is the primary target for your campaign?** Ask about; government, business, activist community, local community, national community.	5 mins
2	**How would you describe your relationship with alternative news sources?** Ask about; Indymedia, schnews, Activist Network. Importance to campaign. Initial contact. Standard of coverage.	10 mins
3	**How would you describe your relationship with mainstream national news sources?** Ask about; broadsheets, tabloids. Importance to campaign. Initial contact. Standard of coverage	10 mins
4	**How would you describe your relationship with mainstream local news sources?** Ask about; Radio, television, print. Importance to campaign. Initial contact. Standard of coverage	10 mins
5	**How would you describe your relationship with the Brighton and Hove Argus?** Ask about; Activist/journalist relationship. Key campaign moments. Importance to campaign. Standard of coverage	10 mins
6	**How would you describe your relationship with the Brighton and Hove Police Force?** Ask about; Activist/police officer relationship. Key campaign moments. Importance to campaign.	10 mins
7	**Are there any comments that you would like to make?** Ask about; Areas I may have missed. Things of particular importance relevance to them.	5 mins

Appendix Three

Interview Guide for Journalists

| No	Topic Cluster	Time
1	**Alternative/ Mainstream, Local/National media consumption?** Ask about; personal and professional. Most valued.	5 mins
2	**When did you first become aware of the campaign?** Ask about; Initial contact – Individual/organisational. Narrative frame used for first story. Place in paper.	10 mins
3	**Do you read the campaign's press releases?** Ask about; how they get them, how they rate them, how much they use them, what for.	5 mins
4	**Do you use the campaign's website/press room?** Ask about; how they found it, how they rate them, how much they use them, what for.	5 mins
5	**Do you read press releases from the police?** Ask about; how they rate them, how much they use them, what for, online off line relations with the police.	5 mins
6	**Do you attend demonstrations/demonstrative events?** Ask about; key campaign moments. Narrative frames considered. Reaction to coverage	15 mins
7	**How does a 'marginal' issue become 'mainstream'?** Ask about; differences between different anti-war movement elements, the decision to adopt the Save Omar Campaign.	15 mins
8	**Are there any comments that you would like to make?** Ask about; Areas I may have missed. Things of particular importance relevance to them.	5 mins

Appendix Four

ISSUE No. 4

"When the Earth has been ravaged,
and the animals are dying ,
a tribe of people from all races,
creeds and colours shall put their faith
in deeds, not words,
and make the land green again.
They shall be known as,
Warriors of the rainbow,
Protectors of the environment."

(HOPI - Indian)
prophecy.
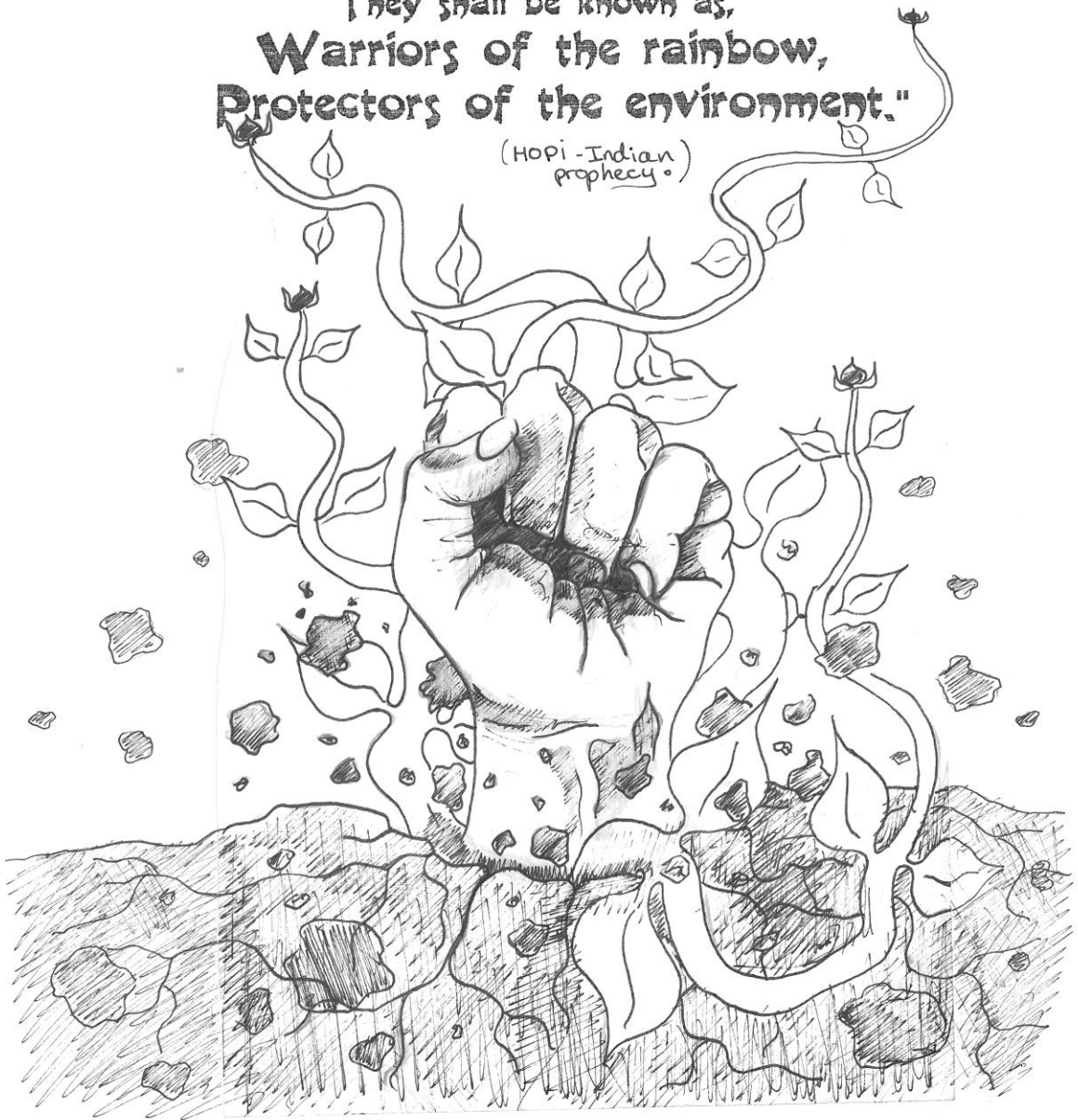
EARTH FIRST - PROFITS LAST

blah, blah, blah

"That humanity at large will ever be able to dispense with artificial paradises seems unlikely. Most men and women lead lives at the worst so painful, at the best so monotonus, poor and limited that the urge to escape, the longing to transcend themselves if only for a few moments, is and has always been one of the principle appetites of the soul." - A. Huxley

hallowed salamanders...

goes in spirals

- prophetic rantings of
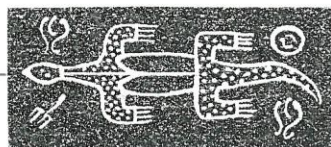
Music has it's merits because it compensates for the great variety of moods and sensations man has lost when he abandoned his life in the forest.There is fine music everywhere between moss-covered stones and foliage,and I do not mean the singing of birds and the tinkling of a rivulet:I mean music without sound.Music beyond the eardrums.We have had to create instruments to leave impressions deeper in the eardrums,where nature used to play.

...It gets into their legs and into their blood... Look at the faces in a dance-hall at the moment when the music strikes up after a longish pause, how eyes sparkle, legs twitch and faces begin to laugh. That is why..." - H. Hesse (1920)
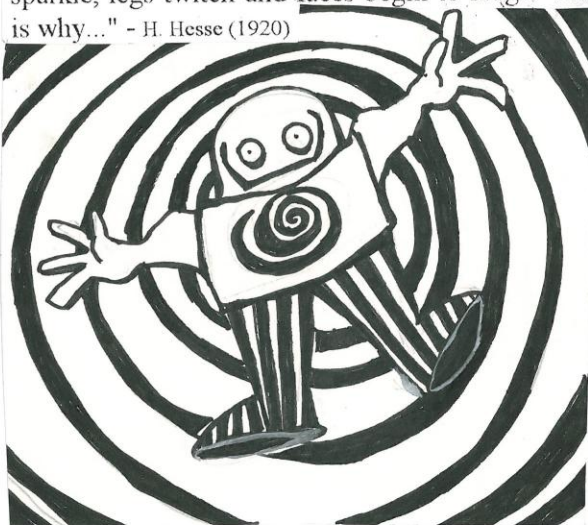
"When we suppress access to shamanic ecstasy, we close off the refreshing waters of emotion that flow from having a deeply bonded, almost symbiotic relationship to the earth."
T.McKenna.

Police 'rude and dismissive' to solicitor at acid house party

JOHN Wadham, legal director of the civil liberties organisation Liberty, told a court yesterday of his anger after being arrested at an acid-house party where he was representing the organisers.

Mr Wadham, 42, is suing the Chief Constable of Hampshire, John Hoddinott, for unlawful arrest and false imprisonment in October 1989, when he was a solicitor working for a private firm. He seeks compensatory and exemplary damages.

The high court at Winchester heard that he was held for 12 hours on suspicion of criminal damage and abstracting electricity at a warehouse in Andover, but was released without charge and has never received an apology.

Mr Wadham said: "I had not been a qualified solicitor for very long and this was a stain on my character. I was convinced that there was no evidence that a reasonable person could have that would give reason to prosecute me but, on the other hand, the police had behaved so unreasonably it was difficult to believe it would not continue."

The police who went to the warehouse had difficulty in understanding that he was a solicitor representing clients and not one of the organisers. They were "rude and dismissive" and annoyed when he explained to them his clients' rights.

He had to share a small cell with three others and was denied a pen, to which he was entitled under the Police and Criminal Evidence Act, because "there was a lot of graffiti in the cell."

Bernard Livesey, QC, for Mr Hoddinott, asked why Mr Wadham had not sought to find out if the party was illegal.

Mr Wadham replied that it had been too late to check with the local licensing authority because he was told of the venue only shortly before the party. He believed the event was legal, otherwise he would not have sought to prolong it.

The case was adjourned until Monday.

GUARDIAN 16-4-94

FESTIVAL EYE SUMMER 1990

Blatantly pinched 'cause we need to fill this space – Cheers X.

JOIN THE LEGALISE CANNABIS CAMPAIGN!

Reasons for legalisation:

In 1992 - 41,350 cannabis offences and this figure increases each year.
- 36,800 possesion charges (1,000s imprisoned each year)
- people still use cannabis after a conviction
£539 million indicated costs spent on cannabis prohibition, neglecting prison and other costs
- £1,500 million estimated black market value of cannabis
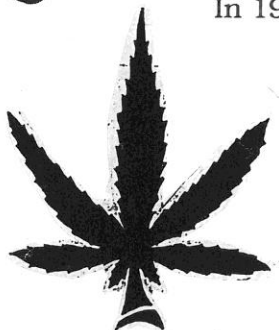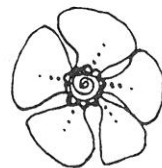
Currently profits go straight into hands of criminals and arms dealers

Only 10-20% of imported cannabis is seized

Around 10 million people use or have used cannabis

Legalisation would:

- increase police and customs time & money
- reduce prison overcrowding
- increase funds with revenue from sales & taxes
- give British Citizens what they want

Name...

