



The Impact of the Financial Crisis on Social Movement Theories

Master Thesis

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Preface

I was doing an eighteen month stay in Tokyo in order to research peace activism and protest attitudes in Japan, from October 2006 to March 2008. What I found was the usual peace movement, with many groups and organizations, many of them working closely together with the government and trying actively to engage in public debates. All they do is, radically spoken, meaningless for a “real” peace process. The messages they had provoked feelings of sympathy with "poor" and "victim" countries, thus reproducing the *hegemonic discourse* of "higher" and "upper" societies, "civilized" and "uncivilized". Even though I could describe them with orthodox social movement theory, I could not detect any signs of positive social change, no alternative offered to those who want to change the belligerent world.

With the help of several peace activists, I came to the conclusion that there is a space, unreachable for the hegemonic discourse, and with close observation, it is not difficult to detect. One group, for example, refuses to work together with state-politics and funds they could have gotten financial support from. Some of them went to Iraq when the war started, to function as human shields. They got to know people from Iraq, and learned about the life there. When the activists came back, they were shocked about the media reports and the work of other peace groups, only reproducing the image of a "dying" and "helpless" Iraq. This was not the Iraq they knew, and they suddenly realized that the reproduction of this image in media broadcasting would be the final victory of war, independent from the question of which side would win the battle.

To change that, they refused to work together with established media and politics. They started working together with painters from Iraq, and invited them to Japan, as they had gone to Iraq, mutually exchanging important cultural information while blood and US-soldiers were dominating the evening news. Bit by bit, interested people around this group (but only a few, I have to say), started to accept Iraq as tantamount to themselves, as a significant partner with its own voice. The distinction between "uncivilized" and "civilized", one major feature of our official dominant reality, could be broken in this regard. Peace activism was no longer part of a trend. The hegemonic thinking could not reach those people any longer. That is my under-

standing of social change, even though it might not have a huge impact, or in most cases even no impact on the official reality¹.

It is a constant fight for this group, a fight against an image. This image is being produced from the government and most peace-groups alike. The way in which this happens can be understood if we accept that *dominant discourse* and *counter discourse* together form the *hegemonic discourse* in a mutual manner.

Now, constantly trying to understand this, I have come to the conclusion that critique cannot be formed in a counter discourse, in a *we against them*, and that dialectic does not reach far enough to describe the different social levels, as critical social theory often claims. There must be an alternative discourse, an alternative shaped in distance from the hegemonic discourse. I cannot find it in public argumentation, since, and this is where critical theory still is right today, as soon as one engages in public discourse, one sets a trend which is cut off from its societal roots and will be trapped in the hegemonic discourse.

So I began looking at peace activism in Tokyo in a different way than before, trying to be more positive in my observation. Only then could I see the social criticism that this peace activism brings about in a much more detailed way. And it was there that I found what I would like to call *practical critique*, the practical expression of discontent with the system, without making any effort to encounter the system itself. Two major findings resulted from this research:

- 1) Instead of the loose network, individualized and self-relying, as we can find it on the surface of society, the groups engaged in a much deeper and dense sociality. So they *practically criticized* the hegemonic discourse, and the more people joined the group, the less strong the belief in individualization and self-reliance became. The hegemonic, destructive notion of "one man stands alone" has been defeated in this group.
- 2) Instead of expensive meetings in hotels, as in the practice of some lobbying NGOs, or e.g. the UN, the peace groups in Japan I observed prefer

¹ By official reality I approach the concept of socially constructed reality by Berger/Luckmann 1969. Berger/Luckmann describe reality as the product of primary and secondary socialization by way of externalization, objectivation and internalization. By doing so, they describe the construction of reality as perfect medialization of norms and values from one generation to another. Change as product of human action is excluded from this concept, the official reality is described as a reality that constantly reproduces itself. The official reality cannot change, unless an alternative reality is shaped by social actors.

to organize their networking and public awareness training at what I call low-cost-management. Almost everything was self-made by the group, and it looked dilettantish. But what they have achieved is brilliant: The members criticized the hegemonic understanding that there wouldn't be any life and creation without money, and that knowledge exchange on a high level is only for those who engage in competition. These achievements have been possible due to their consciousness that we cannot change anything when we engage in public discourse, due to a long tradition of struggle against the system and due to a certain distance to the state they try to maintain.

The observations and interviews I made convinced me that there is something wrong with social movement theory as I have studied it so far. A real movement is not about value change², rational-choice or political opportunity. What is at stake here is that movement theories in general have no theoretical tool to comprehend the diverse practices of social actors (cf. Dores 2009).

A crisis of the capitalist system has been the main argument of the opponents of capitalism to be right, and the system obsolete, searching for new alternatives to overcome capitalism and propose a better world. As Holloway (2002) notes, it is our expression of true discontent with a society that is destructive and belligerent, produces poverty and distress for millions. For most of us, life is a crisis itself, and what we in the West call crisis today only evokes a worn-out smile from those of us who have been in crisis for decades already³.

The situation today is worse than ever before, and scholars of sociology have started their search for alternatives, and with an adequate research tool we can see that of them, there are plenty. Now, with the economic and financial crisis in process, it seems that many scholars are rethinking their way of proceeding towards an under-

² Change can only be valid with features of emancipation. A mere 'value change', as proposed by the theory of new social movements, does not include the concept of emancipation. Let me give an example: organic food is a recent trend in Germany and elsewhere, and can be considered as some kind of 'value change' towards a better and more sustainable life. As it is common for a value change, the trend has been captured by market structures, so that almost every super market in Germany now offers a remarkable product range of organic articles. They are offered cheaply, so that local organic farmers, who decided against mass production from an emancipative perspective, now lose their customers. The emancipative feature silently fades away, while the 'value change' fosters.

³ Making use of Holloway's concept of collective subjectivity runs the risk of papering over the differences between social actors in different locations. In course of this paper, the concept of 'local identity' will be explained and shed light on how contemporary literature deals with this issue.

standing of social movements, which accepts that social change has to happen close to the actors of society, in distance to the system. Hence this research paper.

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1 Introduction

Social movement is an extremely wide field of social research. Starting from the question what *is* a social movement, the answer ranges from ad-hoc movements and riots, to mass panic and revolutions, from civil society organizations to unorganized groups towards everything that moves under the sun (cf. Bader, 1991). This paper does not try to give an answer to the question of what a social movement is or has been for all the history of humanity, since I believe that every specific time and space has its own conditions for social movements, amendable to the specific historical environment. What I am trying to do here is, accordingly, to find out how scholars try to identify and interpret social protest in times of a capitalist crisis in a late-modern society, meaning a high level of uncertainties and compulsory social renewal, and late-capitalism, meaning a production system based on knowledge circulation, privatization, individualization and self-reliance. My hypothesis is that the instability of our current political, social and economic system has an impact on the thinking and acting of many activists, which certainly has developed over the past years, and now in times of the financial and economic crisis those actors present themselves very differently than before, which will have an impact on social movement theory.

The crisis of capitalism has started as a crisis financial crisis in one line of business – the housing crisis, in 2007. That has entailed a crisis of the financial system, and, by now, has become a global economic crisis, often called a crisis of the capitalist system itself. Activists seem to have received affirmation in their assumption that capitalism cannot keep itself running and does not have the self-healing power that has been attached to it. That capitalism is vulnerable has come to be common knowledge today even among its most vocal proponents (cf. Bernd & Boeckler 2009, p. 535). According to many authors, the crisis entails extreme feelings of insecurity and injustice, and an extreme rise in poverty and social inequality, which is unseen in human history – and there does not seem to be any official institution to which social actors could turn in order to demand social change.

For more than three decades, the political, cultural, social, scientific and economic reality taught us that there would be no alternative to privatization, free markets, self-reliance and individualization in order to push forward political and economic programmes, causing extreme misery because of social stratification, the loss of per-

sonal life-security and the loss of social and political rights. This has become a focus for scientific, political and public discussions. With the crisis in practice, we are witnesses to an extremity of misery for a growing part of the world population, unemployment and insecurity which is much stronger than before (compare e.g. Steinitz & Ullrich 2009 for the ecological consequences, Speckmann 2009 for the nexus in relation to the food crisis, Schumm-Garling 2009 for the demolition of womens' rights in this crisis) and the loss of hard-earned political, cultural and social rights.

Unlike the capitalist crises humanity has witnessed before, the states do not make any reasonable efforts to prolong their institutional arms to help those who are in need the most, but reproduce the dominant order by redeployment of capital from bottom to top (Altvater 2009). Social actors lose faith in political parties, financial instruments, economic elites and the overall social agreement of privatization and economization of social life that has formed for more than thirty years now (Heuberger & Hartnuß, 2009). Society is a scattered mix of different views, beliefs, norms and values; to produce something new and get rid of tradition has become the driving mechanism of late-modernity, late-capitalism and in the end has its responsibility in the contemporary crisis. Young people like me do not know where their positions are in contemporary societies; we are pushed through a tough education system in order to have a secure future, and now we are left without any security at all, while many of our parents have to cope with high working hours and low wages and only seldom can function as a 'safe harbour'. This is the disillusioning analysis made by many observers today. Surprisingly, there is no traditional or post-traditional social movement appearing on the surface of society. Though the financial crisis is devastating in its effect on society, media fails to report resistance to the decisions made at the political and economic level. Neither can we see a unified multitude that aims at overtaking power in terms of revolution (Hardt & Negri 2000/2005), nor a parliamentary or extra-parliamentary opposition that may help change the system. Instead of using the opportunity to claim demands and position themselves in the discourse, most parliamentary as well as extra-parliamentary actors, it seems, are well established in the economic and political system and give their best to revitalize the capitalist system⁴.

⁴ Surely, the capitalist system is hegemonic. It leaves spaces that are important for capitalism to survive, such as times for regeneration, or, as in our knowledge-based capitalist system, creativity to

Strong opponents to the system do not educe the crisis. It is a crisis of the system of production and reproduction itself, but the basic conditions of neo-liberalist strategy remain. Instead of increasing institutional rights of those who are in need the most in these times, the state financially consolidates huge companies and banks under the exclusion of ordinary legal proceedings on the one hand, and public control on the other. Disregarding the question of whether it is only a question of time until capitalism will be overcome, these observations inevitably remind us of the famous and veritable words of Antonio Gramsci that the real crisis would be that “the old dies and the new cannot come into this world” (Gramsci, 1991, p. 354).⁵ Even a more liberal sociologist acknowledges the existence of such phenomena:

“There are situations in the history of human societies, in which existing and continuing structures do not only not solve problems, but create them. At a certain point, these problems cannot be overcome with instruments of existing structures. We still try explaining that a little more economic growth will eliminate unemployment, but we feel already that this is not anymore, or at least not quite right so. Simultaneously the potential of completely different, novel solutions, as an idea or impression first, is mounting. But it doesn’t get a chance: because the existing structures increasingly petrify, the more they are put under pressure. The invention of the new is taboo, ridiculed, discounted. But this all does not change the fact that the potential of the novel impounds, that a new theme – not a counter-theme, but a different theme, not not a, but b – heralds itself” (Dahrendorf 1980: 10, cited in Brand/Büsser/Rucht 1987)⁶.

It might seem impossible to destroy contemporary capitalism in the short run, since historically the official system mostly managed to survive somehow, and grow even stronger than before. Dahrendorf’s explanation addressed the background of a dying system of mass production, and the subsequent late-capitalist flexibility has not only stabilized, but even outperformed industrial capitalism. Some authors, however, already have announced the end of neo-liberalism and the potential rise of left wing politics. Elmar Altvater, (2006/2009) for example, has set forth the most comprehensively-formulated argument calling for the ‘end of capitalism as we know it’, based on the fact that growth is naturally limited, even though he is not sure about the length of the transmission period (Übergangsphase). Others are more careful in

continuously reproduce capitalism by way of re-invention. An improvement of these aspects promises social change, but are only marginalized phenomena of capitalism.

⁵ Own translation.

⁶ Own translation.

this regard. As the editors of the German magazine “*Sozialismus*” put it in regard to the contemporary crisis:

“Neo-Liberalism as an ideology and hegemonic project has not been drubbed yet. But its power to set topics and push through social-political interpretations is badly damaged. The reason for this obvious weakness is not the strength of the political opponent on the left, but the critical motion of social reproduction” (editorial staff of *Sozialismus*, 3/2009, p. 2, cf. Zelik 2009, p. 207)⁷.

Following a similar understanding of the actual crisis, the London-based philosopher Modjtaba Sadria (2009) specified this issue as follows:

“While the present economic crisis could and does bring some de facto critiques of the main premises of the neoliberal agenda, it is not necessarily valid to think that it is at the same time eliminating the weaknesses of its critics. Furthermore, one can consider the hypothesis that, in one way or another, when the curve of this present crisis turns, those that adhere to a lineage of neo-liberal thinking could and probably will push for a regenerated version of their agenda” (ibid, online-article).

Approaching the deadline for this Master thesis, the restructuring of global capitalism is proceeding, and the critiques of the neoliberal agenda do not seem to have any influence on it. The possibility of critique has been diminished in the course of the last few decades, and, measured with the post-traditional instruments of social protest, it has not recovered yet.

After World War II, the *Wirtschaftswunder* caused an overall economic growth seemingly without an end. The break followed in the 1970s, which was said to be the result of strong unions and welfare costs; the emergence of neo-liberalism that reinforced the belief in everlasting growth; and last but not least the downfall of the Soviet Union has led to a weakening of the critics (Boltanski & Chiapello 2003; Götsch 2009, p. 229). Left wing politics and unions seemed to have accepted that open markets are necessary, and even so-called progressive groups such as attac only discuss the best and modest way to design and advance economic growth. As Stephan Lessenich (2008, p. 9, 18) has shown for the critical sociology of the welfare state, the reduction of critique to the denominator “Neo-Liberalism” has papered over much necessary critical analysis.

⁷ Own translation.

There are, however, many examples that teach us about an upcoming consciousness on the societal level, finding expression in people's reviving interest in critical books. More copies of *'The Capital'* than ever before have been sold in Germany in the past year, many more than in the 1960s.⁸ With regard to two important critical works of the 1920s and 1930s about alternative currency systems, that have been indexed and diminished by book burning in the 1950s in the US, as early as 1996 the Berlin economist Bernd Senf states:

“But despite all attempts to suppress, distort and destroy this forward-looking knowledge, in recent years it evokes with great strength back to the surface and into the consciousness of a growing number of people who are looking for life-positive ways out of a hopeless seeming world apart from that” (Senf 1996, p. 5, own translation).

Modjtaba Sadria asks us:

“In December 2008 and January 2009 a fascinating “literary” phenomenon occurred in Japan. A book entitled *Kani Kousen* by Kobayeshi Takiji became a best-seller for weeks. The translation of its title could be read as “Early Proletariat”, and it detailed the difficulties of daily life for working class people in the 1920s. But this was not a retrospective, historical study; the book was written in 1929. Furthermore, the word proletariat has been banned in collective Japanese memory since the end of the 1960s. How is it that now, at the beginning of the 21st century, this book becomes a major reference for people trying to define their contemporary situation, and their own place within it?” (ibid, 2009, online-article).

At the surface of society today are spontaneous and often violent youth upheavals appearing in many cities in Europe. Mostly too small in numbers to be reported in the official media, and mostly without any claims or demands which could be analyzed, they stay unheard. There are more phenomena, such as Robin-Hood activities and Boss-Kidnapping, a lot of intentional illegal behaviour. The illegal acts are different than those we already know; Greenpeace activists, for example, or those of the Animal Liberation Front, trespass legal borders in order to help others who otherwise do not have a voice, and in many cases this serves, above all, to raise media attention and sensitize the society. Those social activists clearing the supermarkets to distribute food in neighbourhoods, and those who kidnap their bosses to show that they disagree with decisions, those who burn cars and buildings as revenge for the deaths of comrades, are different, trying to help themselves and those living in a vicinity or

⁸ See: <http://www.sueddeutsche.de/kultur/496/446232/text/>.

sharing a workplace, and the actions have several issues in common. They appear in many places in late-modern societies to a similar extent, and they always appear in rather small groups; no mass demonstrations occur. They are young people, sharing the same uncertainties about work, family and future. The activists do not explain to us where the conflicts are, meaning they do not explain their concerns to sensitize society, and they are not 'creative' in the meaning of making the activities attractive for media and effective for publicity. It seems that there are at different places similar social forces mobilizing. These upheavals do not fall into any of the social movement categories, and are therefore often neglected, stay unseen and not valued highly enough for sociological analysis (Dores 2009). If this observation is right, most of these undirected small-scale movements, riots and alternatives alike, even though they seem not to be combinable, and to be scattered and undirected, are important for our contemporary understanding of society, collective activity, dynamism and change. It seems to be a matter of reading society, understanding the various happenings in the context of an unstable, late-modern society.

Surprisingly, these new phenomena did not find their way into social movement studies yet. In my work to find papers on social movements to identify a change that would include the new phenomena, I did not strike it rich. Even though I looked at papers in different languages and tried to get some estimation on this topic from scholars themselves, my search resulted in disappointment. Rather, I only found papers of scholars who either searched for those social movements with huge demonstrations and conflicts, or those who called for an international workers' movement to beat the establishment and call for a new world order. Two possible reasons for this suggest themselves:

- 1) Society is already very much used to the idea that the current order will not work out, so that social actors already changed their tactics long ago and do not have to adjust now. In this case, there would be no need for science to react now;
- 2) activists have invented new forms of protest that are invisible to the old research tools of social movement scholars.

I think both assumptions are plausible. Certainly there are protest forms, and certainly the tactics we see today have not come *ex nihilo*. Accordingly, a first assump-

tion can be made: social actors changed their strategy during the past years, but so far, only have found a marginalized reception or no reception at all in social movement research.

As I will argue in Chapter three, the science of social movements is having difficulties to include theoretically the new phenomena for several reasons. Instead of using these one hundred pages that constitute my Master's thesis to explain social movement theories that have not really changed, I have created a case consisting of literature from three different sociological disciplines *related* to social movements, published between January 2008 and October 2009, to see how scholars interpret protest, and in order to find out whether it might be possible to interpret the described small-scale, undirected events with an improved and rethought social movement theory.

In papers of the disciplines critical geography, critical sociology and independent social movement research, scholars discuss alternative ways of production, community life and knowledge production in social movements in terms of emancipation, and some of them continuously relate their findings to the contemporary crisis. The various investigations into online and offline communities gave me a chance to investigate what is meant by social conflict, social mobilization and social creativity within communities who try to reject heteronomy, in distance to politics and economics. In order to discover where social actors hide the new kinds of social movement, I have had to extract the major ingredients of social movement theory, apply them to my case, and find out how social movement theory can be changed in order to include what is emerging now, and thus be able to show the impact of the financial crisis on social movement theory. The estimation of the situation by the author team Gibson-Graham (2008) gives me confidence that I am not taking a wrong path in my approach. They state that during the 1990s, there was no sign of alternative economic styles, at least not in academic literature. There were projects all along since the 1970s, but only now, at the fading of the first decade of the 21st century and the crumbling of capitalism, scholar activists begun to take notice of them (*ibid*, p.614). At the same time, scholars begin to notice and call for an increased research of workers and working conditions of late modern societies (*cf.* Schultheis 2008).

That the small-scale, undirected protests have not yet found their way into social movement theory does not mean that they are not explainable. Instead, the composition and undirectedness of alternatives and community life very much remind of the

composition and undirectedness of small-scale, sometimes even violent protests. While that is the expression on the societal surface, the alternative ways of production, alternative market structures, learning circles and other communal activities are mostly (but not exclusively) carried out by young people. Participation in the alternative is independent from their educational training, class or ethnical background. Social actors build up community life styles, but do not try to establish a conflict level that could tell us about any demands or ideas they have about how to create a better world. Neither can we observe any huge mobilization, and as far as can be said at present, there is no media rehashed and publicity-effective representation of alternative communities. Social actors in both cases do not articulate their conflicts, they do not choose to mobilize masses to call for a change, and they do not try to create startling spectacles to wake society up.

I will try to show some kind of continuity of specific elements of protest in the 1970s and 1980s, to show that they are still prevalent in the plurality of movements that develop today, but with a completely different expression which can be theoretically encompassed by combining sociologists' observation of protest with post-traditional movement theory.⁹ My aim is to open space for further research to combine communal activity and online as well as offline social productions with elements of social conflict, social mobilisation and social creativity. By doing so, I will try to show possibilities to track the future changes of society after capitalism has shown its real, destructive face. The architecture of this paper is as follows:

Chapter 2 will introduce social conflict, social mobilization, and social creativity as major elements of post-traditional social movement theory in Europe and the US. Social conflict is understood as the location where the *lived and built environment* is subject to emancipation, for example a group of anti-nuclear activists around nuclear plants, or women in the liberation movement, who with the articulation of open conflict can make their points and interests visible. Social mobilization is understood as the dimension where social actors can emancipate by giving their *body* a voice in the democratic system through democratic participation. Social creativity is understood as the emancipation of body and soul, social actors having the capacity of acting differently, making themselves not-utilizable.

⁹ As will be shown in the next chapter, by post-traditional movement theories I refer to those theories that are concerned with the post-traditional movements, starting in the 1960s in industrialized societies.

Chapter 3 will show how far outside the usual theoretical frame of post-traditional social movement theory a new research model must reach in order to include new aspects of social movement theory and to explain marginalized, little-addressed phenomena.

In chapter 4, I will introduce the journals that serve as a case study for this research. The research questions are:

- How do scholars interpret emancipation of lived and built environment?
- How do scholars interpret emancipation of body?
- How do scholars interpret emancipation of body and soul?

Chapter 5 will introduce the findings according to the three elements of emancipation, as stated above.

In Chapter 6, the findings will be interpreted and put in the spatial and temporal context of our contemporary, unstable late-modern society. This intends to put away some thinking blockades that constrict analysis of conflict, mobilization and creativity.

In chapter 7, the findings of chapter 5 will be applied to social movement theories to show the impact of the capitalist crisis on social movement theories.

In the concluding remarks in chapter 8, I will quickly summarize my findings, and introduce a different, very new approach of understanding small-scale undirected activism.

2 Social movement theory

Emancipative movements in the 1960s developed as necessary efforts of leaving painful discrimination of marginalized groups behind. The liberalizing western societies have opened space for activists to use demonstrations and the nation wide public spheres to call attention to their situation and initiate political change. Most researchers agree on the point that the novel element in these post-traditional movements was the change from *class-consciousness* of traditional movements to some kind of *cultural consciousness*. The collective of identities was no longer hold together by the collective suffering from inhuman living and working conditions, but the amalgamation of middle-class protesters calling out post-material demands.

Despite the width and length of the academic field of social movements/collective action, with an amount of literature almost impossible to encompass,¹⁰ I will have to reduce the different strains to their main arguments and subsume them. Social movement research experienced a shift in the 1970s and 1980s, due to a rising number of protests and demonstrations as well as alternative ways of living in the course of the capitalist crisis which was a consequence and – and speed up - of the downfall of industrial mass production in Western countries. According to the social movement theory that emerged at that time, the number and intensity of traditional workers' movements decreased due to the institutionalization of the conflicts. According to the general understanding of social movement research, different schools have been established as reaction to this observation. In their book "*Transnational Protest & Global Activism*", Donatella Della Porta and Sidney Tarrow (2005, p.xiii; see also Davis, 1999, p. 586) describe NSM and RM/POS as those post-traditional social movement approaches that are dominant in contemporary social movement literature.¹¹

¹⁰ And only some authors were brave enough to make an attempt, among the most successful (in my judgment): Bader, Veit Michael (1991, p. 3-52), Hellmann, Kai-Uwe & Ruud Koopmans, edit. (1998, p.9-33).

¹¹ This does not mean that all European researchers would be advocates of the NSM approach, nor do all others follow the American approach (compare Tarrow 1988, p. 423, cited in Hellmann 1998), but the theoretical framework is always close to the original (ibid.). This may help, and be reason enough, to be the base for explanation of the emancipative elements that lie behind these theoretical strains.

Until today, these two strains form the basic understanding of post-traditional social movement theory in western countries¹². The latest developments in movement theory still rely on these concepts: the study of online protest, which defines online protest as such when it is directed against a company in order to put pressure on the enemy (for a good overview on this issue see Martin & Kracher 2008), on web-use and social movements see Stein 2009); the increasing amount of distribution conflicts (see Kern, 2008) that forces researchers to re-investigate into issues of class and culture (cf. Schultheis 2008); the significance of organizations and cost-reducer for social movements (see i.e. Benson & Rochon 2004 on the relation between interpersonal trust and participation in a protest movement, Reckhow 2009 on the significance of minorities representing organizations, Holmén & Jirström 2009 on the role NGOs in international politics).

According to these researchers, activists gather, constitute organizations and take to the streets or start online attacks in order to show their dissent with the contradictions of modernity and to achieve more autonomy in a self-determined and fulfilled life (NSM); respectively activists look at the strength of organizations and promising political opportunities to calculate their costs and the possibility of success of a movement to get their demands met, and if the profit of a probable success outweighs their personal costs, they engage (RM/POS). In both cases, actors show their protest openly, establish organizations, and are visible in order to express themselves. Using different strategies, activists tried to influence politics on a large scale (NSM) or more local scale (RM/POS) (Davis 1999). In any case, societal learning processes were central to the movements that were soon explained to be the schools of democracy, and a part of the 'civil society'.

The protests and demonstrations, however, are at the centre of most activities, well planned and positioned to be effective as good publicity to strengthen their power in order to influence politics, and even the most severe protesters seemed to have called for political or social change. Movement scholars quickly identified main streams and major post-materialist positions in the movements and shaped an analogous typology (Brand/Büsser/Rucht 1987). Until today, social movements seem ex-

¹² Especially the approaches of Latin American social movements may become of greater interest in the future, but so far few western researchers have made an attempt to discuss that approach in western contexts as well.

tremely vital and have found their position in-between political and economic lobby groups.

Social movement research as it has been established with the movement phenomena in the 1970s and 1980s was very much concerned with the emancipative aspects of social movements. The second half of the 20th century was accompanied by the transformation from industrialism to post-industrialism. The urge of progress has put more value on a high efficiency potential of societies, while the complexity of society and the demands of control increased. The global economy was stuck in the 1970s, and social actors took to the streets, with a huge variety of political and social programmes *in petto*. To put both approaches, despite their differences, together, we can radicalize the following statements: Conflict was understood as a chance to call attention to the *lived and built environment* and the chance to create solidarity and shape a collective identity, one issue that became most important in social movement research. Mobilization was understood as a chance to give a voice to the actor's *body*, and put pressure on the government to initiate social change with different tactics. Creativity was understood as giving a cultural aspect to social movements, a chance for social actors to make themselves non-utilizable to the capitalist system, thus an attempt to emancipate *body and soul*.

2.1 Emancipation of lived and built environment

New Social Movement theories are starting from that point, looking at social actors and how they engage in movements, analysing the 'cultural' orientation of the demonstrations, by relating the observed phenomena to the contradictions in the social structure, leading to post-materialist claims such as rights for discriminated groups, as well as protest *contra* and *pro* political or institutional changes such as the use of nuclear power and the change of the educational system, as well as international politics and war (cf. Touraine 1990). The actors aimed at influencing the governing structures by actively engaging in public discourse. As Karl-Werner Brand, Detlef Büsser & Dieter Rucht (1986) explain, social protest emerges out of the different contradictions that are stemming from discontent with modernization. This discontent, thus the protest itself, became visible only with the decline of anti-communism and the crisis in 1966/67, which had allowed for new tendencies of in-

novation and change (ibid, p. 61).¹³ Stating a social conflict meant, on one hand, to make the discrimination respectively of the non-fulfilled interests of a specific group, community or other social entity visible. On the other hand, a minimum of experienced or perceived ‘enmity’, opposition or actual confrontation is necessary “in order to keep conflicts alive and stabilize collective habitus, collective identity, participation and mobilization within the movement” (Bader 1991, p. 366)¹⁴¹⁵. Thus, social conflict had an emancipative effect for the *lived and built environment* in two ways: a) due to escalation, new forms of solidarity can come into existence, and collective interests and identities do not lose their relevancy; b) the public image of lived and built environment can be sanitized.

2.2 Emancipation of body

Stemming from a special ‘new middle class’, post-traditional social movements emerged predominantly in the Western world. The question of how these groups could effectively change their environment was especially addressed by Jürgen Habermas. In his first major work, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere* (1962), Habermas describes public spheres, such as cafés or lecture halls, as places where individuals are exchanging information, opinions and ideas. With the rise of modernity, these places had lost their critical capacity and were ruled by opinion-forming mass media in the hand of the ruling elite.¹⁶ In the introduction to the new edition of *The Structural Change of The Public Sphere*, Habermas (1990) admits his former negligence of multiple public spheres and the role of counter public spheres. While Habermas at that time did not consider the exclusion of oppressed parts of the public, such as women and workers, as a constitutive part of a particular public sphere, he already saw the existence of public spheres other than the hegemonic bourgeois discourse, but did not consider these subculture or class spe-

¹³ For example the idealized image of the democratic United States on the one hand, and the discriminating, neo-colonial interventions on the other hand (ibid.). For a detailed list of what is a social movement, see ibid, p. 35ff.

¹⁴ Own translation.

¹⁵ Drawing on Simmel, Bader states that collective identity develops via carrying out long-term conflicts.

¹⁶ In this regard we are to understand Habermas’ claim for a more rationalized communication to be able to criticize social policy and development (Best 1996:149). This rationalization should lead to a social condition in which technical development no longer belongs to a ruling elite but to the social realm.

cific discourses as constitutive (ibid, p. 15-16). The mechanisms of exclusion extend into counter public spheres that seem superficial at first sight, like parties and celebrations, a peoples' culture, but can be instead the counter program for hierarchy, a "non-neutralizable counter-effect" (ib.:18).¹⁷ According to the NSM approach, protesters revolt against this colonialist method, which is used to break into the life-worlds, causing cultural impoverishment. Habermas explains that with the help of mobilization and awareness training, forming several counter-discourses, a change in value-system has happened and with the tool of democratic elections, movements may help to change their environment.

As Zald and McCarthy (1987), two of the most significant authors of RM claim, to concentrate only on the grievances and structural constraints would not be enough to explain social movements. This failure had let to "a lack of emphasis upon the process by which persons and institutions from outside of the collectivity under consideration become involved; for instance, northern white liberals in the southern civil rights movement, or Soviets and Cubans in Angola" (ibid, p. 17). Zald and McCarthy develop a theoretical framework which emphasizes the significance of access to resources for a social movement, resources being, above all, time and money. Organizations function as cost-reducers, and the stronger they are, the more useful they were for a social movement to mobilize the masses.¹⁸ Thus, from the beginning the RM/POS had a much stronger political orientation than the NSM, concentrating on mobilization and organizations, as they are a method for democratic participation of citizens. Social movements, then, conglomerate into several social movement industries, and come to be seen as a social movement sector as a whole. Criticising this interpretation in the same book, Gamson states:

"Of course, social movement industries are different from economic ones. Zald and his collaborators are well aware of this, but they tend to highlight similarities. (...) Their (...) agenda has been to extend the analogy to economic organizations in a macrodirection. Just as there is a financial sector or a service sector comprising several industries, there is a social movement sector. Here the unit of comparative analysis becomes the society." (Gamson 1987, p. 3-4).

¹⁷ Own translation.

¹⁸ A more recent addition to this thought is represented by the Political Opportunity approach. The more successful the chances of the movement seem to fulfill its aims, the more likely is the mobilization of masses (compare Hellmann 1998, p.22f).

RM is based heavily on rational choice theory, having the activists reduced to cost-benefit analysts.

“What is important about people is not their sentiments or the meanings they give the world, but whether they have discretionary time and money to spend on social movements.” (ibid, p. 7).

Social mobilization as understood here gives greater decision-making and responsibility to social actors in a stable democracy (cf. Bader, p262). The possibility of a movement to influence politics increases with growing mobilization. In this sense, it serves as emancipation of the *body*, giving to it a place in the democratic process independent from democratic elections and reflecting a ‘struggle of consciousness’. Accordingly, as soon as the dichotomy of clear protest movements and their enemies broke when institutionalizing processes started, the struggle on the streets stopped being a struggle of consciousness and became only the support of decision-makers, which very early lead to decreasing mobilization tendencies (cf. Brand/Büsser/Rucht 1987, p. 268).

2.3 Emancipation of body and soul

Habermas acknowledges the importance of the rising entertainment-based actions and observes “a ‘novel intimacy between culture and politics’, which is as ambiguous and does not merely assimilates information to entertainment” (ib.:30).¹⁹. According to Habermas, the state has become an integrating power. With the rise of welfare systems, the state stopped to only secure market structures and became an active part of society, which permeates every social system (Scambler 2001:6). Thus, the subsystems are influencing each other, and “(...) are breaking, colonial rulers alike, into the everyday life-worlds and impose their rules to them” (Weymann 1998, p. 85).²⁰ Stemming from the critique of artist activists against the narrow-mindedness of bourgeois society, social actors called for more autonomy, self-expression and flexibility, breaking with the hierarchial structures in order to be much more responsible for themselves. In this sense, pluralization meant emancipation. Social actors expressed their urge to difference through creative actions that seemed unstoppable,

¹⁹ Own translation.