Address:..

....Tel.:..................

Membership @ £5/year or £12/3 years.
Claimants @ £4/year or £9/3 years.
Cheques/P.O.'s payable to L.C.C..
Donations needed too.

**BM BOX 2455
LONDON WC1N 3XX**

THE HEMPAWARE$ CORPORATION
(A NON-PROFIT Co LTD BY GUARANTEE)
H.A.C., P.O.Box 3575, London, S.E.18 1JE.

YOU'RE UNDER ARREST!

FOR A GRAM OF MARIJUANA? WHY DON'T YOU GO AND CATCH SOME REAL CRIMINALS!

" The time is now , the people are us, the place is planet earth. There's a whole new energy in youth that's about fun, feelings, celebrating, love and peace, global harmony, joy, saving the planet, and cosmic consciousness, and everybody's coming together into a movement that's already bigger than any movement in history and getting bigger by the minute.

We're all realising it's more than just the 2nd or 3rd summer of love, music, fashion and dancing; it's not just the "next big thing"- in this month and something else next week. We're not just talking about trendy cults and elite house clubs. We're talking about a fuckin' movement that's bringing together, re-mixing the best in house, the best in new age, the best in psychedelic and the best in green ecology. It's an evolutionary rollercoaster that's going to go on growing through the nineties and into a new age!"

This article was written in 1990 - the rollercoaster's still going.
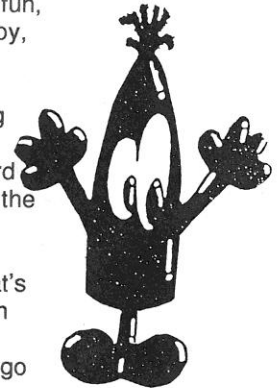
ARE YOU BANKING ON RAINFOREST DESTRUCTION?

The four big High Street banks - *Lloyds, Midland, Barclays* and *NatWest* - hold billions of pounds of Third World debt - one of the major causes of rainforest destruction. And they are making huge profits from it.

If you have an account with one of these banks and you care about the rainforests - move your account.

DEBT AND THE RAINFORESTS

In the last ten years the rate of rainforest destruction has virtually doubled as heavily indebted countries are forced to clear vast areas of rainforest in order to repay the debt. As the forests are cut down, people's homes and livelihoods are lost to swell the profits of foreign banks.

WHO PROFITS FROM DEBT?

Today, the Third World owes the UK's Big Four High Street Banks - some £8,000 million. In 1992 the sums held were:

Lloyds £3,669,000,000
Midland £3,512,000,000
Barclays £762,000,000
NatWest £35,300,000

DON'T LET THIS HAPPEN ON YOUR ACCOUNT

Friends of the Earth want the Big Four banks to cancel their debt. As a bank customer, you can make an important difference.

If you have an account with Lloyds, Midland, Barclays or NatWest, move to another bank or to a building society. Other banks either hold no debt at all or very little in comparison to the Big Four. Building societies hold no debt at all.

Please let your old bank know why you have moved your account.

FURTHER INFORMATION

Order your copy of Friends of the Earth's background briefing *Rainforest Destruction and the High Street Banks*, from: Friends of the Earth, Publications Despatch, 56-58 Alma Street, Luton LU1 2YZ, Price *£1.50* (including p&p).

Friends of the Earth

March 1994 © Friends of the Earth
Friends of the Earth, 26 - 28 Underwood Street, London N1 7JQ
Telephone: 071 490 1555

POLICE SHOCK

A secret police report has been leaked to various organisations concerning a secret (and highly illegal) police meeting that happened in wiltshire last year.

At this meeting representatives from nearly every police force in the country exchanged information on freeparties and movements of travellers within their counties. Plans were made to set up a national intelligence centre specifically concerned with gathering data about free party goers and travellers.

THIS IS TOTALLY ILLEGAL !

The police are not allowed to gather information on people just on the suspicion that in the future they might commit a crime ... Not yet anyway.

This report is currently being presented to the european courts on the grounds that the police are contravening Article 10 (freedom of expression) and article 11 (freedom of movement) of the European Court of Human Rights. if the European Court finds the Police guilty, they can overrule the Bill.

However if the criminal justice bill becomes law, this sort of monitoring of innocent people will become legal. don't sit back and let this happen. spread the word, write to your m.p. or the prime minister, and support any benefits or organisations that are fighting this bill.

ACT UP! don't let fun become illegal.

MOOOOOSE
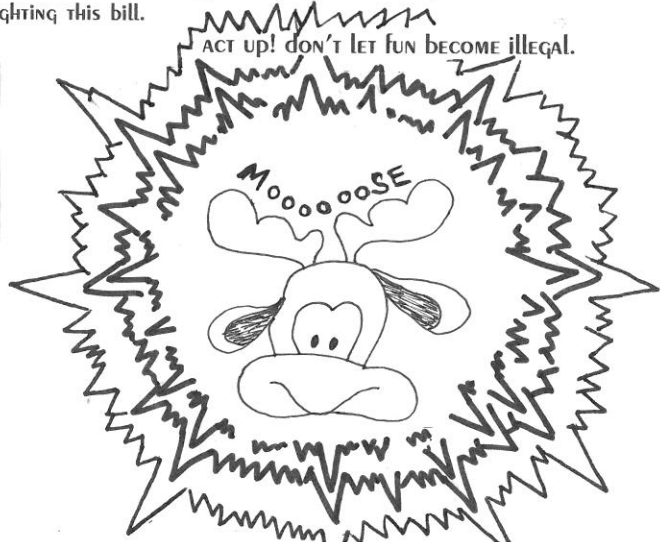
TRIBAL SURVIVAL

The 1990's are still the make or break decade for our planet..........

The world's rainforests are disappearing...air and water pollution are increasing...global warming threatens us all with catastrophic climate change. We are reaching a critical threshold of environmental damage from which there may be no turning back. **Fight to stop the damage before it is too late.**

Friends of the Earth

❦ Of an estimated total area of 2 billion hectares (7-8 million sq miles)of tropical forests,some 11-15 millon hectares(up to 58,000 sq miles)are lost each year-an area the size of Austria.An equal area to 20 football pitches is lost every minute.

❦ In 1988, at least 300 people died and over 60,000 were left homeless during 'freak' floods in Rio de Janeiro. Brazilian geologists say the floods were no freak.They were caused by the relentless felling of the country's forests. Worse has followed and there is even worse to come.

❦ As the forests disappear,the pace of soil erosion accelerates.In Guatemala,an average of around 1,200 tonnes of soil are lost every year from each sq kilometre of land.As a result,it becomes harder to feed the population and,in countries like India and Bangladesh,the silt shortens the life of dams and can cause widespread flooding in lowland areas.
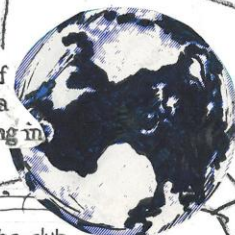
"Tell the Americans about us.Tell them we are not wild Indians who club people.Tell them we are beautiful."
SHUMOI, a Mehinaka (Brazil)

Find out if wood/paper is from sustainable forests.

Help STOP this destruction-please remember these exploited people for they are beautiful.

Contact addresses:

Friends of the Earth(FoE), 26-28,Underwood St., London. N17. Tel:081-490-1555

Greenpeace UK, 30-31,Islington Green, London. N1 8XE. Tel:081-354-5100

World Wide Fund for Nature, Panda House, Weyside Park, Godalming, Surrey. GU7 1XR. Tel:0483 426444
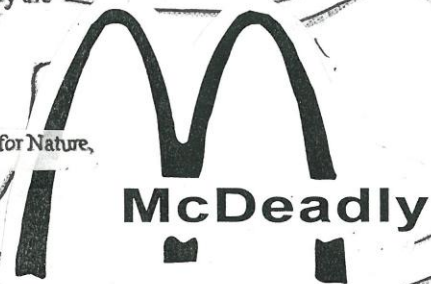
McDeadly

❀IMPORTANT❀

On monday 24th of January 1994, the Criminal justice and Public Order Bill entered it's committe stage in parliment. If it goes through, it could wipe out the entire underground party scene and many other alternative lifestyles by them criminal offences punishable by heavy fines and PRISON !

When (if) this bill becomes law you may be arrested for (With particular respect to parties / festivals / travelling / squatting) -

Trespassing on land	(section 45/1)
Failing to leave land	(section 45/3)
Making preperations to hold a 'rave'	(section 47/ 2a)
Waiting for a gathering / 'rave'	(section 47 / 2b)
Attending a gathering / 'rave'	(section 47 / 2c)
Squatting	(section 57)
Hunt Saboteuring	(section 52)

The Advance party, Charter 88, Liberty and other civil rights groups are calling a March and Rally to protest against this dangerous and evil piece of legislation.

SUNDAY 1st MAY, 2.00pm AT SPEAKERS CORNER, HYDE PARK, LONDON

The proposals are unjust, ill considered, open to potential abuse and likely to breach Article 10 (freedom of expression) and Article 11 (freedom of assembly) of the European Court of Human Rights. What these new laws state catagorically and for the first time in British history, is that though I may be a British citizen, I have no rights whatsoever over the soil of my own country. If you welcome diversity and don't fear it and regard personal freedom as a right not to be compromised, then : BE THERE ! Bring drums, banners and anything to make some noise.   Let this be our carnival and show 'them' we wont lie down.

IF YOU DON'T GET INVOLVED PHYSICALLY AND FINANCIALLY
THEN EVERYTHING THAT HAPPENS OVER THE NEXT COUPLE OF YEARS
WILL BE YOUR OWN FAULT. WHEN YOUR LIFESTYLE HAS BEEN TURNED
INTO A CRIME AGAINST THE STATE AND TRAVELLING, SQUATTING
AND SABBING ARE A THING OF THE PAST.

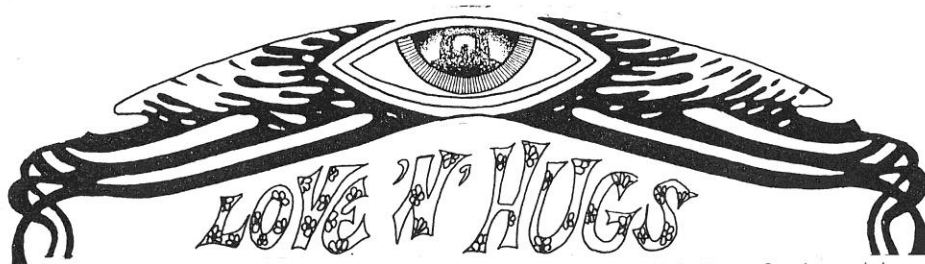## IT WILL BE YOUR OWN FAULT.
DONT TALK ABOUT IT : DO IT

A COACH WILL BE GOING FROM LEICESTER
LEAVE LEIC 10am - ARRIVE BACK 9pm.
TICKETS £4.50 - AVAILABLE FROM ROCKABOOM
BE THERE !   (on Loseby lane)
MAKE SOME NOISE.!!!!