²⁰ Own translation.

leading to a cultural phenotype of post-traditional social movement. This can be considered one expression of the attempt to break out of the stringent and retracted conditions of industrial environment. It is emancipative in that way as self-determination and autonomy, the possibility to be and express difference in the free spaces that could be chosen to escape industrial conditions, mirroring the attempt to emancipate *body and soul*.

3 Social movement theory and the problematic of including new social phenomena

Both post-traditional approaches, however, have similar requirements for social movements. The NSM approach broadly defines a social movement as “a collective actor, who intervenes in the process of social change” (Raschke 1987, p. 20), while the RM scholars “view social movements as nothing more than preference structures directed toward social change” (Zald & McCarthy 1987, p. 20). It is true that over the past forty years, social movement and civil society research has tended ever more towards seemingly detailed listing of groups and organizations, since the number has increased steadily (Gross 2001, Fitzduff & Church 2004, p.3).²¹ The major and most important difference of these approaches is the question of resources of emancipation: either grievances, or money and time.

Both approaches, however, have a similar conflict oriented understanding of collective social action. According to Bader (1991, pp. 66), collective action can be distinguished from other forms of social action in four points:

- 1 Collective action is ‘action’, and not ‘behaviour’.
- 2 Collective action is social action (in the Weberian sense), thus always oriented towards the action or behaviour of other social actors. Protest activity of an individual actor is not an object of collective action research. Social action further constitutes specific action structures that count for collective action even though in a certain situation no concrete action is visible .
- 3 Collective action is non-institutionalized and extra-everyday life action. With this defining element, collective action is differentiated from activities in the sports club or at work etc. on the one hand, and i.e. military action on the other. As Bader notices, to distinguish is not always an easy task, especially when collective action appears on a regular basis, and routines have established.

²¹ For Gross (2001), the rise of interest and activity in civil society is to be seen in the context of a weakening state. The state is lost in its international network and exposes public services and welfare to capitalism

- 4 Collective action is conflict action. In this regard, collective action is to be distinguished from i.e. collective social action in disaster operation, which does not have the necessary conflict dimension.

Bader states that ‘collective popular action’, meaning protest action, needs an additional level of distinction. ‘Collective popular action’ does not include state-actors, but as well does it not include positive privileged non-governmental target groups, since they take advantage of the dominant social institutions and the immanent power-relations.²² Collective action is limited to “opposition groups, negatively privileged groups, protesters, challengers” (Oberschall 1973, p.32; cited in Bader 1991, p. 69). Bader concludes:

“If one distinguishes general collective action and ‘collective popular action’ like this and concentrates the analysis on the latter, collective action is, in all its various forms, targeted against the institutional structures of power and dominance” (ibid, p. 70).

Accordingly, the *counter-discourse* character of social movements is typical for the NSM approaches: the emergence of a movement is always re-active, in relation to structural contradictions, peace movements in times of war, for example, or anti-discrimination movements in times of high discrimination. Thus the concept of change, which is inherited in this theoretical approach, does not include autonomy of thought and action, without which social change is only a matter of social reproduction, not of social production, and related to the establishment from which it expects the change to come. Many authors in recent years have stated a critique against this theoretical component. It is right that a social movement always has to be analyzed by looking at the specific social circumstances, but if reduced to it, the critical impact of autonomously-developed strategies and behaviour patterns formed at the base of socially engaged people might get lost.

Conflict, mobilization and creativity has become a general understanding in orthodox social movement and civil society literature. As some authors remark, social movement research itself has come to shape a self-referential system, which has detached itself from its object of analysis, concentrates on quantitative shifts of social movements, and with the study of civil society has increasingly concentrated on the

²² And, secondly, they are mostly incapable of integrating negative privileged actors.

political influence of social actors; it thus has difficulties in adopting the qualitative changes in the protest culture itself. In many high quality journals there is an overwhelming amount of analysis that focuses on the social world and the campaigns that social movements concentrate on. Knowledge production as factor of critical impact is not central to those analyses. Rather, to belong to a group is sold to students and participants as some kind of high-status radical identity (Laurence Cox and Cristina Flesher Fominaya 2009, p. 14):

“One of the implications of this is that *a priori* commitment to a particular understanding of movement organizing is often underwritten by career and lifestyle choices which make alternative strategies literally unthinkable” (ibid. p. 14).

Both theoretical strains run risk, movements and disciplines alike, of adopting to already-established strategies without critical impact, often even counter-productive practices subverting the basic principles of a movement. Cox & Fominaya state

“social movement studies has become an increasingly self-referential sub-discipline with largely closed canon, and less dialogue with movement practitioners than it had at its inception” (p. 13-14, see Landy 2009, p. 190).

According to the authors, social movement research has become detached from the movements themselves, “despite the fact that a number of its most significant authors started from positions sympathetic to social movements, if not actually within them” (ibid. p. 6).

This critique is not new: In 1987, Wolfgang Beywl identified a similar problem in NSM research. On the one hand, it “runs [the] risk that the pertinent researches are too much bound to the issue posing of the political-administrative system, and on the other hand to consider the visible parts for the movement per se” (ibid, p. 201).²³ The constitution of the everyday using alternative perspectives and the creation of meaning for the creation of a cultural social movement, the author continues, has not been achieved at the theoretical level. Schaper has stated a similar critique in the same year: If analyzed by NSM theory, self-help groups were alternative strategies opposing a dilapidated welfare system. The groups are interpreted as an answer to this issue (ibid., p. 169).

²³ Own translation.

In his paper “Affirmative Protest – Ambivalences and Affinities of communitarian capitalist critique”, Sven Kluge (2008) notes some very interesting points about the quality of criticism that derives from communitarian approaches to criticize capitalism, and we can take his main argument for our discussion. With remarkable conceptual strength he proves that what has been coined the ultimate capitalist critique in the 20th century is nothing more than a static piece of capitalism itself, which in the end supports arguments of growth and destructive exploitation. In his paper Kluge shows that the concept of communitarism does not take structural social changes into consideration, and is a survival kit for capitalism itself by attempting to re-enchant, in this case, gainful employment itself.

These ambivalences Kluge observes remind of the Hegelian concept of thesis and antithesis, but with one decisive difference: While Hegel’s thesis and antithesis merge and go beyond a mere conglomeration, creating something new in the synthesis, capitalism and communitarism do merge, but have no chance of forming something new, something like the synthesis. They form a self-referential system (Hardt/Negri 2000, Altvater 2009, S. 15), in which nothing needs to be proven. The system is only responsible to itself, and (or since) the connection to people and nature disappeared.

The RM/POS approach has not been criticized less. As some of the arguments stated above count for NSM and RM/POS theory alike, the concentration on rational argumentation and engagement of social movements on the political level is specific for the RM/POS approach and needs an extra discussion.

With his understanding of society as “a shapeless mass, at once moblike and idealistic, generous and wicked, in short, a contradictory mixture which, like any other living thing, is based on paradoxical tension”, Maffesoli (1996, p. 57) tells us about the difficulty of using “anything which strays from the realm of the political” (ibid.) to lead us to an understanding of this our very object of research. Political thought would strive for homogeneous concepts in order to cope with the frightening power of heterogeneity, just as the “ambiguity and monstrosity” of the masses.

Max Horkheimer and Theodor W. Adorno (1969), I am sure, were aware of this constitution of society as well when they explained the homogenizing features of a capitalist society. Eventually they identify the “Einheitswissenschaft” (unified science) as one of the strongest forces of the system that stemmed from enlightenment and rational thought. Nevertheless, Horkheimer and Adorno were convinced that,

writing their fragments while the fordist mass production was in process and totalitarian regimes in Western and Eastern Europe omnivalent, the enlightenment itself is totalitarian, homogenizes the masses and thus, measured by its actual aims, turns out to be a huge betrayal (on enlightenment and totality: *ibid*: 12pp, on the betrayal: *ibid*: 28pp)²⁴. Myths, so they say, are the counter discourse to enlightenment, but this counter discourse would only reproduce the idea of rationalism and reason, which then builds the hegemonic discourse that is encompassing everything in daily life of social actors. Adorno and Horkheimer are convinced

”that enlightenment still recognizes itself in the myths. On which myths the resistance is referring to whatsoever, simply because in such a contradiction they become arguments, they confess themselves to the principles of that corrosive rationality, which they lay to the enlightenments charge” (*ibid*, p.12)²⁵.

If we understand ‘myth’ as *any* conceptual frame for resistance, we may state that to leave a rational discourse with rational argumentation seems impossible. By understanding social movements as part of an industry, the critical practice of some movements concerning alternative social arrangements, knowledge production and different styles of communicating with each other gets lost, subsumed under the argument of rational choices just as we know it from organizational theory (Hellmann 1998, p. 23). By engaging in the political discourse, the critical impact of activists gets lost. Thus it is debatable whether activists would really give up their aims on a cost/benefit analysis background.

But society has not reached any end of history, as some authors proposed, and the social conditions leave room for new forms of protest for social actors. People are very active, and my aim is to discover in how far researchers of sociological disciplines interpret critique and alternatives today. Only now, in times of crisis, it seems that *emancipative* protest has changed from big scale demonstrations with specific demands to undirected, and sometimes violent small-scale protest.

²⁴ While the enlightenment claimed to be able to unfold the emancipatory potential of human beings by disenchanting the mythological world, the consequences of the enlightenment show the discrepancy of aim and results. In this regard we should emphasize two developments: 1) Enlightenment cannot emancipate humans since it is located in human subjectivity itself. By reasoning humans already start to distance themselves from nature and start to execute power over himself (compare Möll, 2003, p.12; 2) The totality of the enlightenment, which extrapolates from the impossibility of critique to leave the all-embracing discourse of enlightenment - rationality.

²⁵ Own translation.

Concretely, my aim is to discover how emancipation of lived and built environment, emancipation of body, and emancipation of body and soul, are represented by scholars. Based on the problematic situation of social movement research, I have come to the decision that my case shall encompass papers of three different sociological disciplines that are very much related to social protest and the development of protest culture, but are not explicitly adhering to the methods and research tools of orthodox social movement research.

4 The case

I analyzed the papers on social movement, social change and social conflict published in eleven relevant journals for social movements and social change published between January 2008 and September 2009. The foundation of my choice of journals stems from around one hundred journals I looked at, and was not legitimized by the number of references of those journals and periodicals, but the self-description and the weight those journals put on social movement and social change themselves.²⁶

I have to admit that restrictions in the availability of journals and periodicals, and more importantly the character of my research field itself, have prevented me from finding all significant journals, let alone reading all relevant articles. Important journals such as “*Social Movement Studies Journal of Social, Cultural and Political Protest*” could not be used as a source, and many important articles are written in languages I do not read. Partly the missing journals have had their impact on this study as well, due to recitations in other papers, or translations. Nevertheless, I am sure that the choice on journals I made represents a range of articles that certainly make obvious the findings of social movement scholars in times of the financial and economic crisis.

To find out about the impact of the financial crisis on social movement theories, it would be insufficient to look only at social movement scholars and reproduce their interpretation of the crisis. The breakdown of capitalism, which had found its expression in scholarly work already in the years 2008 and 2009, has given way to a novel interpretation of society, and social organization, novel in that until recently to look at alternatives to the contemporary capitalist system has been a speciality of Latin America social movement studies, but not so in Western late-capitalist societies. To reproduce the narrative of the destructive force of capitalism that overwhelms any social relationship has been the major concern of critical sociologists and social movement scholars alike. Thus, in order to be able to get a most comprehensive overview concerning social movement theory in and after the financial crisis, and as

²⁶ Even though the number of references and citations would have been an easy solution, due to several institutions that offer different kinds of citation indexes, but not an easily justifiable one: the number of readers or citations is not at all important for my research aim, but rather the passion and integration of the scholars concerned. Further, the index cannot show the quality of references in terms of usability and would offer only a blurry image of relevance structures.

well to avoid being trapped in the specific discourse of a specific field in sociological research while running the risk of overlooking important developments outside this field, I chose to analyze papers written in three different scholarly fields that are related to social movements and social protest. Still, the scholars used for this research can be regarded as social movement scholars, since mostly they are scholar activists giving action notes, and scholars of social change. The fields are: a) Critical Sociology; b) Critical Geography; c) Social Movement Research. Altogether, a pool of fifty-one papers has been analyzed.

The research focus lies on the dimension of emancipation of a) lived and built environment, b) body, c) body and soul, in order to whether we can identify equivalents to social conflict, social mobilization and social creativity, and, if yes, to determine how they appear.

4.1 Critical sociology (21 articles)

- Capital and Class, (CSE; 12 articles)

This UK journal is published three times a year, and is based on the *Conference of Socialist Economists*. According to the editors of this paper, the conference is “committed to developing a materialist critique of capitalism, unconstrained by conventional academic divisions between subjects”.²⁷ In its Marxist tradition, the journal is concerned with radical movements of labor, anti-racism, environmentalism and feminism.

- Jungle World (online; 2 articles)

This German based weekly newspaper considers itself to be a ‘newspaper of pluralistic debates’, and is part of the undogmatic left in Germany. The papers are written by most critical observers of society, often initiating and reflecting debates in the German left.

- PROKLA – Zeitschrift für kritische Sozialwissenschaft (Journal for critical social sciences), (Verlag Westfälisches Dampfboot; 6 articles)

²⁷ <http://www.cseweb.org.uk/> (own translation).

This German journal, with a similar history focuses on the actuality of how “social and ecological ‘follow-up costs’ have to be paid off globally by the majority of humans in the form of poor conditions of living, health risks and political repression”.²⁸ Still in a Marxist tradition, the journal acknowledge the complexity of contemporary structures of capitalist societies and do not try to find a socialist solution by concentrating on a historical privileged carrier of social change.

- *Critical Sociology* (Sage Publications; 1 article)

This US/Canadian-based journal harkens back to a long historical tradition of engagement and theoretical discussion with movements stemming from the 1960s. It provides a wide range of different perspectives on societal alternatives. In a Marxist, post-Marxist, feminist and other critical fashion, the journal publishes papers “on globalization, economic development, religion, the environment, labor movements, social policy, and the sociology (...), all linked by common goals of critically examining how society functions and of exploring the potential for progressive social change”.²⁹

4.2 Critical geography (11 articles)

- *Antipode – A Radical Journal of Geography* (Wiley; 2 articles)

This journal highlights its combination of critical geography of space, scale, place, borders and landscape with a dedication to exploring the geographical constitution of power and resistance. It “aims to challenge dominant and orthodox views of the world through debate, scholarship and politically-committed research, creating new spaces and envisioning new futures. Antipode welcomes the infusion of new ideas and the shaking up of old positions, without being committed to just one view of radical analysis or politics”.³⁰

- *ACME: An International E-Journal for Critical Geographies* (open access; 4 articles)

²⁸ <http://www.prokla.de/aboutframeset.htm>.

²⁹ <http://www.sagepub.com/journalsProdDesc.nav?prodId=Journal201869>.

³⁰ <http://www.wiley.com/bw/journal.asp?ref=0066-4812>.

This international journal is open to papers with a critical perspective on issues of the social, spatial and political. “The journal's purpose is to provide a forum for the publication of critical and radical work about space in the social sciences - including anarchist, anti-racist, environmentalist, feminist, Marxist, non-representational, post-colonial, poststructuralist, queer, situationist and socialist perspectives”.³¹

- *Political Geography* (Elsevier Publications; 2 articles)

This US Journal covers research in different fields concentrating on unequal development. These research fields include: “critical, feminist, and popular geopolitics; electoral geography and policy analysis; identity, landscapes, and representation; peace and conflict studies, states, and territoriality; political ecology and politics of the environment; political economy; quantitative methodologies and spatial analyses based on GIS”.³²

- *Progress in Human Geography* (Sage Publications; 3 articles)

This UK Journal combines geographical work with critical perspectives with a philosophical, conceptual, theoretical, epistemological, methodological and ontological bias. The journal offers “critically informed and diverse accounts of the intellectual traditions and contemporary developments that shape and direct human geographical research and teaching”.³³

4.3 Independent movement research (19 articles)

- *Interface: A Journal for and about Social Movements* (open access; 8 articles)

This multilingual journal, which was first published in January 2009, combines practical and theoretical work on social movements, and is focused on the knowledge produced by activists and academics. The journal “will seek to develop analysis and knowledge by both movement participants and academics who are developing

³¹ <http://www.acme-journal.org/index.html>.

³² http://www.elsevier.com/wps/find/journaldescription.cws_home/30465/description#description

³³ <http://www.uk.sagepub.com/journalsProdDesc.nav?prodId=Journal201826>

movement-relevant theory and research”³⁴. The journal is published online and free, and (partly) relies on the contributing activists for translation and section forming.

- *Political Affairs Magazine* (Communist Party USA; 7 articles)

The US-based Marxist magazine tries to identify social change and innovation, and is affiliated with the US Communist Party. The journal publishes “stories on struggling to defeat the ultra right in the Republican Party, strengthening the labor movement, winning the battle for racial justice, ending war and imperialism, winning women's equality, fighting homophobia and presenting working-class views of popular culture and mass media”³⁵

- *Resistance Studies Magazine* (open access; 4 articles)

This Swedish open access journal was launched in 2008 “to raise awareness of current resistance activities (...), [and] to intensify networking with resistance studies in order to inspire further research and connect researchers around the world”.³⁶

³⁴ <http://www.interfacejournal.net/2008/02/mission-statement.html>.

³⁵ <http://www.politicalaffairs.net/article/static/17/1/3/>.

³⁶ http://rsmag.org/?page_id=14

5 The findings

First of all, it has to be said that the current crisis has led to a remarkable rise in movement literature. Compared to the years 2006 and 2005, the number of papers on social movements has increased dramatically. Due to the complexity of the literature, in the beginning of this research, articles from a much wider range of journals than introduced above were examined to get an overview, but in the end, fifty-one articles found their way into this research. I will now discuss and interpret the findings, and in the subsequent part I will try to interpret the findings in the specific spatial and temporal context of unstable-late-modernity.

The findings reveal that authors are concerned about how alternative realities are formed and created, where they emerge under which conditions, how the actors constitute and represent, and what the new conflicts that arise from it are. The breakdown of the capitalist hegemony and the fall of the TINA discourse has allowed authors to undertake a closer analysis of what is actually happening at the base of society, and by doing so, authors appropriate and analyze several issues and call into question what has been left unquestioned for many years now. The methodology chosen for this paper has opened the possibility of analyzing those scholars who are concerned with alternatives to the contemporary capitalist system, and a growing literature that is concerned with micro- and meso-analysis of society.

Many of the examples that will be introduced are related to peer production, or social production conducted in Internet communities. Their structures are becoming an ideal for social movements, for people being frustrated with the material and hierarchical dependencies of capitalism. For Bauwens (2009) and most of the authors discussed here, peer production is the socialism of the 21st century:

“Social movements that attempt to create open/free, participatory and commons-oriented social forms are emerging on a global scale in every field of human activity, and a deep drive to create the conditions for a transformation towards the generalisation of peer production is in plain view. Just as socialism was the social ideal of the nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century factory worker, so peer-to-peer production is emerging as the social ideal of contemporary knowledge workers” (Bauwens 2009, p.131).

The meaning of life is increasingly centred on participation, with new languages, which are very different from the totalitarian language of socialism and directed towards hostility against corporate strategies that try to staunch the flood of sharing communities (cf. Böhm & Land 2009). Following Bauwens, sharing and the reluctance against closure will lead to a decisive social change, comparable to the shift from slavery to serfdom, which means a production that becomes more human, but still for the advantage of the old ruling elites.

A combination of green capitalism and new forms of participation will introduce this step. Only when even green capitalism comes to an end of growth, and peer production and participation have become a real alternative, new modes of production will clear off capitalism. The upcoming class struggles and social protests have, in this regard, a new quality, related to value creation of social production communities. Communities directly create use value and wealth, while the capitalist system requires real money to get daily goods (cf. Orsi 2009, p.33-34; Vaden & Suoranta 2009, p.166). The value is used by private firms in monetary means, but that money only very partially goes back to the community. Simply put, the money earned by the community and its members, is taken away from the community. Thus, there is an analogy to the labour-capitalist relations that was, in slightly different terms, mentioned by Dafermos & Söderberg (2009): between the owners of capital and the new adoptions, and between the peer producers and platform owners. Peer producers seek the widening of free space, while ensuring the supply of material goods (cf. Vadén & Suoranta 2009, p.174, Vadén and Suoranta introduce 'freedoms' as a measurement for alternatives, starting from 'closed' (near capitalism), extending to 'triple free', (near communism). The bias on alternative realities, and especially alternative production on the Internet is not accidental, but very much inspired so by the capitalist crisis.

The structure of the presentation is as follows:

The first subchapter, *Plurality and Emancipation*, shows that and how many authors re-investigate Marxist theory, in order to find out in how far the concept of emancipation is applicable to plurality in contrast to the idea of unified revolution. Thus, a first bias is laid upon the revaluation of communal activity. The second subchapter, *Emancipation of lived and built environment*, focuses on social actors and the emancipation of their daily environment. The third subchapter, *Emancipation of*

body, concentrates on how social actors widen their possibility of decision-making. The fourth subchapter, *Emancipation of body and soul*, shows the motivation, intention and conscious action that is done to avoid heteronomy.

5.1 Plurality and Emancipation

The current financial and economic crisis has raised new interest in Marxist theory, in scholarly work as well as in social movements themselves. The idea of *socialism* as an alternative to *capitalism* is back in public discussions, but in completely different terms than what had been anticipated by socialism in the twentieth century – the monolithic one-party power exercise with its horrible human disregarding expressions. This is a new development that should raise some eyebrows.

Götsch (2009) deplors the fact that since the 1990s socialist models have not been a matter of discussion within the alter-globalization movement (ibid, p.229). After the downfall of the Soviet Union, the TINA discourse has infected even the strongest forces of the left: socialism was reduced to the horrible one-party phenomenon of the twentieth century, and most parts of left wing scholarship were eager to humanize capitalism, instead of abolishing it (Bua 2008, p.68). Hoffrogge (2009) relates this not only to the horrible experiences with state-socialism, but as well to the difficult procedure of thinking a non-capitalist alternative within the given political-economical frame of capitalism. As a consequence, left wing politics as well as left movements are consciously or unconsciously actors in the neo-liberal (TINA) discourse, and to maintain socialist or social-democratic parties and organizations has come to be the *end in itself*, instead of a *means to an end* (ibid, p.295). Accordingly, Götsch criticizes the idea of market socialism as proposed by some well-known organizations such as attac, as it would only include the claims for a regulated capitalism without a critical analysis of private property and emancipation, which would be inevitable in avoiding new capitalist catastrophes. Researchers who are willing to find real alternatives have to widen (or, rather, shift) their perspective towards a possible outside of the hegemony of neoliberal capitalism (cf. Phoebe Moore & Athina Karatzogianni 2009).

For Zelik (2009), market socialism would not even *be* a variation of socialism. To underline this thought, Zelik highlights the similarities between capitalism and state

socialism, by putting the incapacity of emancipation, and thus the incapacity of both social systems to achieve democracy, human production and environmental compatibility, at the centre of the discussion. Admittedly, both systems were intended to achieve the highest possible economic growth. Zelik notes three major points to consider:

- a) In all kinds of state socialism, there was a leading group that has ruled against the will of its people (ibid, p. 212). That has led to central bureaucracy with material privileges, which entailed a similar class relationship as we can observe it in western capitalism. An invisible class struggle, with non-compliance as a strategy, was the consequence: Managers and workers created own plans to achieve the demanded production, which for different reasons ended up in pointless production. The state socialist economy was unable to compensate this struggle;
- b) State socialism had economic growth as the major aim, which prevented alternative thought structures. The aims came from above and led to terror against the people (ibid, p. 216);
- c) The central planning of economy had limits similar to the capitalist system, which had similar consequences as in the west: high working hours, consumption of resources and misappropriation of commodities.

Exploitation and environmental destruction are central to state-socialism as well as to capitalism. What, then, has been the Marxist idea of a socialist society?

According to Bua (2008), Marx was never a scholar of socialism, but a scholar of capitalism. Marx has called attention to the reality of capitalist destructive processes, but never really mentioned what a socialist or communist future would look like (except for the common known historical determinism):

“Marx limited himself to proclaiming “politics” to be replaced by an “association of free producers” where “the development of each is the development of all” (Marx & Engels 1848) admittedly, vague at best, but never intended to be more than that” (ibid, p.72).

Following this argumentation, Stalinism was one of many possible outcomes of Marxian philosophy. Instead,

“despite the prophetic qualities that some of its advocates have granted it, Marxism is not perfect or monolithic, it must be open to change. In order to do this crude economic determinism must be left behind, everything does not root squarely into and is not perfectly explained by production alone” (ibid, p. 73).

Furthermore, it is difficult to hold that with the fall of capitalism politics would end as well. This notion of the ‘end of politics’ would imply that capitalism would tend to determine the political, and ‘this is not necessarily automatically so, the relationship is more complex’. Further, Bua explains that “even within Marx’ and Lenin’s account there is a “phase of development” where, under a communist economic structure the old “cultural laws” of the previous capitalist society along with a “bourgeois state” remain. This implies some form of separation between the economic and political spheres, even if this separation is limited to a delayed reaction by political structure to economic change” (ibid, p.74). Bua sees the potential in ‘the politics of autonomous groups’ to be able to intermeditate between conflicting groups in a truly democratized and plural communist society. Thus, the communist idea can be well applied by scholars and social movements who put emphasis on the diversity of social groups, since it is not at all necessary to give up ideals to achieve the best common good.

Communism can be the symposium of diverse groups and communities. Social movements and alternative economies connected to it can account for this alternative. Siefkes (2009) describes the advent of a new kind of method of production, the peer economy, as possible alternative communities. Pushing forward the arguments of Zelik and Götsch, the author searches for alternatives that are not a variation of capitalism and do not help just to improve capitalism, but may be able to dissolve it in the long run (Siefkes 2009, p. 249). Similar to Bua (2009), Siefkes sets forth the idea that communism is not necessarily a planned economy, but aims at eliminating the negative consequences of capitalist production. Thus, according to Siefkes, Marxian theory can help analyze alternatives to capitalism, using six characteristics of capitalism: narrow-mindedness, fetishism, criticality, destructivity, exploitation and normalization.

As Hoffroge remarks, the negation of capitalism cannot be primarily developed in theory, but rather must be conducted in practice, which leads researchers to the question of how Socialism can be reappropriated for its use in social movement studies. Demirovic (2009) understands practical critique as social revolution, not political

emancipation or political revolution. According to Demirovic, a revolution that aims at emancipation of social actors cannot be political. Demirovic's Marx interpretation is built on four principles: a) individuals and citizens have to become one, in conscious cooperation with everybody; b) the state must not be dissolved, but has to die off step by step, which can only be achieved by disregarding the distinction of specific/general, living individual/species, private/public; a new social constitution must not undertake this distinction; c) the political emancipation and political revolution must not appear, since it would entail authoritarian consequences (ibid. p. 188); d) emancipation of humankind can be achieved through the emancipation of the working class. Following Marx, Demirovic stresses that communes are the first steps of social emancipation, such as the Paris Commune, that had been the best example of an emancipative movement in terms of replacement of the state by the community.

5.2 The emancipation of lived and built environment

This part will be divided into two subdivisions: *Presenting the lived and built environment*, and *Solidarity in lived and built environment*. As has been discussed above, conflict was and still is a central concept in post-traditional movement research. According to this school of research, social actors choose to present their lived and built environment through conflict.³⁷ Conflict in this sense is not to be understood as violence on the streets, but the *act of posing a problem* - that may lead to demonstrations on the streets in its consequence. This was emancipative in two ways: on one hand, it gives members of disadvantaged groups the opportunity to raise public awareness for their specific problematization; on the other hand, a 'collective identity' is created, and collective interests can be found, especially in escalating moments, when solidarity is strengthened because of the identification of the same enemy. Both rely on the unification of the protesters as one monolithic group.

In late-modern societies, where plurality is praised, it would seem appropriate to propose that the 'louder' and stronger a group is, the easier it is for them to be heard. Instead, scholars refrain from analyzing conflict in order to understand the emancipation of lived and built environment. The presentation of the community, as well as the creation of solidarity, is not searched for in posing a problem.

³⁷ To be sure, orthodox movement theory includes more than one conceptualization of producing representation and solidarity, but conflict seems to be central to it.

5.2.1 Presentation of lived and built environment

In his paper “Where is Hardt and Negri’s Multitude? Real Networks in Open Spaces”, Pierpaolo Mudu (2009) observes that the praxis of activists and Antonio Negri’s concept of spatiality diverge. While the concept of multitude highlighted the possibilities of social actors who would unify and constitute a multiple social force that might oppose and change the dominant order of the Empire, as typical for post-traditional social movement theory, the G8 anti-neoliberal protests in Genoa as analysed by Mudu brought together a wide coalition of a variety of grassroots organizations, but the actors would not have managed to unify in a corresponding multitude. Instead of relying on the romantic ideal of a strong revolutionary force, Mudu calls for an analysis of the emancipative features of activism and underlines, in this context, the importance of spatiality. According to Mudu, a mere binary perspective tends to neglect the differences between actors of each side (ibid, p. 234; 235). Mudu states that the free room-less movement of a multitude alone was not tantamount to a free society (ibid, p. 233), but that the elements of a movement would have to be emancipative in various ways in order to approach a free society. According to Mudu, space is still a factor, and cannot be neglected in social movement theory:

“In Genoa, networks were not independent from the establishment (...) but from each other, absent in each other’s space but collectively defeated. These networks were interdependent until the moment of confrontation with the ‘establishment’, then, they rejected their interdependency to be separated and separately beaten, crushed and subjugated one by one by the violence of the police” (ibid, p.235-236).

According to Mudu, it is not necessary to conceptually frame the spectacular activities of social actors, “that is, political actions that are successful without being controlled and manipulated by media activity” (p. 237), but the issue of how they network should be further developed in social movement theory, much more contextualized and articulated, since members of different communities act differently to each other and produce different ways of resisting the system. Mudu reminds us that circulation is not *per se* a revolutionary act, and that open space is not necessarily a political framework of resistance.

Wainwright & Kim (2008) in their paper “Battles in Seattle Redux – Transnational Resistance to a Neoliberal Trade Agreement”, come to a similar conclusion in their interpretation of the Seattle protests of 1999 and 2006. Those protests were not

homogeneous, as proposed by Hardt and Negri, but “much more nuanced, complex, and uneven” (ibid, p. 521). The activists even had many aftermath debates on who failed and who succeeded and in what way, which provides room for high discrepancies. Further, the protesters in Seattle were mainly people who had very similar understanding of and experiences in the world, accepting similar life-styles and, above all, were from the host country, while the huge differences to activists in different parts of the world do not necessarily converge.

In his paper “Wor Diary: A Case of D.I.Y Alternative History”, Michael Duckett (2009) highlights the importance of local particularities in social movement research, i.e. that social actors, in this case workers, create their own language, and that the terms of this language were meaningless without local background knowledge. It is the place in which people act that is important, even though it does not mean anything for others who look at it from a distance. That the lived and built environment matters is accepted widely in literature, and not seldom these differences impede unity. According to Fleetwood (2009), for example, in his paper “Workers and Their Alter Egos as Consumers”, workers would care about their own well being, but as well also about the well being of others and the well being of the human race itself. Fair-trade movements showed that there is some kind of consciousness of the conflicting situation that emerged when desires encounter production in cheap labour countries, thus activities of different spaces would encounter each other in some way and social actors were aware of the differences. Fleetwood explains that the relative smallness of this movement did not mean that consumers in Western countries would not care about the conditions of producing and living in other regions, but maybe they do not feel that fair-trade movement can reach much.

In the literature I reviewed, the differences in activism are often related to the strength of the capitalist system that surrounds the lived and built environment of social actors. Contradicting Zízek, Vadén and Suoranta (2009) assume, for example, that the hypothesis that capitalism is universal and over-determines all non-economic parts of social life is difficult to maintain. In a sense, this is a revolutionary assumption and seems valid in an explanation of differences in activism to a certain degree. In their paper “A Definition and Criticism of Cybercommunism”, Vadén and Suoranta understand Zízek’s argument in that diversification, decentralization of power, self-organisation and local creativity would be the main features of contemporary capitalism. By criticizing this perception, Vadén and Suoranta make clear that

there is a difference between *plurality* that is immanent to the system, and *diversity* that is not digestible by – and thus transcending capitalism (ibid, p. 165). It would be the spread of Western products and distribution processes that render local community production in third world countries impossible, since the prices for raw materials were getting too high, and the prices for Western commodities stayed low. For Vadén and Suoranta, the fact that community production is impossible shows that capitalism could not deal with these diverse modes of production, so they had to be defeated. In return, the choice between options becomes the choice between Western options, which then describes the new plurality. Western actors, however, had no chance to escape from plurality into diversity:

“The group of people whose human rights are ‘virtual’ can expect roughly a ‘half-life’ compared to rich western people. Conversely, the ‘virtual’ freedom that the rich western netocracy enjoys does not extend to the freedom to abandon cooperation with capitalism. (...) As long as the cybercommunists and workers of immaterial production are not wholly spectral, they have to eat food and die a death” (ibid., p. 165-166).