LOVE 'N' HUGS

HUGS AND KISSES TO : The Babble Collective: Lex, Andy, Phil, Pete, Em, Long John, RichnTara, Fag Ash Lil! Nik M and M Mindy! Olly, Jay-welcome back, we missed you loads, Stroudos or is that Davidge?! Tone, Robin drums, Luke, Dave, Bel, Marcus, Abi, Sarah, Gay, Rich, Ellie, Barnababe, Marky Mark- try not to throw up on the decks again please!! Errol, Faith, Nick & Juliette, Cat,

The awesome SMOKESCREEN : Vicki, Jon and Lawrence, etc - thanks for the experience! Come back anytime- soon!! Scotty you're a star, shine on, Matt and Michelle, and anyone who came down from Sheffield.

The Nottingham Collectives: D.I.Y doing it for yourself and everyone else, Breeze-specially Andy and his tunes! Go Tropo- please bring your unique party to the mudclub soon- Leicester needs you, Floatation, Tash- thank you for "Right to Party" and all the advice and support, Lottie, Pete the Dog, Lyndsey, Peter Pan, Phil, Boysie,

John and Paul the Disco Divas, Swanee, Frans, Christy, Laura, Ollie, Edwin, Chris, Sasha, Obey drums, Vic, Brighton John, Dickie, Marcus, Janey, Emma, CHIBA CITY SOUND SYSTEM specially Paddy- see you all on the 27th, Merrick, Schiefer, Sally,

The Mudclub- Norman, Vyv, Angelo, Tony- you're all lovely. (don't believe everything you read- specially not on subway walls).-

Ritz, Sam, Alex, Johnny, Rachel-thanks, Big Hugs to the North London Posse- Tom, Steve, Michelle- last weekend was unforgettable!

All the party people who keep coming to our nights and making them so excellent. Anyone who has written to their M.P. to complain about the Criminal Justice Bill, Advance Party for spreading the word and uniting the tribes- respect. And little fluffy kittens. !!

SIDNEY SAYS: Unite to dance!

Gordon is perturbed . . . .

Boo To THE CRIMINAL JUSTICE BILL

babble

COMING SOON TO THE MUD CLUB....

Another BABBLE party:

27th may- Errol
BarnaBabe

13th may- D.J.s YoYO
Peter Pan
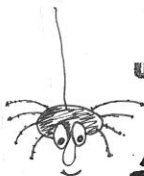Marky Mark
Chilly Phil

CHIBA CITY SOUND SYSTEM

June 3rd - West Indian center Coventry with Chiba City Sound System.

SYDNEY

FREE INFORMATION NETWORK

<u>Appendix Five</u>

Greenham Common
Peace Camp

THE
GREENHAM FACTOR

eace cannot be established by silencing those who call for it, nor freedom by targeting missiles on those who are ppressed. This fence is our Berlin wall. We can only begin to tackle the concrete and barbed wire that divide our orld when we start with that on our own doorstep.

REVISED EDITION

INCLUDES
£1
POSTER

It is a tragedy that people should waste time and energy arguing about whether or not there should be mixed actions at Greenham when there is so much to be done. There are 102 other American bases in this country, and a dozen other peace camps that need support.

Cook & Kirk,
Greenham Women Everywhere

CONTACTS/ADDRESSES

Britain

Women's Peace Camp, USAF Greenham Common, Newbury, Berks.

Greenham Office, 144 Caledonian Road, London N.1. 01-226 6285

Greenham Women Against Cruise (US Court Case), 5 Leonard St, London EC2 01-251 8046

People's Peace Camp, USAF Molesworth, Old Weston Rd, Brington, Huntingdon, Cambridgeshire. Tel. Helen Lowe, Clopton (08015) 257

Lakenheath Peace Camp, Top of Broom Rd, Lakenheath, Suffolk. Tel. Bernard or Mandy, Mildenhall, (0638) 716556

Upper Heyford Peace Camp, Camp Rd, Upper Heyford, Oxfordshire. Tel. Steve or Celia, Steeple Aston (0869) 40321

Daws Hill Peace Camp, outside USAF Base, Daws Hill La, High Wycombe, Bucks. Tel. Steve Danyai, High Wycombe 285821 or Dorothy Clancy, High Wycombe 32335

Bishopscourt Peace Camp, outside RAF Bishopscourt, Ballyhouran, nr. Downpatrick, County Down. Tel 0232-233895

Faslane Peace Camp, below St. Andrew's School, Shandon, nr. Helenborough, Dunbartonshire. Tel. Iain MacDonald, Rhu (0436) 820719

USA

H.Q. for Court Case: Centre for Constitutional Rights, 14th floor, 853 Broadway, NYC 10003 (212) 982 9318

Seneca Falls Women's Encampment, 5440 Route 96, Romulus, N.Y. 14541

Women's Pentagon Action, 339 Lafayette St, NYC 10012 (212) 505 8493

Puget Sound Women's Peace Camp, 7604 South 212th, Kent, Washington 98032

Minnesota Women's Camp for Peace & Justice, Intersection of Shepherd & Gannon Rds, St. Paul, Minn 55407. Contact: Minn. Women's Camp, 2344 Aldrich Ave S, Minneapolis, Minn 55409 tel. 823 4143 or 872 9748

SICILY

'La Ragnatela', Campo di Donne per la Pace, Casella Postale 151, Comiso

HOLLAND

Vrouwen Vezets Kamp, Hoosdingang Vliegbasis Volkel, Netherlands

AUSTRALIA

'Women for Survival' Camp at Pine Gap, c/o WAAGV, 34 Liverpool St, 3rd Floor, Sydney, NSW 2000 02-267 6162

CANADA

Women's Peace Camp, Cole Bay General Delivery, Saskatchewan SOM OMO (306) 829 4400

The Ministry of Defence has found it necessary to add progressively to the single perimeter fence of Greenham Airbase over the past two years until Martha Gellhorn reports in the *Observer* (12.2.84). . . 'The steel mesh outer fence is ten feet high with out and down sloping steel bars draped in barbed wire. A continuous role of barbed wire, two feet in diameter, lies just behind. A patrol path separates the outer from the inner fence, also steel mesh, about five foot high, topped by more barbed wire. Small wooden guard towers stand empty on this cold clear day. That fence has a very strong personality. It reminds me of Nazi concentration camps.'

Aerial view of silos under construction

Duncan Campbell/New Statesman

WHERE IS GREENHAM COMMON?

The main entrance to the base is on the A339 out of Newbury on the Basingstoke Road. Newbury is on both the A4 and M4 between London and Bristol. From London there are trains hourly from Paddington Station (single fare £6) and buses six times daily from Victoria Coach Station (single fare £3).

From Newbury, take the 302 bus to the Main Gate, USAF Greenham Common. The base has eight gate entrances and at least eight other sections of fence which can be unbolted and rolled back to allow vehicle exits around the 9½ mile perimeter.

Useful contributions: firewood, candles, fresh fruit and vegetables, fruit juice, peanut butter, honey, tarpaulins, Gortex survival bags, kettles, blankets.

① MAIN GATE
② GREEN GATE
③ TURQUOISE GATE
④ BLUE GATE
⑤ INDIGO GATE
⑥ VIOLET GATE
⑦ RED GATE
⑧ ORANGE GATE

'The idea of the march was a little notice in Peace News about a women-led march from Copenhagen to Paris which I noticed whilst on a leaflet writing party to persuade our Council to go nuclear-free (they did). What a nice idea to have one here — everyone agreed, but no one wanted to "do" it because it would be too much work. Nor did I, but the idea just refused to go away so in the end I gave in to persistent internal pestering and announced that I would walk from somewhere in Wales to somewhere, like Greenham Common, in England with anyone else that wanted to come.

About forty of us assembled in Cardiff on August 26th, and the first thing that struck us was our variety. The more we discovered of ourselves the more impressed we became — by the numbers of women, for instance, for whom coming on the march had been difficult, involving elaborate arrangements over child-care or jobs, or giving up a holiday. Simply to discover that this prim-looking grandmother, this cheerful G.P., this nervous schoolgirl, this single-parent mother of five, took the threat to our future seriously enough to respond to a call to action coming not from any known organisation but from an unknown indivi-

dual living in an obscure rural corner of these isles gave us courage. This faith is important, for the potential of "the movement" to rise to the rhetoric about The Greatest Challenge in the History of Mankind is no more than the potential of these miserable individuals, with dinner to cook and too much to do already, and a deep-seated lack of faith in themselves and others . . .

By the second half of our long walk in the heat wave, the atmosphere was like a kind of force-field within which obstacles served only to strengthen determination and

policemen relaxed, became human and danced with us to the tune of "No More Hiroshimas" . . . What I believe we experienced was something of that creative spirit, that power of mimesis, evoked by our distant ancestors when they drew pictures to overcome their fear of the huge powerful animals that surrounded and threatened them — the woolly mammoth, the sabre-toothed tiger. They drew it and danced and in this way they came to believe it *could be done* — these powerful creatures could be killed.'

Ann

'We aren't going away. We'll be there for as long as it takes.'

1981

August 28 — Sept 5 Women for Life on Earth march 110 miles from Cardiff to Greenham Common, proposed site of 96 Cruise missiles.

Sept 5 4 women chain themselves to air-base fence and demand TV debate with representatives of M.O. Defence. From this direct action the Women's Peace Camp is born.

Dec 12 March into Newbury to join local people protesting on anniversary of 1979 NATO decision to accept US Cruise in Britain.

Dec 21 Women prevent work on sewers being laid preparatory to arrival of extra US personnel.

1982

Jan 18 Women 'keen' outside House of Commons on re-opening of Parliament.

Jan 20 Newbury District Court serves first eviction notice on camp.

Feb 1 As part of eviction strategy women at the camp decide only women will live there — though the support of men is still welcome.

March 21 Celebration of Spring Equinox. About 10,000 people demonstrate at the base. 24 hour blockade by 250 women. 34 arrests.

May 14 High Court eviction order.

May 27 Camp forcibly removed. Re-sited on Ministry of Transport land nearby. 4 women arrested and imprisoned for refusing to 'keep the peace'.

June 7 75 women die symbolically outside Stock Exchange to point up profits being made from arms race as President Reagan visits Britain. 7 women arrested for obstructing rush-hour traffic.

June 8 Women keen warning to MPs as Reagan addresses House of Commons.

August 6 Hiroshima Day. 100,000 stones placed on Newbury War Memorial.

August 9 Nagasaki Day. 8 women enter base to present Commander with origami crane — symbol of hope for peace.

August 27 18 women occupy sentry box at main gate until arrested for 'behaviour likely to cause a breach of the peace'.

Sept 29 Camp evicted from M. of Transport land. Thousands of rocks dumped to prevent women returning. They move back to council land.

Oct 5 Women lie down in front of machinery and in ditches woven over with webs of wool to prevent work on sewers. 13 arrested.

Nov 15 Sentry Box Trials. 17 women imprisoned.

Nov 17 Sewer Pipe Trials. 6 women imprisoned.

Dec 12 300,000 women link hands to embrace the 9-mile fence encircling USAF Greenham Common.

Dec 13 2,000 women blockade all gates to the base. Some enter to plant snowdrops.

1983

Jan 1 44 women climb the fence to dance on silos. After one hour 44 arrested.

Jan 17 Lobby of MPs. 73 women occupy the lobby and sing in the House of Commons.

Jan 20 Second camp set up at Green gate.