With this theoretical background, we may have a first grasp of the significance of how activists in different regions and communities experience capitalism. This does not mean that social actors try to react in direct action towards capitalism, but that the capitalist influence especially on money and time matters, and provides the contextual frame for activists. As we will see soon, this is related to the level of ‘capitalist embeddedness’ of community action.

Vadén and Suoranta address the issue of media on the Internet and its ties to capitalism. The technical and political conditions for overcoming capitalism would lie in the availability of electricity and food, two fundamental needs that are still provided by private companies. Thus, the digital world was still ruled by external political forces. If social actors could not manage completely to overcome “the private ownership of material resources – the ideology of FOSS remains another one-issue social movement” (ibid, p. 166).³⁸ Vadén and Suoranta make a very interesting argument here, in saying that social activity in community production does not or should not lead to a ‘one-issued social movement’, but obviously needs to cover many issues to make the community stable and independent. Instead of having one party that would lead the masses into this stable and independent community, Vadén

³⁸ FOSS = Free and Open Source Software

and Suoranta assume that it is rather emancipation through disorientation that liberates dialect, “local differences, and rationalities, each with its own distinctive grammar and syntax” (Peters and Lankshear, 1996, cited in Vaden & Suoranta 2009, p. 176). The authors come to the agreement that emancipation understood in this way appears to be time-consuming and expansive, and that the social and individual conditions can only be provided by wealthy states and strong welfare and educational systems:

“What is needed is a counter-move to free people’s minds and intellectual resources from the wage slavery of the corporation, as well as from the slavery of the state and its marketised educational system” (ibid, p.168).

Vadén and Suoranta are sure that activists could challenge the contemporary capitalist system, as long as they were not occupied in selling their work-force, and have a chance to realize their own freedom. Were that the case, capitalism could not maintain itself. Vadén and Suoranta conclude that information technology could allow for such a freedom,

“providing they do not fall into a corporate trap; that is, that they not only acknowledge business interests and new modes in capitalist commodification around social media, but that they are also able to detach capitalist tendencies from voluntary work, work for fun or work just for the sake of it” (ibid, p. 170).

The principles for socialist media are similar to those principles worked out above with regard to other forms of social production: the absence of alienation, self-organisation, voluntary participation and autonomy-in-interdependence. Within these movements, activists can change the legitimization strategies of the community through performativity:

” (...) the idea of reflective uncertainty has a family resemblance with the ‘learning as participation’ metaphor that emphasises participation in various cultural practices and shared learning activities (...). In this metaphor, knowledge and learning are situated and created in people’s everyday life as part of their socio-cultural context, which existentially includes the material means of subsistence or production” (ibid, p. 175).

Instead of looking at social movements on a large scale, Vadén and Suoranta call attention to activists in communal activity who constantly widen their scope of action and are increasingly becoming the masters of their own community.

To return to Fleetwood (2009) and his paper “Workers and their alter egos as consumers”, he urges researchers to understand that workers are consumers and producers alike, and that only to see them as workers would eliminate the second system immanent connection (and thus, location) to the mechanisms of exploitation. Despite the fact that workers cared about others, as mentioned above, workers as consumers would not show any care about the producers of the goods they buy and the working conditions of those workers, even though in interviews they say they would definitely care (*ibid*, p.34ff). Fleetwood explains this observation with the Marxian notion of fetishism. The social relations are based upon money, and the producers disappear and are not a matter of consideration (*ibid*, p.44). The fact that one worker is exchanging his working hours with the working hours of others is invisible in the act of exchange. Even though workers could in some cases avoid direct exploitation, they are still inside the mechanism of exploitation as long as they buy products produced by exploited workers.

Orsi (2009) has a similar gloomy perspective, saying that it is most unlikely that peer production will become a substitute for capitalism because of the circumstances of making a livelihood, and the environment in the real world. In her work “Knowledge Based Society, Peer Production and the Common Good”, she finds that even though in the social production community the workers may be relatively free from capitalist production by producing use value and not exchange value (cf. Bauwens 2009; Vadén & Suoranta 2009), and for-benefit instead of for-profit, they are still involved in the official reality by their daily shopping and living, thus pushing forward the fragmentation of the society (Orsi 2009, p. 33-34, cf. Vaden & Suoranta 2009, p. 166). Bauwens (2009) argues in a similar way, stating that even though social actors try to seal off the alternative community from the official reality in order to reappropriate space, there are some difficult issues relating to the consequences of such a procedure. The social producers still put their money into the social production process, and the crucial question is whether this leads to a higher command and control potential for those actors who put more money inside, or, simply put, if those with a higher income in a capitalist production system can gain a higher status in the alternative system by monetary means.

Again, Vadén and Suoranta (2009) argue that even though social production reminded of a form of communism, researchers should not forget about what different kind of communities exist, and what their relation to the outer world means. The

contemporary system only allowed for plurality, as noted before, which meant totality (ibid, p. 163), and according to Vadén and Suoranta, the FOSS movement was only another example of structural violence. Linux, for example, would be heavily based on Western influence, most developers were from the North, well educated and male, and US-military influence was quantitatively higher than that of Southern Countries, while Wikipedia mirrors the language hegemony against the South (ibid, p.164). Thus, Vadén and Suoranta conclude, hegemonial power structures dominate the digital sphere as well.

Social actors seem to be ever more engaged in widening their own scope of action. To analyze this, researchers tend to move away from a conflict-based analysis, since activists as described here do not seem to seek media attention at all, and they do not seek open conflict to position themselves in the public discourse in order to make their claims, but rather form a public discourse around themselves. In the 1960s, activists very often used communities to orchestrate conflicts, as a starting point towards street mobilization. Today, communities seem to create some kind of *alternative reality* instead of a single-issue conflict. Accordingly, it seems that there is no unification that would allow for a movement analysis based on conflict. But as we will see now, movement scholars still use the conflict-determinant, and in some cases it is still used to analyse how activists call attention to their lived and built environment.

To understand power relations that effect social actors in their daily life, Hall draws on the “power cube”, a metaphor coined by John Gaventa. Like a Rubik’s cube, there are three dimensions in which the cube can be turned, and almost unlimited ways in which power appears on the surface. The three dimensions are: level of power (supra national/national/regional); places of power (closed/invited/claimed-created); forms of power (visible/hidden/invisible). Hall avoids placing social movements somewhere, but remarks that power as understood in social movement learning lies in the power of “turning imagination into lived reality” (p. 65). He does not put social movements in the location where citizens are engaged to participate in politics (invited space), but where they claim and create space themselves.

Still, to relate space and alternative realities to the resistance potential and capacity for transition from one mode of production to another, emancipative one has been undertaken by many scholars in the papers analyzed for this research (i.e. Siefkes 2009), but most elaborated so in the text “Class and Capital in Peer Production” by

Michel Bauwens (2009). As we have seen, social production is both transcendent to the capitalist system and immanent to it. Even though social production is co-opted by the system in some features, Bauwens is sure that activists in communal production might be able to overcome the current system since they can strengthen the group's autonomy, and within this autonomy new forms of life and production. Social producers can voluntarily assemble capital assets (availability of raw material); design participatory governance processes (participatory processing); and make sure that the common product stays common (commons oriented output).

As noted before, there are still conflicts and they can even help activists to call attention to their lived and built environment. One major conflict that may arise around the question of space and, for example, the Internet community is, again, related to the question of autonomy or heteronomy, and the question of means of production. The means of production, the software facilities that have been produced mostly by white, male Western engineers, are shifted from their actual purpose to another in two ways (Dafermos and Söderberg 2009): firstly, programmers of an alternative movement alienate those whom they serve and the means of production, so that only they as workers have control over the complicated software packs; and secondly, software developers hide their procedures and potentials, so that managers are incapable of finding a tool to adequately choose programmers for their company. Neither education nor bibliography or grades can guarantee whether the worker will produce a qualitatively high outcome (*ibid.*, p. 57). Since the development costs are the highest in the software production, the reaction of managers was not long time in the coming: 'automatic programming' and methodologization (special guidelines that can be easily controlled) were introduced as new production principles for the workers. Thus, the labour process has been fragmented, and programmers were not allowed to have knowledge over the end product (Dafermos & Söderberg 2009, p. 57).

Authors found a specific kind of collective identity arising within and between the alternative realities, not one that focuses on the feeling of belonging together by way of declaring a certain aim by open conflict, but one that highlights the significance of a specific 'local identity', that even may span globally regardless of aims and declarations. Due to a shift from mere discourse-oriented action towards non-representational oriented action, social actors give certain strength to this specific 'local identity', as then it has the possibility of avoiding the discourse-based homogenization of social representations, meaning the hegemonic discourse that para-

phrases activities and extracts critical impact through a paradigmatic shift that often renders alternatives insignificant by making them part of hegemonic strategy. In the following paragraphs, the discussion of what identity is in our specific context, meaning what collective identity of alternative realities is in the local/global dimension, shall be at the centre.

In her discussion on local based activism in the US, Sara Koopman (2008) critically analyzes the identification of her own activist group, and the identification with the other. According to Koopman, it would be naive to suggest becoming an equal one with those who suffer, be it in the same or in a different country, since that would neglect the differences of power and white-wash the sins of the individual, and thus would justify, in a sense, what has been done to the other (ibid, p. 297). Koopman goes on to say that a “not in my name” strategy, built upon the idea of innocence while born in an imperialist state, serves as blinder: “We ease our conscience, and are thereby less compelled to look at other intimate daily ways we participate in and perpetuate systems of domination” (ibid, p. 297; cf. Mudu 2009). Thus, local action can be immanent to Empire when it does not account for globality, and global action can be immanent to Empire when it does not account for locality. To solve this paradox, Koopman introduces three ways to achieve geographical accountability: to account for our position in the grid we are in,

“sharing our stories and being self-reflective about how we benefit from privilege and colonial patterns (...), hold each other accountable for geoeconomic and geopolitical positions in the world, social locations, and what we do with and about them (accountable as in responsible for)” and “take the power from those empire forces directly involved, and take the lead (accountable as in responsible to)” (ibid, p. 298).

Even though Koopman ascertains that a movement has to work with the tools of empire and cannot just leave it behind, since there would be no outside, her paper has become part of this research. Certainly, when she states that to look for an alternative outside the hegemonic discourse may blind us to the power relations that are still in our heads, it seems that Koopman would not acknowledge the possibility of alternatives, but her argument on *disembodiment* is still useful for this analysis. According to her, there are certain mechanisms at work that have the capacity of disconnecting social activity from the action itself, and then it becomes a part of the hegemonic discourse (cf. Fülberth 2009; Schmid 2009). If that visibilization is not taking place,

Koopmans conceptualization leaves room for alternative realities. Still, that this disembodiment of social actors is taking place, and related to the closeness of communities, is one of the arguments of Koopman. One of those dimensions is introduced in her research paper “Imperialism Within: Can the Master’s Tool Bring Down Empire?”, in which she writes,

“empire is global, but it depends on the intimate. Many of us carry imperialism within. The good helper role is one that white middle-class women have classically played, and which solidarity activists more widely now may fall into” (ibid, p. 284).

Koopman’s analysis is based on collaborative theorizing, as an attempt to decolonize solidarity. She sees her work as part of the global justice movement, and with it works toward solidarity primarily with Latin American groups with an approach to *alter-something*, not *anti-something* (ibid, p. 287). From that perspective she is able to identify the spatial closeness of social protest:

“Even as we work against the empire, we do so from within the grid, the spaces of power-knowledge that shape what we see and who we can be (Foucault, 1994). None of us are ever truly off the grid, but seeing what we can of it may make it less seductive, and be a tool for shifting it, and enacting our individual and collective becomings with more discernment” (ibid, p. 289).

As mentioned above, the visibility of action is one factor that may endanger the group’s emancipative action. What people *do* may be good, but to be put on a pedestal and be admired by everyone – which the author understands to be one of the great joys of solidarity – is a questionable thing: “Being seen as good for doing this work reinforces that sense of Self that distances us from those we are trying to work in solidarity with” (ibid, p.292). Thus, Koopman calls to attention the difference between solidarity and charity, the question of doing work *for* others or *with* others.

Many other scholars address the *globality/locality* issue and relate it to ‘local identity’. In his paper “Understanding Social Structure in the Context of Global Uncertainties”, Francisco Entrena-Durán (2009) explains that local structures are always related to what is happening at the global scale. While life is accelerating rapidly, the global present-time is undermining the socio-cultural certainties as it is disrupting “the spatial-temporal coordinates constituting the basic mainstays of the said certainties” (ibid, p. 523). Since neoliberal transformation has led to unstable and flexible, unprotected and informal work, it is important to look at the construction, decon-

struction and reconstruction processes of social structures (ibid, p. 525). According to Entrena-Durán, to look at the dichotomy between ‘embedding’ and ‘disembedding’, ‘tying up’ and ‘untying’, or ‘movement’ and ‘immobility’ in order to understand the locality-globality dimension of social action is misleading, since “some social relationships going (or trying to go) beyond their daily local contexts of social interaction” (ibid, p. 526). Entrena-Durán states that the strength of social links of activists of different communities is related to the fragmentation and diversification of class structures due to the social disruptive consequences of neoliberal capitalism, so that the hope that community spirit and community solidarity may “rescue us from a series of problems and worries, such as, for example, social dissolution, materialism, individualism, mercantilism and other ‘ills’ of the present urban and globalized world” (ibid, p. 526) is attractive and powerful. To grasp the complexity of the locality-globality dimension, Entrena-Durán introduces the concept of reterritorialization. He argues that globalization deterritorializes local structures, which means that decisions over regional structures are made in far away places. From this perspective, social actors increasingly would lose control over their lived and built environment. This led to the reinforcement of territorialization, which Entrena-Durán calls reterritorialization (cf. Popescu 2008). This has strong impacts on social conflict, since struggles are undertaken on local levels. When the decisions are made somewhere else, the effect is different and leads to a re-identification with the territory, and local governments and communities grow stronger and demand more autonomy to find shelter in times of radical uncertainties. Anyway, reterritorialization can have negative impacts when it is exclusive and tends to be nationalistic:

“On one hand, the expression reterritorialization alludes to processes tending to favour development in a local territory by gaining autonomy in the socioeconomic, politico-institutional or cultural management of its social structure. In this case, the term reterritorialization often has a positive connotation. But, on the other hand, cases of reterritorialization can include different facts such as fundamentalisms, visceral nationalisms, trends to the social grouping or re-tribalism and other similar phenomena, which are examples of thick-headed local reactions facing the disastrous and erosive socioeconomic effects caused by post-Fordist neoliberal globalization” (Entrena-Durán 2009, p. 532).

Though this distinction is important in many ways, and is discussed several times in this chapter, we can summarize by saying that nation-states are eroded from above by the globalized market forces and this shifts decision-making competences, and

from the bottom, as reaction to the many crisis neoliberal policy entails, by a stronger sense of community, which is getting ever more powerful. The movements inherit the new strength of social links, and are no longer determined by class structures, but rather by territory (Entrena-Durán, p. 534). Interestingly, for Staheli (2008), membership of a community does not seem to be bound to fixed territories. Activists can identify themselves with one or the other group, raise one flag or the other, which leads to an increasing complexity of identification. Identity does not seem to be the place of conflict for many activists (ibid, p. 11), and reappropriation entails a shift in citizen identity and political participation. While in many cases marginalized groups are not part of the wider public realm, in their action they “redefined the centre and became the public as the basis for a new multicultural nation” (ibid, p. 12). This interpretation breaks with the idea that the collective identity of an alternative reality has to be bound to a certain issue, or territory. Class disagreements are pushed to the background in favour of the communitarian social links, building “inter-class alliances on a regional or local scale” (Entrena-Durán, p. 534), which depends on the degree to which the global forces have an impact on the daily life of social actors.

What seems at stake for the authors is neither a collective identity that holds the group together nor an exclusive identification with the local, but building an identity with regard to the local, thus a ‘local identity’ means the identification of the self as a human being whose existence is tightly bound to its lived and built environment. It is neither the identification with the local government, local people or local nature, nor the identification with a global movement on a local base. As David Landy (2009) argues, identities are built in and around the community, the movement and the wider discourse: “So it is with social movement actors – the question is to what extent the field, the terrain of activism the social movement activists chooses to contest, affects both their identification and ideology” (p. 194). On one side, as Koopman teaches us, identity needs to be related to the social locality, power relations and awareness of one’s own involvement, thus the local has to be seen in relation to the global (cf. Gibson-Graham 2008, p. 622 her notion of *interplace solidarity*). On another side, as Entrena-Durán and Landy teach us, the impact of global forces on local identities is so various that a global movement identity is impossible to think of. On a third side, as seen in Staheli’s study, local ties and identity are not necessarily places of conflict: social actors may quickly adopt different identities, but always related to the local imbroglio. This all is achieved without an open conflict stated.