Jan 22 3 women arrested for erecting tent at Blue Gate.

Jan 24 15 women arrested for blockading Green Gate.

Feb 7 Conservative Secretary of State for Defence, Heseltine, visits Newbury. Actions there and at the base. 120 women enter base as snakes.

Feb 9 Women arrested at die-in in front of George Bush, US Vice President.

Feb 15 & 16 New Year Trials. Of 44 women 36 are imprisoned for refusing to be bound over. Sympathy blockades and actions.

Feb 21 Blue Gate Tent Trial.

Feb 25 6 women climb onto roof of Holloway women's prison to draw attention to the racial, classist and economic injustices for which the imprisoned women are victimised.

Feb 28 Green Gate Blockade Trial. Fines imposed.

March 9 High Court Injunctions and Eviction Hearing. Camp moves back to M O Transport land. Injunctions awarded against 21 women forbidding them to set foot on or invite others to Greenham Common.

March/April Snakes and Ladders Action. Many women slip in and out of base through small gaps in fence; some even set up a tent in there overnight.

March 24 Visit of NATO generals to base — women blockade.

March 28 'Holloway 6' trial — women put Holloway on trial for crimes against humanity. The case against the six women is dismissed.

April 1 70,000 make chain linking Greenham to Burghfield to Aldermaston in mixed CND demo. 200 women invade base. Dressed as teddy bears and Easter rabbits some have a picnic.

April 27 Citadel Locks Action. All gates padlocked by the women. Authority's efforts to remove locks with bolt cutters fail. One gate has to be replaced.

May 1 Children's party on the common and inside the base.

May 10 Birth of Jay Greenham to Sarah at the camp attended by all the women.

May 12 Eviction at Yellow (main) Gate. Women's cars illegally impounded.

May 24 International Women's Day for Disarmament. Silent vigils and fasts at each gate. Over 1 million women all over the world take part. In 400 towns in Britain women take action often focusing on sites designated for mass graves in the event of a nuclear attack.

May 31 Women dressed in black enter base to scatter ashes as US Cruise technicians arrive.

June 1 Occupation of sentry box at Yellow Gate as 200 Newbury residents march: Greenham Women Out.

June 25 Rainbow Dragon Festival. 2,000 women sew 6km length of decorated material and parade round perimeter roads. 80 women enter base to paint dragon on runway.

July 4 — 9 Blockade week. Culminated in removal of long stretch of fence. New camps set up at Orange and Blue Gates. Women enter to make personal rituals. Christian exorcism performed.

July 25 The night after Military Tattoo inside base 7 women cut hole in fence

and paint peace symbols on US Blackbird spy plane (est. damage £250,000). Women arrested.

August 6 Hiroshima Day. Silent vigil and fasting at Newbury War Memorial. 20 'STAR' marches converge on Greenham from all over Britain.

August 9 Nagasaki Day. Die-in at Yellow Gate. Women's outlines painted on road.

August 18 Blackbird Trial. Charge of criminal damage withdrawn (damage 'negligible'). One woman imprisoned for contempt.

August 22 Eviction and rebirth of Blue and Orange Gates.

August 25 Eviction and resettlement of Green Gate.

August — September Regular harassment by bailiffs. Night attacks by vigilantes. Rocks thrown, buckets of maggots, blood and pig shit and fireworks at benders. Attempt to destroy water supply. Gorse bushes set alight near Yellow and Orange Gates. Women stoned. But police say they can't find the local cars whose reg. no.'s the women supply.

Sept 5 Birthday Party Celebration. Women obstruct laying of fuel pipes. 27 arrests.

Sept 6 Sabotage of fuel pipe workers' machinery.

Sept 19 3 women fly to US preparatory to taking action in the Federal Court against President Reagan and George Bush to ban them deploying Cruise missiles in Britain.

Oct 29 Halloween Fence Cutting. 2,000 women reclaim the common and cut down 4½ miles of fence. 187 arrests with increased violence from police and army.

Nov 1 Heseltine tells House of Commons that 'intruders' near missile silos run the risk of being shot at.

Nov 9 Start of Federal court action in New York against President Reagan and George Bush to ban them deploying Cruise missiles in Britain. 24-hour vigils begin at all 102 US bases in Britain.

Nov 13 Demonstration to honour the memory of Karen Silkwood, 9 years dead.

Nov 14 Cruise arrives at Greenham. Night watches begin to check on Cruise activity.

Nov 15 Blockade of all gates leads to 143 arrests.

Nov 22 Hearing in US on whether the plaintiffs for Greenham Common are entitled to sue for permanent injunction under US Constitutional and international law.

Dec 11 50,000 women encircle the base, reflecting it back on itself with mirrors. Parts of fence pulled down. Hundreds of arrests as police violence escalates, beatings, broken bones, concussions.

Dec 20 Camps at all gates but one. Violence from soldiers, all-night noise to prevent sleep, horrendous language amounting to verbal rape becoming standard. Bricks and stones are thrown at benders.

Dec 27 Women spend 3 hours undetected in air traffic control tower.

Dec 31 Final gate (indigo) camped. New Year's party.

1984

Jan 1 Women weave giant web, symbol of strength and fragility, to float over base lifted by helium filled balloons.

Mar 5 A concerted eviction campaign by the M.O.T., Newbury District Council, Berkshire County Council and M.O.D. begins 8 a.m. progressing through the week with gates on northern side. Women repeatedly returned to sleep out in survival bags.

Mar 8 Civilian police surround sleeping women at midnight while launcher and accompanying vehicles leave base (later seen on the M4) for 3½ hours.

Lesley McIntyre

ACTIONS

Blockade 13.12. 82

'On the night of the 12th, a beautiful silver pyramid was erected right outside the main gate, and after a very short and fitful night's sleep inside it, I settled down in front of the gate with about 15 other women and the blockade was on. It was about 5.30a.m., and we were all in a picnic mood, much too hyped up to be sleepy. The support we were given was endless: plastic sheeting and sleeping bags to sit on, blankets to put over our knees, and a constant supply of hot drinks and food.

When the sun rose it became a beautiful day: cold, but sunny and bright and cloudless. Inevitably, the press arrived: What were we hoping to achieve? Would we succeed? What about the Russians?

When I heard, later on in the morning, that all the gates had been successfully blockaded, I turned to the woman next to me and we hugged and kissed triumphantly . . .

A mass of about 100 overcoated (to cover up their ID numbers) police emerged from one of the base buildings and walked rapidly towards us. I was very afraid, and I could feel the fear from the others. Deb took my hand and we all spontaneously sang 'You Can't Kill the Spirit'. The police in front began to pick women up and drag them roughly away. The gate opened further, Deb's hand was torn from my grasp, and I saw her being crushed between the gate and the pavement. No woman cried out, or attempted to fight, or abused the police. Then came my turn. I went limp as soon as I felt their hands on me. They dropped me and I thought it was all over, but suddenly I felt my thumb grasped hard. I was dragged along by it and half thrown, half dragged against the fence. All around us women were crying with anger and shock, or shouting out their fury.

Once all the vehicles had left the base, the police disappeared. The remains of the beautiful silver pyramid lay by the side of the road, torn and spoiled. Women who minutes before had been hauled around and hurt, sang out their hope.'

Toni

'We're talking about life and death. We're not talking about images. I mean it won't matter when you're dead whether you were a good conservative chap or a radical feminist — you're just dead. And this is life and death.'

Simone, Newbury court

'30,000 pairs of eyes looking through the wire fence at a few huts, a man with a dog, and a police car every now and again. Is this our enemy? I hear a buzzing in my ears as a helicopter flies overhead, they are watching us, observing our reactions as we cry because we have completed our chain, or seeing us smile as we fall into the mud or hug one of our sisters.'

Dorothy
unemployed feminist from Liverpool

'Having been on a number of demos, I was more impressed by this (the women blockading the gates) than any number of marches along Princes Street, Edinburgh. The emphasis is on action and not on orderly marching under police direction; no one made speeches — there was no need for that; the organisers weren't constantly referred or deferred to, and the inhibitions I've felt before along with the hopelessness associated with many protest marches was not there.

I was aware of an amazing lack of pretension and strong all-embracing feelings. The songs and music keep the atmosphere of the action going; morale was so high!'

Jane, NALGO rep, Newbury court

'Most of the women are wearing rough trousers and coats and boots, muddied from the road; one anomalous creature has many petticoats, white and lacy, and as they yank her out her skin is exposed. Swept aside, she gets up as the others do and runs to lie down again in front.

As you watch the women coming forward to lie in their prostrate ranks under the army cars, to be wrenched out, returning inexorably around and forward, lying down again and again — "Someone's going to get hurt!" a male journalist cries enthusiastically; the violence is only just contained but still they come — gradually you see them like the waves of the sea, unstoppable as the tides.'

Sally, 15th Feb. 1983

Three Britons, meanwhile, have become the first subjects of these isles to be awarded the Airforce Achievement Award at a Greenham base ceremony attended by 240 wing staff. . . for driving base personnel through the summer blockades and protests.

Alan Rusbridger,
Guardian Diary

Lesley McIntyre

The Second Eviction 29.9. 82

We had been daily expecting this eviction for a month but when it happened, all our dread left us.

Women having breakfast in the kitchen caravan were informed first, at about 10 a.m. Cheerfully and calmly, these women spread the word around the camp to women in other caravans and tents. Soon everyone was packing up tents and bedding and hiding them, looking for places to put the things we would need for the next stage in the camp's life — the stage where we could continue to maintain our presence without shelter — the stage the authorities thought would finally destroy our determination to stay.

How wrong they have proved to be.

Saucepans, cutlery, cash and bedding were packed into vehicles — we hid our standpipe very carefully. Meanwhile it rained solidly. More than thirty policemen stood around as the bailiffs' cranes lifted our seven caravans onto transporters and took them away to a compound near Hungerford.

There were eleven of us there that day but we did not feel outnumbered. Some of us spoke to the press and took photographs — we all linked arms and sang:

'You can't kill the spirit
She is like a mountain
Old and strong
She goes on and on . . .'

Greenham Common Newsletter

'That day of gentle peace was one I'll carry to my grave. Greenham Common will never be a "bleak" place again.'

Sheila, 12th Dec. 1982

'It was the first day that I felt I had control over my life.'

Lesley McIntyre

'The military is the most obvious product of patriarchy. For the same social and historic reasons men have usually taken the lead in the Peace Movement, but when this leads to a confrontation situation, men confronting men, this becomes a microcosm of the original problem. At the Women's Peace Camp, with the support of both women and men, women are exploring a different way to deal with the weighty problem of disarmament . . . '

Greenham Common Newsletter

'The decision to have only women actually living in the camp is partly tactical, as they feel the authorities treat them differently when men are not present, seeing them as less provocative. The camp, however, has always been a "women's initiative". This is not because the women are hostile to men, but because they feel the need for space to develop their own ways of working. They see more hope for the future in the political processes emphasized by the women's movement — shared decision-making; non hierarchical, leaderless groups; cooperation and non-violence — than in the hierarchical and authoritarian systems that prevail in mixed groups. They want a chance also to develop skills they are not normally expected to acquire: organizational and practical ones; and to express those characteristics normally devalued in society at large: caring, compassion, trust. Human characteristics which they feel all of us should reclaim if we want to survive.'