This leads to a *policiphality* of social actors who can live and identify with different groups and communities and economic systems. Following this interpretation, a local community can exist globally. Bernd & Boeckler (2009), for example, are at present exploring the question of spatial borders in this context. They argue that borders are not

“pre-given, with goods, people, ideas and capital moving between these places and crossing borders (...) but the global movements of capital, goods, people and ideas always involve an ambivalent double play of de-bordering (overflowing) and bordering (framing) process” (ibid, p. 546).

Staheli argues that states often try to foster communities and their engagement in social welfare and crime reduction, but often, it does not work:

“It is no surprise, therefore, that a significant portion of the energy given to capacity-building is in the realm of economic development (...), presumably with the idea that economic development will bring the money to communities that will enhance their capacity over time” (ibid, p. 15).

This may be explainable in the definition of ‘local identity’, in that money only accounts for a small part of local communities and local identities in so far that alternative realities, even if only based on social production, are much more than solely an economic system.

The importance of ‘local identity’ can as well be seen in the action note of Süreyya Evren (2009). He places attention on the point that living in an alternative reality runs the risk of one becoming proud of this state of being different, and turns into an ideology which is solely trying to achieve an aim, but at the same time detaching from the base. In his paper “Alternative Publishing Experience in Istanbul”, Evren defines his publishing activity with the journal *Karasin* as an attempt to leave the system of publishing by avoiding any legal frame. The first period was working at home with a copy machine:

“Karasin was prioritising becoming independent media, to be ‘outside’ the institutions. We were writing, translating, preparing and publishing at home and distributing the results ourselves” (ibid, p.163).

In the second period, the distance to the dominant system was made a little shorter. They opened themselves to the official reality after having worked under the carpet of society for a long time, making distance closer in order to reach more read-

ers. They worked together with another Turkish magazine. But even though the number of copies increased, social change through affecting each other was much more limited (ibid, p. 165). The pride of being outside the system and having to say something special in ideological terms lead them to work together with an established newspaper, but the impact on the community was different. Thus, the third period describes their going back to the roots with different ideas for publishing. According to Evren, the motivation was not the increased heteronomy, but an understanding of how best to reach the people.

Instead of changes on a large scale, authors constantly draw on the ‘living and dwelling together’ of social actors, who only become who they are in interrelation with others, “via the social relationships they establish within their communities” (Orsi 2009, p. 39). The practical and moral relationships of people appear within communities, relationships in human nature, always affected by the state and fate of others (ibid, p. 40). To state an open conflict does not seem to be helpful in making a community visible in the public discourse, since social actors do not make the one community itself the major point of reference. The communities are interrelated, and social actors are switching between different realities on different local bases, which allows for a specific ‘local identity’ that is different from one activist to the other, but still counts for ‘collective’ identity that can give social actors a chance to locate themselves in late-modern societies. The fact that there are different forms of social movements, traditional as well as ‘new’ social movements, and this novel, growing kind of movement, may demonstrate that the current state of transition urges activists to engage in a variety of protest forms. For this novel form of alternative reality social movement, as explained, conflict is hostile to presentation. Presentation is performance, social actors show, and practice at the local level, that a different life is possible. The following statement can be made: while post-traditional movement theory uses conflict-based analysis to understand the positioning of the lived and built environment in the public discourse, lived and built environments are understood differently in the papers I analyzed; social actors create a public sphere around the centre of their community, and the analysis has changed from conflict-based to community based analysis.

5.2.2 Solidarity in lived and built environment

Not surprisingly, solidarity is one of the major issues highlighted in the discussions of alternative realities. Many hackers for example distance themselves from the notion of the ‘information age’, which describes a society of individualists, consumers and entrepreneurs (Dafermos and Söderberg 2009, p.56). While working inside a community, social actors solidify solidarity by mutual recognition, while working in the official reality destroys solidarity due to the ongoing economization of social relationships. Scholars argue that non-capitalist realities often are created with a different logic of social relations, where solidarity is put before profit maximizing strategies. According to Zelik (2009), this theorem should be exactly at the centre of today’s discussions about social movements. In his paper “Nach dem Kapitalismus: Warum der Staatssozialismus ökonomisch ineffizient war und was das für Alternativen von heute bedeutet” (After Capitalism: Why state-socialism was economically inefficient, and what that means for alternatives today), Zelik distances himself from any positive or negative critique of campaigns made and claims stated by social movements, and concentrates on a description of how social actors practice and create solidarity, which many scholars find the most dynamic activity in alternative communities. Social production such as the commons projects *Wikipedia* and the operation system *Linux*, as well as social actors that reappropriate social services such as electricity and water distribution systems, would be untypical, partly non-capitalist oriented alternatives that follow different production modes. The joining activists engaged on a base of free cooperation, not coercion or order, but convincement of the administrators (cf. Siefkes 2009, p.265), which leads to a fostering of social bonds and higher social density. Every member of a community gives something to the society, and in turn, the community owes something to the members (cf. Orsi 2009).

In his paper “Creative Democracy – Wisdom Councils at Work”, Caspar Davis (2009) reports about Wisdom councils that came into being in 1996, as a group without a name of fifty people exchanging ideas, which extended to a no-name-university in which retired professors taught to the interested audience. Here, the learning procedures of knowledge production strengthened the group’s solidarity. ‘Dynamic Facilitation’, a dialogue strategy used by the group, helped finding solutions to “impossible” problems by generating new ideas instead of adhering to one of the old ones.

While the democratic decision processes always took a long time and are less efficient in terms of visible outcomes, strong social bonds grew between the group members, social actors who were actually a group of strangers.

Staheli (2008) calls attention to the issue of exclusion and inclusion of local communities and movements. Her work “Citizenship and the Problem of Community” focuses on communities and their implicit contradictions, but in the first place shows that social actors create safe places, start self-help procedures, and develop participative fields to reduce conflict and contestation (ibid, p.7). According to Staheli, inclusive activity is more a passive strategy, while in the process of defining conditions for exclusion, social actors develop deliberative strategies, and only through this deliberation of exclusion a community can become a political community with inclusive procedures (ibid, p. 9). These exclusive procedures are not necessarily related to a collective identity, which underlines the argumentation in the previous part, but are mechanisms intended to secure the well-being of the community. This is true, for example, if social actors who are marginalized in the official reality are excluding wealthy actors who want to join the project and help the community, since the activists fear losing their freedom *within* the group. The aims of communities are often directed at giving a voice to the members who otherwise cannot develop skills in argumentation and speaking for themselves, and assistance, for example by engaged wealthy students from elite universities who want to join would, so the members feared, slow down the community learning procedure (ibid, p. 9). While Staheli is, on the other hand, very concerned that communities could be the outcome of neo-liberal efforts to weaken the state and increase self-reliance, Hayes-Conroy (2008) states that the basic ideas of communality, however, were still in a rather anarchist tradition, hence the advantages of taking care of each other and being more sensible to social and ecological inequalities. Having said this in her paper “Hope for Community? Anarchism, Exclusion, and the Non-Human Realm”, Hayes-Conroy underlines the importance of inclusive and exclusive procedures within a community, which certainly has to be addressed by researchers and activists. The difference to be made is that of ‘privileging’ and ‘defensive’ localism, in which activists often tend to overlook social inequalities, but instead reinforce community-based economic strategies to secure and increase their own wealth (ibid, p. 31), while in other cases of community-building people become active because of the need for a ‘safe’ space and ‘empowerment’ strategies for marginalized groups. Exclusion and inclusion are both

important factors building solidarity, a fact which in turn provides scope for the members to secure their lived and built environment. Drawing on her own experiences, Hayes-Conroy states that complete inclusiveness is absent in any community, while partial exclusivity is produced. This partial exclusivity may lead to “a little social pressure (...) [that] does not seem so bad” (ibid, p. 32).

Other authors remind us that capital is not tired of integrating the new sense of solidarity into its structures of production, especially when solidarity and well-being of the community is valued more highly than monetary incentives, and not only in terms of neoliberal efforts to decentralize state power and increase the need for private providers of social services. Today, *Linux* is still part of the *FOSS* community, but more or less unavoidably opens up new possibilities for business models. The calculation of capitalist firms behind it is rather easy: companies can make surplus profit when they hire cheap or cost-free hackers of the movement community, since their product will be more inexpensively produced than that of their competitors, but the selling price is similar (Dafermos & Söderberg 2009, p.65). The enterprises that try to get advantage from the movement do not lead to the emancipation of the workers, but towards an even higher exploitation of workers in the traditional companies. The solidarity of the alternative reality is endangered, since capital attacks the community to take away the achievements of it by paying members of the group. Another point to consider is that the favourable position of the workers in the *FOSS* movement is at the expense of many other workers, thus fostering solidarity in the community, but hindering solidarity between workers of different, especially capitalist communities. Conflict, here becomes not a strategy for building solidarity, but the reaction of social actors towards attacks that endanger the solidarity of the group. Conflict, then, is oriented towards capitalist dominance, but the solidarity created by the activists prior to this conflict appears rather strong, and bolsters the communities' power in conflict with capital. In their paper “Cyberconflict at the Edge of Chaos: Cryptohierarchies and Self-Organisation in the Open-Source Movement”, Karatzogianni & Michaelidis (2009), for example, introduce three dimensions of conflict in alternative realities. The first two concentrate on conflicts that arise within the groups on a micro-and meso level and they will be discussed later, but the third dimension addresses conflicts that arise between the open-source community and licensed proprietary software giants. In this third dimension, questions of structure, identity, and strategy are posed, due to the arising conflict. This is where “a meta-

conflict occurs synchronously bringing all these different levels together and posing them in direct and intense contact and contrast to the current global system of capitalist accumulation” (ibid, p. 148). So the old significance of conflict is still there as soon as capital tries to take advantage of the group, and so it might be argued to be helpful in fostering identity. Scholars increasingly are concerned with this point, which shall be discussed in more detail in the next paragraphs.

An evident example is given by Harald Bauder & Salvatore Engel-Di Mauro (2008). Their paper “Knowledge Grab: Corporate Appropriation and Exploitation of Academic Geographer” focuses on how scholarly products are integrated in capital accumulation despite the importance of sharing given to them – and what ways exist to avoid this exploitation. According to Bauder and Engel-Di Mauro, academics are paid by universities to produce knowledge. This product is then taken for free by publishers and journals to be sold back to the universities – which they term *corporate appropriation of knowledge*. Academics in most cases lose the rights over their own papers, do not get paid for the papers published and serve as editorial board for quality reasons, also unpaid (ibid, p. 731). Simply put, capital has stolen their knowledge.

On another side, Arvidsson 2009 and Orsi 2009 call attention to the fact that the products created in the social production are important for a new kind of capitalism, so that the social capacity to accumulate and appropriate knowledge, innovation and intellectual capital becomes increasingly important. As late-capitalist corporate environments are constructed to support creative production instead of uncreative reproduction by giving self-determination rights to the workers, the distinction of what is a movement, and who belongs to the movement, becomes, as I will show more clearly in the part *Emancipation of Body and Soul*, ever more difficult. At the time being, capital is restructuring itself with production processes that are socialized and reach widely into the realities of everyday-life.

“The everyday life of consumers produces immaterial wealth by paying attention and being creative. This massive socialization of production and the accompanying elimination of any clear boundaries between work and life (...) means that the complexity of the capitalist economy has increased enormously” (Arvidsson 2009, p.24).

Value is produced by the reduction of social complexity, by being able to show what is happening, what the customer’s desires are and how they will develop. For

example, rankings on Internet pages are extremely important. The company with the highest rating may have the most loyal customers and workers, and the once emancipative move of body to participate in the decision-making process, as we will see in the part *Emancipation of Body*, is recaptured.

Career and status together with competition are extremely powerful forces of capitalism. Bauder and Engel-Di Mauro find that even though *not* to give away papers to established journals would be an advantage for academic process and for scholars as well, since it would increase the potential readership, most researchers still hand in their works for two reasons: 1) career and status; 2) institutional and social incentives such as the urge for competition among universities and scholars that divides the workforce and makes the high degree of exploitation opaque (ibid, p. 733). That entails, as Phoebe Moore & Paul A. Taylor (2009) explain, that authentic work in social production and self-realization does not necessarily imply a gain in life quality of the workers, and is not essentially emancipative.

Many authors conclude that reappropriation of market structures by capitalism is open to new developments, and it can help to analyse the movement in relation to the hegemony. In their endeavour to stop capitalism from taking advantage of social production and destroying solidarity, activists create certain hierarchical structures inside the communities: in order to take advantage of the new ways of production and to intervene in the market structure, the capitalist production system is moving towards networking structures in order to cope with the new network resistance, and network resistance is getting more aware of their hosting environment and moving towards cryptohierarchy to face up to established hierarchies (Arvidsson). A silent conflict is growing in this sense, so that in case capital starts its raid, the alternative reality is prepared. Karatzogianni & Michaelidis understand the current state of transition – meaning a state of self-organisation – of the *FOSS* movement, for example, as a huge potential of resistance, as inner conflicts are already experienced and used for the struggles that might come in transition phases. Again, now highlighting the micro-and meso level of conflict, Karatzogianni & Michaelidis state that to analyze the self-organisational dynamic can help to understand “networked movements, communities and resistances around the world and the dialogue between diverse systems of knowledge management, organisation, mobilisation, and leadership/decision making structures” (ibid, p. 155). But the structures of leadership social

actors establish inside alternative communities differ from those expected in the official world, as will be shown later.

The interrelation of not-, partly- or capitalist systems urges researchers to categorize stages of capitalization of the alternative realities. Social actors contribute and share, while contribution and sharing are not complement features of capitalist production.³⁹ While activists create open communities and abandon private property, capitalist production tries to grab the products and integrate them into the accumulation process by closing-up mechanisms of making them private property again. This issue can be well explained drawing on Fuster Morell's (2009) example of the activist researcher. In her paper "Action Research – Mapping the Nexus of Research and Political Action", she explains that an activist researcher should become part of the alternative reality she/he is observing by taking a stance (not claim to be neutral), report about transformative action, have a real use-value, and be part of the movement (researching not *about* social movements, but rather *from* or *for* social movements). According to Fuster Morell, the role of a researcher is not that of "prudently distant, supposedly objective and individualist specialist", but rather the researcher "participates in the situations investigated, is open about his/her motives and opinions, and is not necessarily a person with a specialized university education" (p. 41). According to Fuster Morell, scholars should avoid becoming detached from the movements they analyze (cf. Evren 2009; Koopmann 2009; Hayes-Conroy 2008) since then the researcher who is active in the movement gains degrees and money from that observation in the university, and often the social movement does not gain anything from this research. This is where the official reality meets the alternative and causes a new kind of conflict. To avoid this predicament, there are initiatives at universities, run by students and researchers, the free culture movement, free and open journals etc., and alternative study institutes and libraries (Fuster Morell, p. 36), all of them

"aimed at creating a library of open access journals and other scientific literature under an open content license, are part of a wave to make science results accessible and to enlarge cooperation in research" (ibid, p.36).

³⁹For example, the clash of social peer production communities, distributing free software, and the capital that wants to put software under the private property law, has led to the creation of GPL. It was introduced in 1985, which was made possible by the private law and the authority of the producer it would give on the produced product (Dafermos & Söderberg 2009, p.58). But as Bauwens mentions, the official license agreements such as the GPL provide legal security, but these licenses do not belong to the community.

I would regard these as visible signs of conflict. Thus, the question is not whether the research is action research or academic research, but rather is about authorship and whether it is accessible or not. While different approaches can come together in the same paper, the question of collective or individual ownership is distinguishing (ibid, p. 22).

In order to analyze the encounters of official reality and the alternative, researchers develop models that may be possible to coordinate the encounters. Bauder and Engel-Di Mauro (2008), for example, identify three alternative models for scholars who publish articles:

- 1) Non-profit open-access outlet, authors keep their copyright and do not have to be members of some professional organization.
- 2) For-profit open access outlet, authors have to pay to publish, but retain copyrights. The papers are offered to a wide public free of costs.
- 3) Non-profit, self-managed publishing, without free access. The profit is going to be spent to radical research etc. This is a mechanism to “appropriate funds from the commodity-selling process, which would otherwise become the profits of the corporation publishing or owning the journal” (ibid, p.734).

Like Bauder and Engel-Di Mauro, Bauwens (2009), too, recognizes market structures that arise in and around the communities. Bauwens addresses the issue of the social production movement by turning to the problem of being inside or outside the system, which entails a state of ‘inbetween’. For Bauwens, being inside or outside depends upon the licenses chosen, the income in relation to command and control, and the influence of the group of leaders. This can explain the degree to which a specific community transcends capitalism, or is immanent to it.

According to Bauwens, these features are not easily distinguished. He identifies three models that are anti-capitalist in conflict (he coins the term cyber-space communism), but still interact, some more and some less, with the capitalist system. As the models emerge from the interrelations of social producers and the market, the three models are qualitatively different. Only in the first case social activists would manage to maintain the widening of a scope of action, due to a greater distance to the market.

- 1) In the first model of commons-oriented peer production, activists create secondary market value (i.e. *Linux*), comprised by the term commons-oriented logic. Within this model, mainly three players exist: a) the community of producers, sometimes supported by private firms that agree to add their knowledge to the common pool; b) organizations that organize the cooperation and provide the capital (i.e. *Mozilla Foundation*); and c) the companies which create added value to the products, which ideally should be used to strengthen the infrastructure of the community.
- 2) The second model is comprised by the term individual expression logic and includes cases where activists commonly *share*, without production behind it. The product is only the platform itself. Those companies rely on a third party, which introduces a business model and restricts owner rights.
- 3) The third model is a combination of the traditional company logic and advanced features of social production, meaning that companies integrate peer production in their company structure, such as Lego Factory. Workers can still freely choose what they want to produce within the company's guidelines, but the company then sells the products and gives commissions to the designers. New market places emerge, in that the designers offer their products, still those they voluntarily choose, and the platform owners make profit with the commissions.

The findings so far reveal that many researchers are much more concentrated on how social actors organize their lived and performed environment, instead of concentrating on the issue of how they form a stance against the hegemonic system. Scholars do not choose conflict as a major concept to discuss solidarity, but rather internal mechanisms such as mutual recognition.

5.3 The emancipation of body

This section will be divided into three subsections: *Body and Decision-making*, *Body and Representation*, *Body and Critique*. In post-traditional movement theory, social actors used their body as expression of their commitment, thus giving it a

greater influence than only at the election, *presenting*⁴⁰ themselves, in order to *attract* others and put *pressure* on local or national governments. Mobilizing masses was emancipative insofar as in elections activists only chose from a variety of choices, whereas social actors who chose street protests as a strategy put much more weight than usual on their environment. Still, mobilization as theoretical component has been a discourse-oriented tool in post-traditional movement theory. It gave social actors the chance to create a political claim that focuses on them (decision) and makes them the centre of discussion (representation), which can entail a social change from above that in its ideal sense is tailored to the particular needs of the activists (critique).

5.3.1 Body and decision-making

Karatzogianni & Michaelidis (2009) analyse the governance structures of social production communities from a conflict perspective in three dimensions, of which the first and second are important for this discussion:

- 1) The first dimension describes the intra-community conflicts as they arise in any (computer-mediated) environment, which can lead to a large diversification of knowledge or to complex and time-consuming code forking (forking means that different, incompatible versions of the same project exist) (ibid, p. 147). Still, the fact intra-communal conflicts leave space for forking can be positive, even though it might have bad influence on the performance on the project.
- 2) The second dimension covers conflicts between different open source communities that raise questions of coordination, ideology (from left wing to right wing) and complexity of the communities.

While the third dimension is concerned with conflicts between hegemony and its alternative, Karatzogianni & Michaelidis put emphasis on the first two dimensions, which shed light on the structures within the alternatives. Like many newly-arising social movements, open source communities are in a state of transition, which the authors call a state of self-organisation. The masses of innovations and ideas have to

⁴⁰ Presence shall be understood as the mere 'being', without any further role attached to it.

be organized and become a major field of scholarly observation, asking what mechanisms activists develop to hold the communities together. Power law distribution, for example, is identified as a possibility to evaluate ideas based upon the number of links and clicks attached, as they help by giving credit to especially good ideas, which are then becoming more visible. After a while conflicts occur, and some parts can build up new, specified groups. Without this power law distribution, the weight of innovative ideas would be too high and the community would collapse. Further, power law distribution leads to the emergence of *core* and *periphery*. Social interconnectivity and knowledge sharing are the determinants for becoming a core developer:

“The amount of knowledge shared governs the asymmetry between core and periphery, while the level of social interconnectivity governs the rate of change through which a developer progresses from being peripheral to a core member” (Karatzogianni & Michaelidis, p.151).

In this hegemony, explorers of knowledge are situated at the periphery, while activists in the core are ‘exploiters’ through selection. This gives a specific leadership structure to each of the two dimensions mentioned above: while at the intra-community level polarization occurs, and the louder and more aggressive members steer the polarization by disregarding opinions against them, and pushing those in their favour, the inter-community level is a conflict of different collective identities or strategies, while the community itself is not understood in relation to the others but only through their own identity. According to Karatzogianni & Michaelidis, groups are still always structured by means of leadership and hierarchy.

For Bauwens (2009), it is important to note that activists control their own productive assets (material and immaterial), so that the hierarchical structures within the community are different than those in capitalist production, since no wage dependency exists as is prevalent in corporate structures. Leadership exists in social production as well, but leaders do not have the usual power. Members who want to leave just leave the community. Nevertheless, the leaders are influential, but cannot completely overtake the community: activists try to avoid creating a “collective individual that might detach from the community and take over the productive assets” (ibid, p. 123) by making all outputs oriented towards the community so that no individual or group can take over assets. Social actors are not blindly following a leader, which has a positive effect on activists’ voices. Social actors can even experience a qualita-

tively higher emancipative effect since to mobilize on the streets with certain demands often needs a leading figure, and even though the movement may go much beyond his or her scope, the leader is rarely subsumed since all voices seem to concentrate on him or her.

Authors mention that only seldom activists actually vote for the administrators in an election. More often, the members of the community choose the administrators based upon the recognition of other members, and leadership is able to be withdrawn at any time (Dafermos & Söderberg 2009, p. 61). Those who do the work make the decisions, and if there is more than one proposed solution, all are tried.

We can observe a shift from the analysis of large scale movements towards an analysis of how social actors are distributing and using their voices inside alternative realities, and show different mechanisms that have been developed to use the voice of social actors most efficiently in the intent of making a decision that does not demand too many sacrifices by social actors. The newly-arising 'local identity', as has been discussed in chapter 5.2, is a sign that social actors may even quickly change between communities or establish new ones. The focus is more on how people actively have a chance to make decisions that have an impact on their daily life, instead of how people may arrive at a political statement and urge politics to initiate change.

5.3.2 Body and representation

Scholars have shown that the representations of alternative realities, thus 'local identities', have come to be homogenized by capitalist discourses and thus made almost invisible, and, as mentioned before, rendered insignificant. Researchers themselves have played a significant role in this process, as will be argued in this chapter. For example, Hayes-Conroy (2008) acknowledges the connection between neoliberalism and community, in that the community serves as an agent of neoliberal devolution and privatization, but opens up space for resistance. Hayes-Conroy complains that the debate on neoliberalism and communities has come to a stage in which advocating community is tantamount to pushing neoliberal policy (ibid, p. 30), so that the critical impact of community practice has been overseen. Social movements have since tried to avoid homogenization by practice and performance that cannot be detached from the local identity and thus cannot be disconnected from the alternative reality. By acknowledging the importance of performativity and practices, scholars

give new insights into analysis of the social mobilization of social movements. Hayes-Conroy calls for a wider view of community than just the social relations of the group members, because a “community has dynamic, material realities that shape the ways in which it is both theorized and practiced” (ibid, p. 32). To understand activism in terms of place-based social action, the material, not human environment has to be included in the analysis. In many cases, as for example in civic agriculture, social action is tightly bound to the place itself, place becoming an integral part in social movement. Hayes-Conroy concludes

“in short, these new investigations signal the need to understand a body’s relationship to the process of community in non-cognitive or more-than-rational ways. Perhaps we should begin to pay more attention to the bodily (or visceral) experience of community – to the ways in which bodies change, react, form habits, and make judgments in ways that define and configure community” (ibid, p.33),

thus not to focus on individual needs and justice, but on the practical influence of social actors’ bodies, meaning the performance of the ‘one-in-relation’ on the group.

This needs, first, a re-thinking of representation, away from mere *presence*, towards *active performance*. Second, we have to find out how activists use their body to put their lived and built environment into the centre of discourse. To make the concept of non-representational theory usable for scholar activists in human geography, J. K. Gibson-Graham (2008) calls for a shift in academia and research methods.⁴¹ In “Diverse Economies: Performative Practices for ‘Other Worlds’”, Gibson and Graham argue that social actors are creating many different worlds at many different places. By looking at how activists create alternative styles of production, Gibson and Graham admit that most alternative styles of production are still familiar with traditional capitalist production, enterprises, labour and wage systems. But activists are in the process of deconstructing the old forms, making ‘performative economy’ an ontological challenge for researchers (ibid, p. 616) to show the proceedings of these alternative movements. Non-capitalist work is much more prevalent than capitalist, much more hours worked for, but in most academic literature still not accepted as a source of dynamism or a factor of social change. Worldwide, Gibson and Graham state, much more work is done without capitalism, but still rendered marginal and subordinated. The ontology of performative economy takes this diver-

⁴¹ The name J.K. Gibson-Graham is the name under which two scholars, J. Gibson and K. Graham, publish.

sity into account. Key to this theory is a research attitude that avoids being destructively critical towards new kinds of production, as they would only be capitalism in another guise, but attempts to find a theoretical way to energize and support the alternatives.

Gibson and Graham suggest a weak theory, one which cannot tell us about the great narratives of power relations but which instead tries to re-define mundane kinds of power. They state that a

“differentiated landscape of force, constraint, energy, and freedom would open up (...) and we could open ourselves to the positive energies that are suddenly available” (ibid, p. 619).

The obligation of activist academia is, then, to investigate how activists create their environment and act in another world, and not to concentrate how they try to fight dominance (ibid, p. 619), while explaining (not judging), and giving some room and time to the nascent alternatives not yet fully formed (ibid, p. 620). Such a view has a decisive impact on the question of globality and locality and takes the above introduced concept of ‘local identity’ into account: the performative economy approach is able to deconstruct the first world/third world dichotomy by showing that social actors choose economic practices that are prevalent in all parts of the world (for example fishers sharing the fishing area), without reference to cultivation or developmental status or any such thing. Further, the authors state that the

“extent of self-provisioning through hunting, fishing, gathering, and gardening belies the dominant reading of a consumer- and market-driven society and challenges representations of the unilinear trajectory of capitalist development” (ibid, p.624).

Local practices are visible everywhere, while the global narrative is only telling an untrue story.

According to Jeff Popke (2009), a non-representational approach emphasizes knowledge production through performance, not through representations (ibid, p. 82). This would signify a shift towards research before *intentional* creativity, but *non-intentional, non-cognitive* creativity. In “Geography and Ethics: Non-Representational Encounters, Collective Responsibility and Economic Difference”, Popke states that people are performative activists in activities such as dance, musical performance, hiking, kayaking, gardening, rave, listening to music and children’s

play, and are an important part of experienced knowledge production, which may “enhance our affective capacities and engender new forms of engagement and responsibility” (ibid, p.82). By way of searching for an ethical approach in geography, Popke observes that the fidelity of activists at an event opens new spaces for thinking and moving. This approach can highlight the capacity “to being open to new possibilities, a kind of witnessing through which we are exposed to the potential for being-otherwise” (ibid, p. 83), which may be grasped in an emphasis on affect, “and more generally on geography’s recent and growing concern with bodily sensibilities and emotions” (ibid, p. 83), meaning how activists may influence each other through their appearance through which they generate an ethical moment to show, in creative ways, the possibilities of what might yet become. According to Popke, the question of how people create a community, and what is meant by ‘in-common’ and ‘collective responsibility’, may only be answered by analyzing non-human knowledgeabilities, always being aware “that our socio-material worlds are still shaped by power in very specific ways” (ibid, p. 85). As was put to discussion in the section *Emancipation of lived and built environment*, events and encounters do not exist outside a specific “set of powerful global narratives that still have much to say about the nature or our events, encounters and collectives” (ibid, p. 86), with neoliberal capitalism being chief among them. Such a perspective might lead to a perception of collectivity, encounters and events that are still shaped by capitalist institutions and imperatives (ibid, p. 87). Social actors might use their body to represent themselves in a way that is impossible to put into the frame of capitalist realities, thus increasing the possibilities of action.

An attempt to apply the ontology of diversity is explored in Bernd & Boeckler (2009) in their paper “Geographies of Circulation and Exchange: Construction of Markets”. By referring to the approach of performative economy, they take the ontological stance of diverse market mechanisms constructed by human and non-human relationships, a theoretical approach that, according to the authors, “has not received much attention beyond the occasional reference in passing” (ibid, p. 542). While socioeconomic research looks at how non-market institutions influence the market building social relations, and political economic research reduces market to its constraints and imperfection and its function of hiding capitalism,

“cultural economists apply the cultural theoretical concept of performativity to-

wards the market. (...) Here, markets take on ambivalent form as relational effects of sociotechnical networks engaging in the twin processes of framing and overflowing. The latter process includes the proliferation of new social relations, groups and communities which may articulate economic and non-economic alternatives” (ibid, p.546).

Drawing on the theoretical concept developed by Callon, the authors state that cultural economics describes that and how

“the practioners of sociotechnical economic disciplines such as accounting, supply chain management or consulting (termed ‘economists in the wild’), frame and perform markets by defining standards, surveying exchange processes, benchmarking goods, calculating prices and so on” (ibid, p. 543-4).

In this way, the approach is open to new challenges and accepts that such a system is never closed, since

“under certain conditions economic markets spur the proliferation of new social identities and trigger the creation of communities with positive and negative consequences” (ibid).

Now alternative economy can be interpreted not as a marginalized, subordinated exchange activity, but can be used as a strategic “starting point to destabilize the established economic order by practically strengthening, proliferating and extending what is commonly referred to as marginal economic activity” (ibid, p. 544). With this theoretical revaluation of alternatives we may be able to understand the practical importance social actors give to using their bodies for performative action instead of using rational arguments in discussions. Scholars seem to emphasize how social actors put themselves into the discourse without having to rely on numbers, presence or rational arguments.

In her article “Becoming Power Through Dance”, Duygun Erim (2008) beautifully details the meaning of non-representational theory for resistance studies. Drawing on Spinoza and his interpretation by Deleuze, Erim calls attention to the multiplicity of realities and the choice of social actors to perform and intervene in them (ibid, p. 24), in relation to the spatio-temporal power of joy. Erim does not deny that even dance may rely on the exploitation of cheap labour, but that “does not reduce the significance of the emancipatory possibilities that may occur in there” (ibid, p. 27). Erim states that the power of the hegemonic system rests in its capacity to control social actors in their status as weak actors, deriving from the emotional state

of sadness. Thus, drawing on Spinoza, Erim teaches us that joy empowers social actors and may well be capable of reducing the power of control by the hegemony. The question of joy or sadness is not one that is taught, but experienced through passion:

“And there are two basic passions according to Spinoza which are ‘joy’ and ‘sadness’. All other affects that operates in us derive from these two passions of joy and sadness as a source (ibid). When we encounter things we get affected by joy or sadness and we do not usually recognize what happens, we just have an increase or decrease in our power of acting, more clearly we live the results of our encounters (as becoming weak or becoming powerful in acting) and we mostly do not realize or consider the reasons behind” (Erim 2008, p.30).

We can grasp the importance and theoretical complexity of this citation by acknowledging that experience is mostly pre-cognitive, and social change is not a matter of teaching others the right way, but a matter of experiencing the environment. According to Erim,

“we (things, wind, people, landscape, fashion and everything) are a part and apart of all that is around and affect each other in complex ways. Someone dancing here, another one joking there, you now are reading this article all these matter in affecting and making life and reality. It is all (life, word and reality) in a process and it may move in several ways and directions in each passing minute, through ‘inventive abilities’ internal to us and life within this kind of complexity. Therefore matters of everyday life and our ontological politics in living is the spatiality that we need to consider in looking at issues of power and resistance or thinking on how to change the world “ (ibid, p.28-29).

But, Erim continues, not all kind of joy has an emancipative effect on others. The joy that does not is that which stems from and is related to sadness, some kind of ‘compensatory’ or ‘indirect’, the ‘counter-joy’. Understood in this way,

“dance is not about eluding power it is about creating and becoming another power. And the first kind of power indeed feels threatened by the kind of power that dance generates, because it increases our power of acting and therefore the first kind can not operate in us” (ibid, p. 35).