Lynne Jones, from Keeping the Peace

Women have for too long provided the mirrors in which men see their aggression as a heroic quality with themselves magnified larger than life.

*Nottingham WONT
from Keeping the Peace*

WHY WOMEN

'Having women's actions in my view has got nothing to do with excluding men. It's got to do with, for once — *including* women. It's so women, who've been told that they can only function in one small closed-in area to do with children and nurturing, can come out of those areas and take part in politics and actually begin to affect and change the world, and that's Why Women. It's got nothing to do with excluding men.'

Katrina, Greenham Peace Camp

'We understand that men also want to demonstrate in their own way their opposition to the nuclear threat. They can do this without undermining the achievement of the Women's Peace Camp. There are very many military establishments and armament factories which need to be brought to the public eye by having Peace Camps set up outside them. The multiplication of Peace Camps around the UK would be a more fruitful way of showing the scale of the danger of war, extending public debate, and eventually achieving the aim of *all of us* who are trying to save the world from destruction. We must spread our wings.'

Aggie, Greenham Peace Camp

Whilst different women have come and gone at Greenham, the essential presence of the camp has refused to be purged by the relentless attempts to evict and harass the women. Indeed it is their unusual combination of tenacity and slippery flexibility that has made the Greenham women so hard for the authorities to deal with.

Leonie Caldecott, Resurgence, Mar/Apr 83

HIStory is of battles, of conquering nature as well as peoples, and of the promotion of technology — the ultimate 'logic' of which is the 'Arms Race' and the destruction of 'civilisation'.

HERstory is of struggle to overcome the tyranny of men's ideas in relation to herself, of giving birth and nurturing — the ultimate expression of which is to secure the survival of humanity.

HIStory has been enshrined. HERstory has been ignored. To continue to give precedence to HIStory over HERstory is to ensure the destruction of both.

Jennifer

They call us whores, slags, sluts, lesbians. They are all sexual insults. We seem to threaten their manhood, but we can do without them. . . Living with women is a wonderful experience. There is strength here.

*Sharon Ross,
Guardian, 30.7.83*

'The authorities, when faced with organised non-violent women, do not know how to deal with us. They are trained to react to aggressive behaviour. So far they have tried to frighten us and stifle our right to express our opinions by harrassment, evictions and token imprisonment. We want women to come here to Greenham to gather strength and learn how not to be intimidated by the authorities and unsupportive men.'

Aggie, Greenham Peace Camp

movement: firstly, can women, collectively, behave differently, less destructively, than men? Secondly, if they can, is it too late to save us from what seems an inevitable catastrophe? The women of Greenham Common have given a very positive answer to the first question. A question mark still hangs over the second. But with every day that passes hope grows a little stronger, because they are still there, still holding out.

Eva Figes

It is (men's) responsibility to develop caring and sensitive ways of thinking and acting, while we as women take the lead in this fight against extinction.

Women respond emotionally to each other and to this crucial life-and-death issue, and do not tend to get bogged down in procedure or technical details about nuclear weapons. Obviously facts are useful, but they can sometimes be an end in themselves, a source of power and mystification, obscuring the need to try and do something about the situation.

*Alice Cook & Gwyn Kirk,
Greenham Women Everywhere*

As women we have been actively encouraged to be complacent, by sitting at home and revering men as our protectors: we now reject this role. The law is concerned with the preservation of property. We are concerned with the preservation of life. How dare the government presume the right to kill others in our name?

*Statement to
Newbury Magistrates Court, 14.4.82*

Lesley McIntyre

'What we're saying is that women are powerful: we can all come out and say *You can't do this to us*.'

Sarah, Greenham Peace Camp

'I can remember meeting a Japanese woman in London while I was expecting my second child. She told me that members of her family had died at Hiroshima. She said that when a woman became pregnant in Hiroshima she was given no congratulations but people waited in silence for 9 months until the child was born to see if it was all right.'

As a result of the two small atomic bombs dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, at least 200,000 people were killed. Many died instantly, many died more slowly over the following months. Thirty-two years later there were 366,523 people still registered as suffering from the effects of those bombs.

The Home Office envisages an attack on Britain would be in the order of 22 mega-tonnes — the equivalent of 13,000 bombs of the sort dropped on Hiroshima.

'If it is necessary to leave the shelter at any time when fallout is still present, then stout boots or shoes and an outdoor coat should be worn.'

Protection Against Nuclear Weapons, leaflet of the Scientific Advisory Branch, Home Office, March 1980

'If we are successful, and Cruise never comes, it doesn't mean the Russians will have carte blanche to just come in and walk all over us. How are the Russians going to come and occupy Europe with all the problems they've got — and China at their back? It isn't that simple. If we disarm it would put tremendous pressure on the Americans and on the Russians. We're just a front at the moment, a limited theatre of war: there will be nothing afterwards for us so we've nothing to lose.'

Simone, Newbury court

ARTICLE II OF GENOCIDE CONVENTION

In the present Convention, genocide means any of the following acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group, as such:

(a) Killing members of the group;

(b) Causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group;

(c) Deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part;

(d) Imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group;

(e) Forcibly transferring children of the group to another group.

'In today's world 1.5 billion people lack access to professional health services. Over 1.4 billion people have no safe drinking water. More than 500 million people suffer from malnutrition. But world governments spend twice as much on armaments as on health care. . .
In our modern arms economy, military research consumes the creative efforts of over 500,000 scientists and engineers world-wide and gets more public funds than all social needs combined.'

Dr. Helen Caldicott/ 'Nuclear Madness'

PROTOCOL 1, ADDITIONAL TO GENEVA CONVENTION 77

Article 51
The civilian population as such as well as individual civilians, shall not be the object of attack. Acts or threats of violence the primary purpose of which is to spread terror among the civilian population are prohibited.

'A child formed from an egg or sperm cell mutated by radiation in a dominant way will show the results of mutation. It may spontaneously abort or, if it survives pregnancy, it may turn out to be a sickly, deformed individual with a shortened life-span. If this person then reproduces, statistically, half of his or her children will inherit the dominant gene and its deformities.'

Dr. Helen Caldicott/ 'Nuclear Madness'.

'Mummy, why are the policemen guarding the bombs which are going to kill people but not the people who want to stop the bombs?'
Alice, aged 5

n the event of a nuclear war there will be
no chances, there will be no survivors — all
will be obliterated. I am not asserting this
without having deeply thought about the
matter. When I was Chief of the British
Defence Staff I made my views known. I
have heard the arguments against this view
but I have never found them convincing.
So I repeat in all sincerity as a military man
I can see no use for any nuclear weapons
which would not end in escalation, with
consequences that no one can conceive. . .
How can we stand by and do nothing to
prevent the destruction of our world?

Earl Mountbatten
Strasbourg, 11 May 1979

'In choosing sites for the mass graves it
would be important to avoid additional
contamination of the water supplies.'

'If a death occurs while you are confined
to the fall-out room place the body in
another room and cover it as securely as
possible. Attach an identification. You
should receive radio instructions on what
to do next. If no instructions have been
given within five days, you should temporar-
ily bury the body as soon as it is safe to go
out, and mark the spot.'

*From **Protect and Survive**, the government*
handbook that 'tells you how to make
your home and your family as safe as
possible under nuclear attack'.

Damage estimation of a 10 megatonne
explosion at ground level from epicentre:—
for ¾ mile, a crater ¼ mile deep; then
for 2 miles, total destruction; then
for 7 miles demolition of tall structures,
    everything that can burn does so; then
for 15 miles fires connecting in built-up
    areas/woodland; then
for 20 miles, fires and most streets blocked
    with wreckage; then
for 30 miles fire, damage, flying debris,
    radiation burns on exposed or lightly
    covered skin;
for 80 miles (depending on wind direction)
    corridor 20 miles wide, death to those
    exposed to radioactive fallout;
for 100 miles (depending on wind direction)
    corridor 30 miles wide eventual death of
    90% of people in open air or under light
    cover.

'Einstein said, "If there's a *fourth* world
war it'll be fought with bows and arrows."
Personally I'm less optimistic than Ein-
stein. He didn't take account of genetic
damage. I mean, how d'you fire a bow and
arrow with dorsal fins?'
From 'Bang' by Jennifer Phillips and Jill
Hyem

5 megatonnes = 1 million tons of TNT
= *all* the bombs, shells and mines used by
all countries during World War II.

'The drainage of urine and the burying of
faeces into the ground . . . would be
infinitely preferable to allowing random
distribution over the surface of the ground
. . . living conditions would not be conduc-
ive to bowel control and regular habits.'

Environmental Health in War annex to
Home Office Circular ES 8/1976.

Dr. John Gofman, distinguished ex-nuclear
physicist, discoverer of uranium 233:
'Many people have said nuclear war means
the end of the world, and I don't think
that's true. I think there will be lots of
survivors. There will be lots of misery for
countless generations in terms of genetic
mutation.'

The lie that we have all come to live — the
pretense that life lived on top of a nuclear
stockpile can last . . . In this timid, crippled
thinking, 'realism' is the title given to the
beliefs whose most notable characteristic is
their failure to recognize the chief reality
of the age . . . 'Utopian' is the term of
scorn for any plan that shows serious
promise of enabling the species to keep
from killing itself.

Jonathan Schell

Lesley McIntyre

Today, NATO's strategy, its war plans, its
weapons development are all based on the
assumption that it would confront a Soviet
conventional attack with early use of
nuclear weapons. I believe that's suicide. As
Field Marshal Lord Carver said, he believes
it would be criminally irresponsible for
NATO to initiate use of nuclear weapons
on that basis, because he agrees and I believe
and an increasing number of military and
civilian experts are coming to believe it
would result in the destruction of western
civilisation. . . . There was no military re-
quirement for NATO to introduce Pershing
IIs and Cruise missiles into Europe. . . Those
weapons are looked upon by the Soviets as
destabilizing weapons, because with their
short flight time the Soviets feel they may,
to use their term, decapitate their command
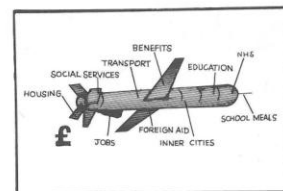and control system.

Robert McNamara,
'After The Day After', BBC TV

'Military and national leaders are now
planning to increase the nuclear weapon
presence in Europe. In addition to the
already present:
— 2,500 nuclear gravity bombs of the
    US Air Force,
— 3,800 rounds of artillery projectiles
    with nuclear warheads allocated to the
    US Army,
— 400 nuclear warheads located on the
    Poseidon submarine fleet offshore,
— 670 Pershing 1A missiles, lance missiles,
    and Hound Dog air-launched missiles,
— 700-1,000 British and French nuclear
    warheads,

We are always being told that the reason
there has not been a third world war is
because we have a nuclear deterrent —
which is rather like being told that the
reason you're not dead is that you've taken
out life insurance.

Liane

'We're right in the middle of reality here,
aren't we? It's no good pretending it's
going to be easy.'

Jayne, Greenham Peace Camp

'The arms race can kill, though the weapons
themselves never be used. . . By their cost
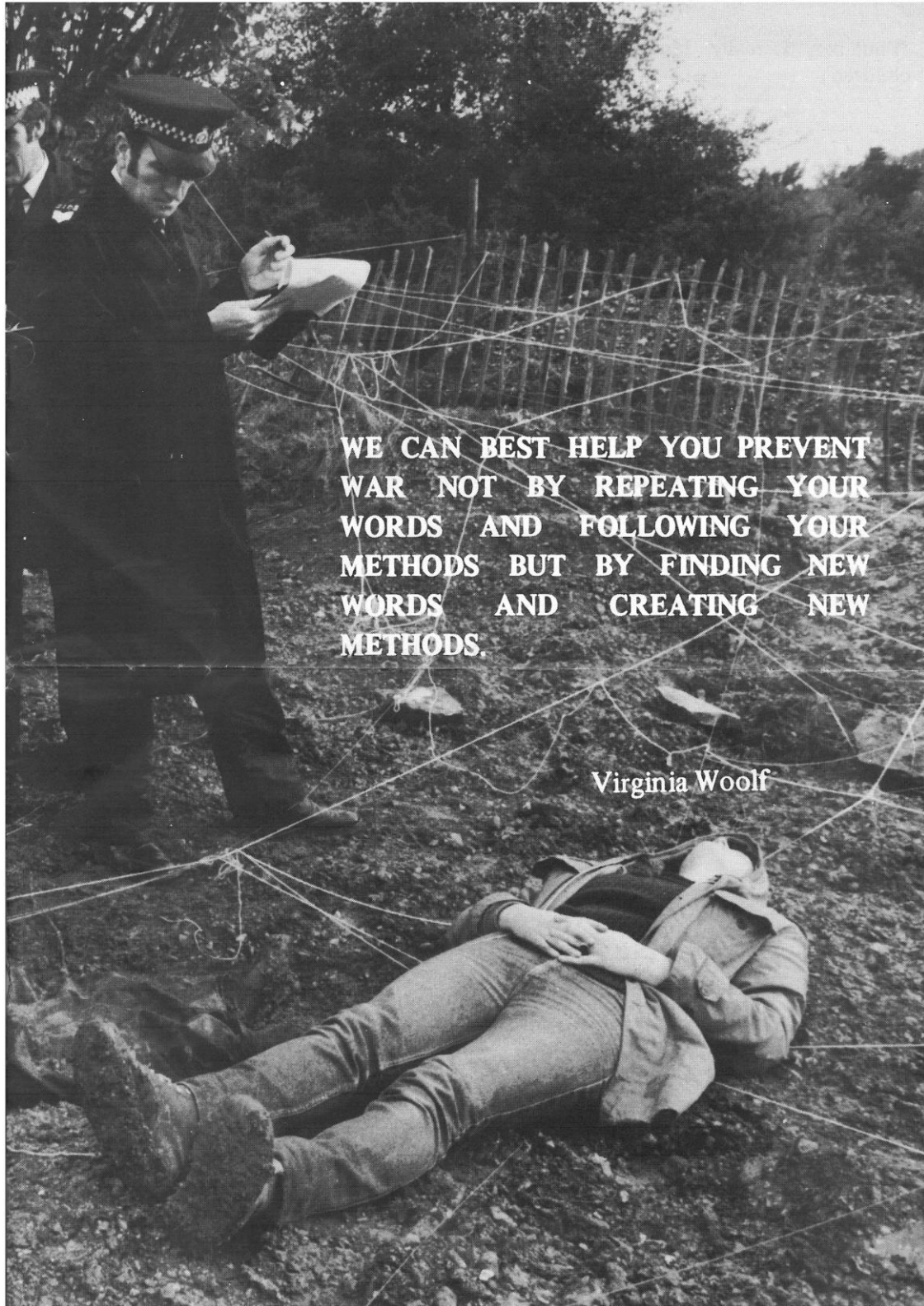alone, armaments kill the poor by causing
them to starve.'

Vatican statement to UN, 1976

No more wars. We won't be a party anymore to men using us an excuse to be protect-
ive. We will leave home for peace. We will have no more of your wars. And if every
woman in the world stood up and said that we couldn't have a war. You men would
have to go and play on some other planet.

Jane (grandmother),
*from **Carry Greenham Home***

'There are no roads leading to peace. Peace
is the road.'

M. Gandhi

WE CAN BEST HELP YOU PREVENT
WAR NOT BY REPEATING YOUR
WORDS AND FOLLOWING YOUR
METHODS BUT BY FINDING NEW
WORDS AND CREATING NEW
METHODS.

Virginia Woolf

'You see, I really fancy some grand-children'.

Fran, Greenham Peace Camp

My mum phoned me in tears a few days before the 29th, having watched a programme on Hiroshima. She said she felt so helpless in preventing this from happening again. I suggested she come to Greenham with me, my sister and my daughter. Being 82 and recently ill, she needed a wheelchair and warm blankets but she agreed to come.

My sister and I both took part in the fence-cutting action while my mum and daughter kept to the sidelines. I was a bit worried about my mum in case she was frightened, and went to check on her. She was sitting wrapped up looking on wide-eyed — hiding several pairs of bolt cutters under her shawl. When the action lulled we stood watching the sun go down, singing through where the fence had been. I felt the most amazing pride in my mum and togetherness and strength that all the women in my family, spanning the ages of 12 to 82, had worked together to fight Cruise.

Emmy

In response to the Member for Swindon, Mr. David Stoddard, who urged 'The Secretary of State to keep these updated nuclear weapons well away from Swindon' Mr. Pym responded, 'The siting of these weapons in no way affects the vulnerability or otherwise of a particular place. It is a mistake for anyone to think that the siting of a weapon in a particular place . . . makes it more or less vulnerable. We are all vulnerable in the horrifying event of a holocaust.'

(Hansard, 15th Jan. 1980)

It is a sunny December morning and the camp is swarming with the newly arrived Paras — their rows of tents a neat contrast to the plastic benders on our side of the fence. The first Galaxy aeroplane carrying nuclear warheads has just landed and taken off again.

A woman tells me how an hour earlier, her friend stood on her shoulders and started cutting through the wire. A few feet away stood a British soldier. He was behaving in an exemplary manner, namely, looking panic-stricken and not moving. The woman with the wire cutter, working away furiously, suddenly smiled at the soldier and called out: 'Don't worry! We'll soon get you out of there!'

(It has not been possible to stop the aircraft landing and discharging its deadly cargo, but it was possible to change perception. Hers. His. Mine.)

Liane

We want to expose what is going on in there, and demonstrate the reality of the situation — that the Americans are actually having to protect themselves heavily from the very people they say they want to protect.

Greenham Statement,
Hallowe'en, 1983

'If it is really true that the Cruise missiles are a complete one key force, are we not approaching George Orwell's famous era when Britain was "Airstrip One"?'

Field Marshall Lord Carver,
House of Lords, 18th Dec. 1979.

I didn't understand until I got here what learning there is here, what things you can learn just by living differently. Everyone seems to care about one another — it's amazing! I don't know why more women don't come really. A lot of people feel they can't go against authority: they're trained from a very early age that authority's there, just trust in it and everything's going to be fine. But you just can't leave it up to them . . .

Cheryl, from
Carry Greenham Home

The idea and amazing energy of going over the fence via ladders and clinging on to the silos came from one woman, but became the excitement and energies of a hundred or more women. Nearly the whole area round the silos is encircled by row upon row of barbed wire fence, apart from one small stretch where there *was* just one fence. Standing before the fence, we would need to be so quick. Two ladders were propped successfully against the fence, with carpet laid over the top barbed wire, and a ladder was slid down the other side. The atmosphere was frantic as we clambered over — headlights were driving towards us while it seemed an endless stream of women were crossing the barriers of destruction, bringing new life and hope.

As we jumped from the ladders on the other side, we crouched for a moment, waiting for other women, wondering "Will we get there?" In the next second we had joined hands — suddenly two policemen were there aggressively shoving the ladders and wrenching them away from the inside of the fence, leaving two women on top of the barbed wire. They jumped. We began singing and walking quickly, almost at a run, towards the silos. Our hearts were beating and our voices rang out clearly. The sky was light and it was softly raining on our faces.

I remember feeling ecstatic and overjoyed that we had successfully planted our statement for peace and life while standing on the top of what threatens the existence of our planet. Driven to Newbury Police Station we were charged with "breach of the peace". Still our energy continued to vibrate in our feelings and voices throughout the police cells.

Bee and Ceri
1.1. 83

STOP CRUISE! **STOP CRUISE!**

Dancing on the silos — 1st January 1983

Raissa Page

NONVIOLENT DIRECT ACTION
NONVIOLENT DIRECT ACTION
IS:

withholding tax
singing
talking to people
leaving messages (in library books
in the doctor's
in bus shelters
on the tube
on walls)
refacing not defacing
wearing badges
putting up stickers
flyposting
thinking
writing
getting information and
passing it on
blockades, sit-ins
occupations, strikes, boycotts
pickets
vigils
mass demonstrations
street speaking
street theatre
poems, songs, plays
removing signs and changing
their meaning
banners
newspapers
holding on to a vision
saying NO
believing
sharing feelings, ideas . . .
more and more . . .

Some people find some things easy,
other things difficult to do. I found it
useful to work out for myself what
actions I find difficult and try to come
to terms with *why*.

Not everyone can go over the fence at
Greenham.
Not everyone needs to.
There are so many other things to do.
Support roles are vital to the success
of any action,
in no way secondary.

SUPPORT ROLES

food & hot drinks for
the blockaders
talking to bystanders
peace keepers
watching out for cold,
tiredness
telling people what's
happening
giving out leaflets
buffering hostility
contacting the press
medical help
legal advice
keeping track of what's
happening
taking police numbers
following anyone who's
been arrested
contacting solicitors
listing people's names
giving moral support &
encouragement
helping to create a
dignified atmosphere.

BLOCKS TO NON-COOPERATION

Thoughtless support, going along with
things, afraid of what might happen,
what people might say, feeling
unconfident, not wanting to stand out,
feeling a moral obligation to obey and
not make a fuss. (People in authority
know better than I do, I might lose my
job, it won't make any difference because
they won't take any notice)

NONVIOLENCE IS:

believing that people can change
channelling anger into action
dignity and power from inner conviction
a complete way of life
a reasoned response to an aggressive
situation
people co-operating within a group
communicating with opponents
a commitment to openness
trusting
celebrating life. . . .

Gwyn Kirk
London, January 1983

Ed Barber

Maggie Murray

This publication is itself a tool. Use the
pages as posters, or send one to your local
MP.

NONVIOLENT DIRECT ACTION
NONVIOLENT DIRECT ACTION

'The macho-ness of the policemen and
their eventual heavy-handed approach at
the blocking of the gates cannot be
counteracted effectively either by outright
aggression or by complete passivity. Non-
violent action is *not* non-action. When
women are actually getting caught under
huge army trucks and being pulled or
kicked onto pavements only to get up
again and go back for more, it is *real* action
which requires *real* guts.'

Jane, NALGO rep, Newbury court

'A policeman trying to pull two arms apart
in a firmly linked human chain has to
directly confront his own feelings about
handling women, not as sexual objects but
as powerful beings . . . hacking through a
chain he can avoid all that. It's just the nice
easy masculine field of mechanics, no
feelings involved. That lack of understan-
ding as to what pain and suffering really
mean makes it possible to press a button
and annihilate a million people: that is
what we're trying to challenge.'

Lynne Jones, from Keeping the Peace

'There was a case in Bridgend, Wales where
30-odd people sat on top of a bunker that
was going to be built, just sitting there and
saying: We are not going to allow this to
happen. After concrete had been poured
all over these women the workmen refused
to carry on, they didn't want the women
to be hurt, and they went to the council
who called an emergency meeting and
reversed the decision about the bunker.
The bunker has since been demolished and
a factory built on that site which has given
jobs to the local area. Now that's just
twenty people putting their bodies where
their beliefs are. And if a quarter of a
million people who go to Hyde Park to the
rally would put their bodies against some
American base, they couldn't carry on with
it, they just couldn't do what they're
doing.'

Simone, Greenham Peace Camp

'The Sermon on the Mount and the
command to be peacemakers is something
which a Christian cannot escape, though
many try. Christians among us have a rule:
When we trespass on the base, we pray.
We make a daily habit of trespassing.'

Jean Hutchinson
resident at Molesworth

'Ursula, my mother, got involved with
Greenham Common. She came up for a
week over Christmas and she went over the
fence on New Year's Day. It's quite likely
she'll get a prison sentence. Every woman
who goes to prison must be replaced by
two or three others. I'm the only daughter
who's self-employed so I'll have to leave
my little daughter, she's three and a half.
It's obvious it's got to be done. Things are
stepping up. They put twenty-two in
prison, now it's forty-four, next time it
must be eighty-eight.'

Diana, Newbury court, 15th Feb. 1983

'If we don't use imagination nothing will
change. Without change we will destroy
the planet. It's as simple as that.'

Lesley, Greenham Peace Camp

'Unlike the Army Field Service Manual for
soldiers, where the overall objective is to
obey commands given from others up the
hierarchy, preparation for nonviolent
action emphasises that we act from our
own experience, convictions, emotions and
reason *in concert with others.*'

Peace News Broadsheet

NUCLEAR MADNESS —— WHO SHOULD BE ON TRIAL

'I will not be bound over to keep *your* peace: I am already keeping my peace. I will not take punishment, or recant, or admit guilt. I am responsible for this — for seeing the war machine grinding on, building silos, arming the arsenals of the world with death — and using all the non-violent means I can to stop it. *I am asking you to keep the peace. We are not on trial, you are.*'

Katrina, Greenham Peace Camp

'I'm afraid; this sort of situation is designed to cause fear, to intimidate ordinary people; and fear can cause paralysis — as with the threat of nuclear war — but I was determined to overcome my fear because what we have to say is the most important thing anyone should be listening to. What we are saying is that we are at the 11th hour, we are at the brink of being destroyed, and it's not just my death or your death but the death of the whole planet . . . Each and every one of us has to question and challenge a system where people who have learned to live cooperatively like the Bush People of the Kalahari, the Red Indian people, the aborigine people of Australia are attacked by those who abuse or destroy everything they cannot understand. We cannot stand by while this continues. Nuclear weapons, particularly provocative first-strike weapons like cruise, are the logical conclusion of a life-denying culture that values aggressive domination and conquest above the power of empathy, sensitivity and compassion. We are trying to re-establish those values. They are vital for our survival.'

Soss, Greenham Peace Camp.

The cabinet spent more time attacking the Greenham women over the last two years than worrying about the Russians.
Tony Benn,
Islington Gutter Press Feb '84

'The reason we have to take what seems to be radical action is that we have tried writing, lobbying and using the proper political structures. We are not only ignored but slandered as being in the pay of the Russians. We are told that we must be protected from the Russians by nuclear weapons but the CEGB (Central Electricity Generating Board) is still selling uranium to the Russians and the Americans are selling computer parts to them for weapons systems. It is people who are making money out of the arms race which lets it continue.'

'In 1969 the Genocide Act was passed . . . Cruise missiles coming to this country are a further stage of the crime of genocide. They are not a defensive weapon but a first strike weapon . . . it is my duty as a citizen of this country, as it is the duty of all citizens, to do everything within my power to prevent a crime which is about to be committed and that is why I walked onto the base . . . The first party to use a nuclear weapon is likely to destroy in the end the whole planet and all future generations. I am on trial for my life not just for a breach of the peace.'

Simone, Greenham Peace Camp

'I have no doubt that the tactical nuclear weapons deployed in Europe represent the worst danger for the peoples of the continent.'

Senator Nino Pasti,
former Deputy Supreme Commander for
NATO Nuclear Affairs.

'It is distressing that we are to be (tried under) laws framed in 1391 — a mockery upon this court (in) the nuclear age. We can be sent to prison, treated like criminals, because we do not want our families or any other individual obliterated. I will continue my protest until it is put to the electorate to democratically vote on the matter.'

Helen John

'I think that people want peace so much that one of these days, governments had better get out of their way and let them have it.'

Dwight D. Eisenhower, 1959.

'We are all of us intelligent people. How can we sit around hiding the truth, talking legal jargon. We could all be sitting together using our hearts and minds to deal with the terrible situation we face. Even if you feel that the possibility of a holocaust is remote, why does everyone refuse to discuss it. Today we have heard the bailiff say that he was only doing his job, the reasons for the peace camp being at Greenham Common are not his concern. The police say they are only doing their job because they are asked to by the bailiff. The court is here today because the police have brought us here. I am charged with disturbing the peace. My whole life is dedicated to peace. I may sing loudly but I do not swear or abuse anyone. I am totally non-violent. I do not eat meat, harm any person or animal on this planet. I try to find harmony with the earth, my cycles with the cycles of the moon and planets, I search for peace in a world which prepares for war.'

Sarah, Greenham Peace Camp

Guardian

THE US COURT CASE

In November 1983, Greenham Women Against Cruise filed a lawsuit against President Reagan in the US Federal Court, NY, to stop the deployment of Cruise missiles. As a first-strike weapon, Cruise is in breach of the US Constitution (which reserves the right to declare war to Congress, while Cruise would require one finger — the President's — to push the button) and of a number of international laws including the UN Charter (1945), the Geneva Convention on Genocide (1948) and the Hague Convention for the Pacific Settlement of Disputes (1899).

'It's not just a question of costs and alternative military strategy. It's a moral question. There's really only one thing you need to ask yourself and that is: would you pull the trigger? would you press the button? And if the answer's "no" then you have to work with us and help in this struggle for peace.'

Sarah, Greenham Peace Camp

'In order to ensure respect for and protection of the civilian population and civilian objects, the Parties to the conflict shall at all times distinguish between the civilian population and the combatants and between civilian objects and military objectives and accordingly shall direct their operations only against military objectives.'

From The American Journal of
International Law, *Vol. 72 (1978)*
Article 51 of the 1977 Protocol
addition to the Geneva Convention

'I took part in the action because I feel it's a breach of the peace to have Cruise missiles on Greenham Common. It's endangering my life and others' and I believe everyone has a right to life. I can't participate in or allow murder to happen. So I have to do something about it. The prosecutor is avoiding the issue by accusing us of obstructing people in their daily lives when the issue *is* people's lives.

Tesse, Greenham Peace Camp

'Many of our national leaders seem to live in a schizoid world of, on the one hand, planned death by massive genocide and, on the other, a primitive fear of death when they are personally faced with its reality. This contradiction can be explained by the powerful defense mechanism "death denial": we all survive by pretending we will never die. Males are particularly adept at the denial of unpleasant emotions. Perhaps it is this defense mechanism that sublimates the urge to survive and allows politicians to contemplate "first strike capabilities" or limited nuclear war —'

Dr. Helen Caldicott/'Nuclear Madness'.

NUCLEAR WINTER

At a conference on 'The World After Nuclear War' in Washington, D.C. on October 31–November 1, 1983, biologists, having posited a 5000-megaton exchange ('a realistic possibility for a full-scale war') unanimously concluded 'that the possibility of human extinction cannot be excluded.' Among their findings:
— 'An unbroken gloom' caused by sooty smoke from nuclear fires would turn day to night for at least six weeks, followed by six months of dense twilight. Photosynthesis would be disrupted with catastrophic results throughout all food chains.
— Temperatures would plunge to as low as − 43°C with the probability of continuous snowfall for months, killing animals and crops and freezing all surface water to a depth of several feet.
— Fire would consume vast areas, and release clouds of deadly toxins.
— The southern hemisphere also would be affected with darkness, cold, and massive radioactive fallout.
— Between 30 and 70% of the ozone layer would be destroyed so that after the darkness began to lift, a person would risk lethal sunburn. All animals and birds still alive would be blinded.
— Even a 100-megaton exchange would cause fire and smoke enough to result in 'a period of cold and dark almost as severe as in the baseline (5000 MT) case.'

The idea of a limited nuclear war is not a hysterical rumour invented by the peace movement. The government's own brochure, setting out their case for Cruise missiles, obliquely refers to it. Describing the role of Cruise missiles if NATO were facing a conventional defeat it says, 'The aim of *using* them would be to persuade the Russian leadership — even at the eleventh hour — to draw back.'

Joan Ruddock,
Sunday Times, 20.3.83

Richard Nixon, when President of the United States, commented, 'I can go into my office and pick up the telephone, and in twenty five minutes seventy million people will be dead.'

There are more than 50,000 nuclear war-heads in the world today, equivalent to almost 4 tons of TNT for every one of the earth's 4.5 billion inhabitants. The US plans to make approximately 16,000 new missiles in 1984/5.

We have the nations of the world lined up like those prisoners at Auschwitz waiting to go into the ovens, waiting and paying taxes for the ovens to be made more perfect, made more efficient.
I.I. Rabi (Nobel 1944) co-inventor of
the first atomic bomb, speaking on 40th
anniversary of Manhattan Project

None of the disarmament talks, so far, have reduced the production of nuclear arms; if anything they have fuelled it. We do not trust these men to negotiate for us. . . All parties are hooked on escalation of the arms race because the superpowers' economies are dependent on the manufacture and selling of arms . . . They should stop pretending to take responsibility for millions of people for life on earth, by counting each other's arsenals.
From statement delivered by 47 women
who climbed fence at Soviet Embassy to
deliver it to INF talks, Geneva 20.9.83

'I just felt I could no longer stand in front of the children and talk about their future when I didn't believe in my own.'

Jayne, a teacher, Greenham Peace Camp

The Cruise missile deployment is an idiocy because the Cruise missiles are designed to be fired at communications in the Soviet Union. The idea that if we dropped them in Russia and that we could fire 160 of them from Britain without the Russians immediately retaliating by obliterating us just needs to be stated to be seen as non-sense.
Denis Healey,
'After The Day After', BBC TV

Extracts from the BMA Report
The Medical Effects of Nuclear War

No part of the country could expect to avoid the effects of an attack. . . . Fall-out conditions are likely to impose severe restraint on movements after an attack, possibly for several days. Immediate medical care for survivors might not therefore be possible and medical staff, who would be irreplacable except in the long term, should not be wasted by allowing them to enter highly radioactive areas to assist casualties.
p. 156

The notion that rescue services could spring into action immediately after a nuclear attack, in the same way that Civil Defence operated during the bombing of cities in the last war, is dangerously unrealistic. By the time the radiation hazards had fallen to acceptable levels for rescue attempts (and this could take 14-21 days), most of the seriously injured would have perished from haemorrhage, secondary infection or radiation sickness compounded by dehydration, exposure and shock.
*p. 93*

Even a one megaton air-burst bomb over St. Paul's Cathedral would result in about 1,600,000 blast injuries (calculated using 1971 census figures for the night-time population). There would probably be about 26,000 major burns if 1 per cent of the population were in the open at the time of the attack and about 650,000 major burns if 25 per cent of the population were out of doors. Casualty figures would be further increased by the many secondary fires that would ensue. It is clear, therefore, that the burden of casualties from just one bomb, dropped on a city, would completely overwhelm the medical facilities of this country.
p.41

In order to make people bear the burden we have to create an emotional atmosphere akin to wartime psychology. We must create the idea of a threat from without.

John Foster Dulles

Raissa Page
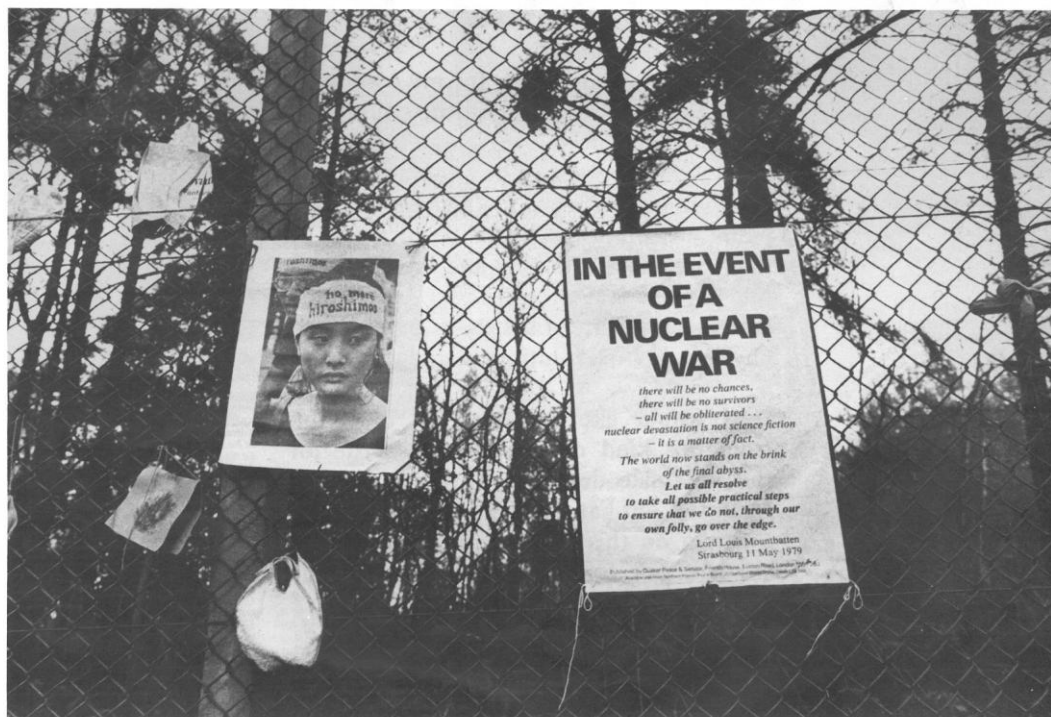
Lesley McIntyre

These unpretentious women, in their beat-up warm clothes, have become a world-wide symbol and model for countless ordinary people who also say NO. . . . They have bridged the generation gap, obliterated class, surmounted nationality; everyone here is learning. I leave the camps with admiration for their courage, knowing that I haven't the stamina to last one night on Greenham Common. I can only praise these famous women. Though when, at some frozen moment by a fire, I announced that they were a fact in history, a jolly girl wearing sweaters and long tin earrings said, 'Yeah, I read things like that and I think why it's just me and Debbie and Jean and all. Just us lot.'

Martha Gellhorn,
Observer, 12.2.84

The matter of Cruise Missiles and nuclear weapons is one which involves our survival, and therefore one on which every man and woman has a right to be heard; and what is more, the right to oppose the stationing of foreign bases and armies on our soil.

Dora Russell,
letter to Guardian, 19.3.83

If I could have one wish for my own sons, it is that they should have the courage of women. I mean by this something very concrete and precise: the courage I have seen in women who, in their private and public lives, both in the interior world of their dreaming, thinking and creating, and the outer world of patriarchy, are taking greater and greater risks, both psychic and physical, in the evolution of a new vision.

. . . I would like my sons not to shrink from this kind of pain, not to settle for the old male defenses, including that of fatalistic self-hatred. And I would wish them to do this not for me, or for other women, but for themselves, and for the sake of life on the planet Earth.

Of Woman Born *Adrienne Rich*

RESOURCES

Books
Dorothy Thompson (ed), *Over Our Dead Bodies*, Virago, London 1983
Lynne Jones, *Keeping the Peace*, Women's Press, London 1983
Gwyn Kirk & Alice Cook, *Greenham Women Everywhere*, Pluto, London 1983
Cambridge Women's Peace Collective (eds), *My Country Is The Whole World*, Pandora, London 1983
Barbara Harford & Sarah Hopkins, *Greenham Common: Women At the Wire*, Women's Press, London 1984
Leonie Caldicott, Stephanie Leland, *Reclaim the Earth*, Women's Press, London 1983
Penny Strange, *It'll Make a Man of You*, Peace News pamphlet, 1984
Helen Caldicott, *Nuclear Madness*, Bantam Books, NY 1980
Mary Kaldor, Dan Smith (eds) *Disarming Europe*, The Merlin Press, London 1982
Sheila Durie, Rob Edwards, *Fuelling the Nuclear Arms Race*, Pluto, London 1981
Duncan Campbell, *War Plan UK*, Paladin Books, London 1982
Stan Openshaw, Philip Steadman, Owen Greene, *Doomsday: Britain After Nuclear Attack*, Black-well, London 1984
Feminism and Non-Violence Study Group, *Piecing It Together: Feminism and Non-Violence*, a Non-Violence Study Group pamphlet, 1983
Women of the United Reformed Church, Greater Manchester, *Greenham Visit*, 40p. from Dr. Ruth Cowhig, 21 Priory Rd, Sale, Cheshire M33 2BS
Andrew White, *Symbols of War*, Merlin Press 1984
British Medical Association, *The Medical Effects of Nuclear War*, John Wiley & Sons 1983
Ed Barber, *Peace Moves: Nuclear Protest in the 1980s*, Chatto 1984
Owen Greene, *Europe's Folly: The Facts and Arguments about Cruise*, CND, 1983
Tim Williams, *The Ground Launched Cruise Missile: A Technical Assessment*, Electronics for Peace, 1983

VIDEOS/FILMS
Beeban Kidron & Amanda Richardson, *Carry Greenham Home*, 66 min. 16 mm film and video dist. by Contemporary Films Ltd., 55 Greek St, London W1
Gwyn Kirk, *Commonsense: Actions 1982*, 40 min. super 8 film and video from Greenham Women Against Cruise, 5 Leonard St, London EC2
Helen Caldicott, *Critical Mass* (40 min video) and *If you love this planet* (25 min 16 mm film) dist. by Concord Films Council, 201 Felixstowe Rd, Ipswich, Suffolk IP3 6BJ
E.P. Thompson talks to Marta Daniels (of US Freeze campaign) 40 min video dist. by END, Southbank Ho, Black Prince Rd, London SE1

'I stayed because there were so few at the beginning. Then I started reading, I had time there you see, and I realised what a big thing we were up against and how immoral and wasteful and upsetting the whole thing was and that most people didn't realise. I began to see that we're getting less and less free. My father always said it's a free country. Yet it's not.'

Effie, Greenham Peace Camp

It is difficult for many women to learn that they can change things on their own, without men, and that is why they feel helpless in the nuclear crisis. We have all changed since we came here. We know we can survive on our own, run our own camp, and we know that we have the strength to stand up for what we believe in.

Sarah, Greenham Peace Camp

We note with anger that while we make up one-half of the world's population, do two-thirds of its work, we get only one-tenth of its income and less than one-hundredth of its assets (UN Report 1980). Women's work is largely unpaid and mostly under-paid. Our stolen wages subsidise the world military economy. Women, as a group, have no economic power and this is reflected in the wicked way our wealth is distributed. While Britain alone spent £11,200 million on armaments in 1982, 18 million children died of starvation world wide. Britain's arms budget would have provided each of those children with £600.

Living at Greenham seems a challenge — an adventure. It makes few compromises with mainstream society: it is an alternative, an outdoor community of women. Living up against the fence means there is no switching off — the terror is on our doorstep. We experience autumn, winter, spring and summer as we never have before. Living outdoors is not impossible after all, though it has been hard at times. We gained gypsy knowledge and learnt to build warm, spacious, comfortable homes for ourselves — benders — that two women can construct in an afternoon. We survived with the generous help of others — and we survived because we had to. From our alternative reality, the world from which we come looks pale and comfortless. We have to transform it. Not by reforms, but by revolution.

At Greenham, nuclear weapons are no longer abstract, hidden in statistics, tested in faraway places. You can actually see the relentless preparation for nuclear war going on each and every day on the other side of a fence guarded by British soldiers fronting for the real invaders.

Harford & Hopkins,
Greenham Common:
Women at the Wire

'We fought World War I in Europe, we fought World War II in Europe and if you dummies will let us, we will fight World War III in Europe.'

Admiral Gene Le Rocque,
former U.S. Strategic Planner.

This is the only issue that matters. It does not matter if your kids clean their teeth or have good food or that you have a good married relationship which is good for the kids if we are not going to survive.

Dr Helen Caldicott.

'When I was about twelve, I read *The Diary of Anne Frank*, about a kid who was the same age as I was. And I went to my mother and said: "How could these things have happened?" And she said "People didn't know they were happening." And I knew that was a lie.'

Arlene, Greenham Peace Camp

'You cannot be a conscientious objector in the next war.'

WHAT IS GREENHAM COMMON?

An airforce base was first sited at Greenham Common during the Second World War, an area of common land being taken over by the Ministry of Defence. Although the airfield fell into disuse for some years after the war, the land was never returned to the council, and in 1951 the land was purchased by the Ministry of Defence against the wishes of the local authorities. Some time later the base was leased to the Americans and for a period it was quite openly an American base called USAF Greenham Common. All of the personnel currently serving there are American, but they are protected by the British MOD police and the name RAF Greenham Common is used again.

Greenham Common in Berkshire is one of the two sites chosen for 160 Cruise missiles, the first of a new generation of nuclear weapons descended from the German buzz bomb. Because of their size — 21 feet long — they cannot be verified by satellite. A Cruise flies close to the ground avoiding normal radar. It contains a lightweight computer with a map of Europe and Russia imprinted on its memory. The USA's Global Positioning Satellites over Europe can change and redirect flight continuously, thus assuring a high degree of accuracy. Once launched a Cruise will reach its target with the destructive force of 15 Hiroshima bombs. Cruise is officially called 'a defensive weapon', its 'strength' being that it can be launched from mobile launchers — so that the only way for the Russians to retaliate would be by blanketing the entire country with nuclear bombs.

'I've been accused of being cruel and hard-hearted for leaving my children behind, but it's exactly for my children that I'm doing this. In the past, men have left home to go to war. Now women are leaving home for peace.'

Sarah, Greenham Peace Camp