Williams (2009) analysis moves in a similar direction. He states that when all members of a group agree on the visibility of action, there can still be covert parts of which the community does not want the public to know (p. 28; 30), and the invisible parts are often those made visible with non-representational theory. Communities are open to the insiders, but partially closed to the official world. Further, Williams states that this covert

“type of resistance may appear relatively impotent, offering an empowering identity or community of friends without affecting the culture of everyday life, yet creating and consuming these cultural objects can affect subsequent micro-oriented (for example, standing up for yourself after reading a story of another girl who did so successfully or watching a home-made video celebrating “girl power”) and thus diffuse across multiple cultural groups over time, potentially leading to increased social awareness that can be meso- or macro-oriented” (ibid, p.29-30).

Social actors are able to influence inside and outside the community through the act of doing, performing, practice. Social actors do not try to put the alternative reality into the public discourse, but rather to infect others with their concerns and joy, spreading critique through practice. In the papers I have analyzed, the theoretical question of representation of body in discourse is not related to the person taking a stance and choosing a position, but related to the performative action of social actors in relation with others. Again, the discourse-based analysis makes way for practical analysis.

5.3.3 Body and critique

Georg Fülberth (2009) explains that even in times of crisis, the social divide has no real counterpart and cannot be stopped. He uses the example of the abjection of national indebtedness: protesters postulate a cut in national debts. This discourse, following Fülberth, justifies cuts in social and cultural spending and will foster social stratification – the critique, in a sense, is trapped. Schmid (2009) makes a similar argument when he says that this trap takes away the strong arguments of the protesters. This, according to Schmid, is a huge obstacle for real protest. Even those who decide to take violent action - as has happened during the protests against the NATO-Summit in Strasbourg 2009, when activists set buildings and cars aflame - would not leave the hegemonic discourse. This radicalism already had its place in the state security system - the public expected those things to happen and mechanisms to deal with these protests were already in place. There does not seem to be any possibility of articulation of contextual alternatives. By using violence, protesters give legitimization to forces that can stop the violence (cf. Hiller 2008).

David Landy (2009) offers in his text “The Mirror Stage of Movement Intellectuals? Jewish Criticism of Israel and its Relationship to a Developing Social Movement” an example of mislead intellectual criticism. According to the Landy, knowl-

edge is, above all, produced practically, be it to justify the movement, or to propose an ideology, identity and so on. Books written by intellectual members of the anti-Zionist movement in Israel do not fully address practical experience with the movement, misinterpret it partly, and do not report about actual practice. According to Landy, they only engage in the discourse and are subject to exploitation. If they had written as activists, “they would feel less entitled to efface Palestinian resistance and subjectivity” (ibid, p. 206). In the essays Landy discusses, Palestinian voices are muted, and even activists are unconsciously trapped in local and racial hegemonies (ibid, p. 205). The conclusions made by the authors and words used are often not notably different from those that emerge from the dominant discourse (ibid, p. 199).

In his paper “Wor Diary: A Case of D.I.Y Alternative History”, Michael Duckett (2009) introduces social protest as a form of Do-It-Yourself practice. He acknowledges that research done about practice is partly inefficient, but has character and in the end, may be seen to be fruitful. By way of explaining his own activism in the writing of a village book with an alternative history, Duckett counts the participants inclusively: including those with direct participation, the initiators, but everybody else who had an impact, the housemate, a two year old child and even an unborn baby as well as a journalist who helped by providing free pages in a newspaper. The production of the book was without any pre-given condition and ended up being a diverse set of pages, nicely decorated and written. There was no concrete plan, and everybody was open to new directions and challenges.

Duckett describes the events as an attempt to bring back community consciousness through generating knowledge of an alternative history that does not fit with the hegemonic writing, as opposed to ‘serious revolutionaries’ or a group of people who want to change the world. The book is represented as an outcome of a reality that is close to the people, but distant from the state, official history and outsiders. Those who are marginalized by (and in) the official system were invited to join the project. The group has organized many events, important features of all of which were the atmosphere, the feeling of being part of that community. The book was quickly sold out, did not make a profit, and there is no chance that it will be reprinted. It was printed in an anarchist co-op of another city (trying to widen the distance to the system). The book was not created as a

“political banner or group identity, and we [the initiators] made no efforts to make

the project consistent or long-term. Instead, we lazily imagined that the idea could take off and be taken on by other people, so that perhaps every year would see a different diary made in a different UK city, filled with obscure information about that locality, researched and created by residents there” (p.156).

In their paper “Movement Knowledge: What Do We Know, How Do We Create Knowledge and What Do We Do with It?”, Laurence Cox and Cristina Flesher Fominaya (2009) try to find an answer to the question of how knowledge is produced and used in social movements, drawing on a Marxian understanding of class consciousness. How can people come to a knowledge that can challenge the structures of oppression? Knowledge production is not clear at all, is always dependent on the locality of the specific groups, and might even be a question of indigenous knowledge production. In any event, according to Cox and Fominaya, knowledge that can challenge the dominant order is produced in an alternative group through social practice.

Budd L. Hall (2009) made an important contribution in this regard. In his paper “A River of Life: Learning and Environmental Social Movements”, Hall concentrates on those scholars who highlight the act of doing within social movements, and thus make an attempt to leave the stage of looking at movements in such a way as to strive for gaining control or finding the power to change the world:

“Movements in the midst of the anti-globalisation protests, the ecological struggles, or struggles for indigenous cultures and language are immediate experiences of a different world, a new life enacted through ritual, ceremony, dance, or play. They are not the indirect struggles for power that will one day make a change; they are the world we want experienced right now” (ibid, p. 49).

Drawing on Hans Joas, Hall states

“the dominant forms of understanding of action are flawed in that they largely framed in terms of intentionality, which focuses on control, purpose and cognition. Movements such as illustrated by the Zapatista, healing movements such as Qigong or the spiritual movements of global Islamic are about flow, networking, connectivity, immediacy, creativity and an immediate sensual intimacy” (ibid, p. 50).

Using the example of the World Social Fora, Hall states that the definition of the movement does not matter, but rather the different forms of action and organization that form the governance of the global commons. The findings of his study reveal the principles of environmental social movement as knowledge production:

- 1) Recovery of a sense of place: The degree of sense of place that we have is a decisive factor of environmental destruction. To give back a place by concentrating on organic vegetable growers, the members of the co-op are gaining knowledge of where the vegetable comes from. The sense of place can be supported.
- 2) The importance of bio-diversity: To understand the specificity and necessity of diversity is supported by education and exchange: “Respect for education of a transformative variety increases the visibility and understanding of the importance of bio-diversity in ways that make sense in the particular context involved.
- 3) Reconnecting with the rest of nature.
- 4) Awakening “sleepy knowledge”.
- 5) Acting and resisting: Knowing about the exploitation of nature is not enough to make a change; the knowledge has to be linked to political and social action. That means that resistance has to be understood as “to maintain our sense of integrity and community thereby denying others of power over us in important ways. Social movement learning seeks out action and supports resistance” (ibid., p. 55).
- 6) Building alliances and relationships.
- 7) Skills are important, too: empowerment defined as the capacity to do something (farming, running a business etc.).
- 8) Value processes in learning: facts are less important, rather the process of learning itself, “beginning with the daily lived experiences of those involved in social movement learning”, since the teacher can only awaken knowledge, not teach it.
- 9) Deconstructing relations of power: studying power and exploitation makes possible the avoidance of abuse or invasion by “agri-business interests”.

The environment for social movement learning also is important. Celebrations and rituals are established, as well as 'on the spot' learning: “education works best when it is kept close to the communities and suffers when others design it at a distance. In all of the case studies we examined, a majority of the learning was done in the farms, homes, shops, workplaces or elsewhere that work and daily life was going on.” (Hall, p. 60-61). Social actors have a chance to learn from elders (and elders from the

youth). Community meetings "included cinema study groups, storytelling, cartoons, posters, community theatre, role-playing, song music and art" (ibid, p. 62). While these means of knowledge production rest within alternative reality, nature-tours and study visits make a connection between the social movement reality and the official reality, looking at each other with guided tours explaining the contamination and pollution. On the one hand, these efforts are an attempt to overcome the distance between daily urban life and nature, and to establish a distance to daily urban life on the other side, which then in the end can make for a new understanding of urban life which is different from the one before.

A step towards reappropriation of knowledge is the collection of medical plants in order to gain independence by way of old, local knowledge, the construction of kitchen compost piles, and as well marches and protests on the streets. Another social movement learning factor is the creation of community markets. On the one hand, community members have a close connection to the products, and on the other money that otherwise would leave the community can be captured and re-integrated. Integrated markets such as bio-shops are planned and lived.

Social movements are no longer performing some kind of critique; instead, they move "from a phase of 'protest' to a phase of 'proposal'".

"They are not merely oriented to 'critiquing' dominant society but they are simultaneously engaged in regenerative activities and offering alternatives to re-shape the very grammar of life" (ibid, p. 68).

The change affects everyone through everything, changing the behaviour and knowledge patterns of those who are not part of a movement instead of presenting a pre-formulated set of critical arguments:

"We learn or come to new understandings of different dimensions of life as a result of the actions taken by those engaged in the movements themselves" (ibid, p.67),

which may initiate a change in academic knowledge, and then eventually in institutional behaviours:

"The process is not smooth, it is not fun, it is not predicable, but it comes at us continually and is (...) the very core of social and cultural transformation" (ibid).

Social movements themselves cannot be grasped. There are old ones, new ones and completely different forms. Most important for researchers

“is the fact that each actor is embodied with his/her own pragmatic and symbolic productivities. Finally, whether social movement leadership is aware or not, there is a creation of knowledge arising and taking shape as well as the appearance of a wide range of pedagogical and social learning strategies. Thus we value social movement space as much for its process as for its result” (ibid, p.69).

Human knowledge, Hall continues, is constructed within the anti-globalization and the anti-capitalist movements, which then may be able to mobilize a ‘powerful epistemic community’ in which learning processes are getting accelerated (ibid, p. 73). Social actors use their body to create knowledge in the form of performance; this is how body is used today to achieve social change that is tailored towards the diverse interests of the many alternative realities alike.

It does not seem of particular relevance for the scholars analyzed to answer the question of how social actors might use their bodies in order to initiate a change from above, but rather how knowledge is created that may be capable of challenging the dominant order. As we saw before, social movement research has experienced a shift from *discourse based analysis* to *practice based analysis*. It seems that mobilization in the sense of taking to the streets is no more a matter of analysing social protest. Much more, sociologists concentrate on the ways social actors are giving their bodies a voice on the community level in order to widen their influence on daily politics, which entails a concentration on the practical critique and production of knowledge on a practical, local base instead of knowledge production through the public discourse.

5.4 The emancipation of body and soul

This part is divided into *motivation*, *intention* and *consciousness* of activists to join a social movement. In post-traditional social movement theory, social actors attempted to free themselves from capitalist and hegemonic power structures by consciously or unconsciously working against these structures. These protests were largely directed against the obsolete, ‘narrow-minded’ and inflexible philistine and bourgeoisie. Social actors created ways to make themselves not-utilizable (or differently utilizable) for industrial production by increasing their scope of action, opening

space for alternative ways of thinking and acting, and by being visible in society, sometimes by using flashy colours, body piercing, individual hair-styles and even violent activities in order to wake up a bromidic society. That has driven movement scholars to highlight the cultural orientation of these post-traditional movements, with different motivation, intention and consciousness than the classic worker movements. This section focuses on how today's protest literature understands, interprets and explains the activities of social actors trying to act differently, attempting to leave the system behind, creating new ways of non-conforming behaviour and new forms of production. We must not forget: while in industrial times, pluralization meant emancipation, flexible capitalism demands plurality of thought and action, so that pluralization *per se* has lost its emancipative character.

5.4.1 Motivation

Activists in peer production in most cases contribute their work, instead of exchange it to the community, in order to produce real usage value and no exchange value (Siefkes 2009, p. 265). In his paper "Ist Commonismus Kommunismus? Commonsbasierte Peer-Produktion und der kommunistische Anspruch" (Is commonism communism? Commons-based peer production and the communist requirement), Siefkes (2009) continues that social actors refrain from aspiring to private property, so that peer production is based on common properties and possessions, which allows for a circulation of common property instead of a circulation of goods (ibid.). Instead of only trying to escape market structures, social actors seem to aspire to a new market and production system that negates the destructive elements of capitalism. How with this mechanisms community members are able to reappropriate markets and what it means for social movement theory is elaborated by Arvidsson (2009) in his article "The Ethical Economy: Towards a Post-Capitalist Theory of Value". Arvidsson pays attention to the things social actors value within social production systems, and what has value in the capitalist reality. By changing the value system, social actors abolish the monetary incentives in the following two forms:

"An emerging consciousness both of the basic inadequacy of monetary rewards as incentives, particularly for highly skilled knowledge-workers (...) and a growing awareness of the inability of market prices to reflect the real productive power and social value of an organisation and its resources" (ibid, p 16).

One example often used by authors who are concerned with market structures and modes of production is the commons-produced *Linux* operating software, which has been made possible by an innovative business model in which activists manage to combine complex knowledge resources. *Linux* and many similar alternative organisations do not have power over the means of production; activists socialize their products and nobody has real control over them. In such a model, authority is exercised

“through the power to attract affective investments, esteem and confidence from the public. The basis of this power is the ability to create community: to make people feel that they belong to something greater, nobler and more powerful than themselves” (ibid, p.19).

Apparently, social actors are mostly concerned with constituting and coordinating communities (Arvidsson, cf. Orsi 2009, p. 41). According to Arvidsson, members of the groups search for a meaning of life and self-realization (Arvidsson 2009, p. 20). Moreover, as Bauwens (2009) states, goods in online peer production are immaterial, and exist outside pricing mechanisms and supply/demand calculations: thus, continuing the argument of Siefkes, social actors create use-value and no exchange-value in order to resist alienation and to remain passionate about their work and product (cf. Moore & Karatzogianni 2009; Siefkes 2009).

But, Arvidsson continues, social actors are not just aspiring to self-realization and unalienated work, since status (in Arvidsson’s case, of software developers) is still important to them, and depends on a) programming skills and b) the possibility of keeping the community alive. Activists try to comply in this aim through friendship networks – and in return, friendship becomes the new value.

According to Arvidsson, the degree to which social actors contribute to the community is a matter of value rationality, respectively ethical rationality that makes activists participate in the group and not the money outcome or some vague attempt to create a better world. In the specific case of social networking, a high level of friendship could even make a monetary return, as in the case of a social actor with a large circle of friends who organizes an event at which many more people attend, ending up in an increasing friendship circle by investing this money in relationship-keeping events. The production chain has changed from money-capital-money to friendship-money-friendship. This insight is in accordance with other estimations about motiva-

tions. Siefkes (2009) states that activists engage in movements to produce in accordance to principals of one's own will, personal preferences and integration in the project as well as trust in the other participants, of which friendship might be an interesting indicator. Bauwens (2009) follows this claim by saying that participants want to work and live in voluntary self-aggregation instead of a dominated wage system. Orsi (2009) stresses the point that producers and users are the same social actors, while often releases show the process and give credits to the developers, which in turn serves as motivation for the volunteer work. No deadlines or release dates put stress on the workers, and work is not distributed but chosen freely by the workers (ibid 2009, p. 40). Motivation seems to be closely bound to the practices and experiences inside the groups, i.e. making friends instead of money and gaining recognition. Still, connections and social networks can be important in late-capitalist knowledge production as well, and the intention of activists becomes important.

5.4.2 Intention

As mentioned in the subchapter *Emancipation of lived and built environment*, capital has tried to take advantage of the open source movement from the beginning. It starts paying activists for the tasks to be done, or companies allow workers to join free software production during office hours. Accordingly, a study undertaken by Dafermos & Söderberg 2009 shows that 40% of the workers in the FOSS movement were paid, 58% had day-time jobs, and 20% were students. But corporate control is still limited, as 17% work on the project without their supervisor's knowledge. Still, social actors keep a distance from the capitalist production, but many capitalist mechanisms try to make use of their projects, to reduce the distance between open source and private properties. One example is Microsoft's "shared source", in which parts of the source code are openly available and worked at by different free-lance agents (Dafermos & Söderberg 2009). Following Williams, the question of intention *and* motivation has to be asked. Presumably, those who work in Microsoft's "shared source" either want to increase their job chances, or steal knowledge to make it available in the growing underground movement.

In their paper "Exploitation of the Self in Community-Based Software Production: Worker's Freedoms or Firms Foundations", Phoebe Moore & Paul A. Taylor introduce the *initial* idea of *GNU*, *Linux* and others as an attempt of activists intentionally

to challenge copyright license agreements. It was a movement in which activists protested against the forced payment of software without having a chance to study the source code, but today, workers in the open source movement are trained in a specific way of problem-solving as an intellectual game, which then can be easily used for for-profit companies (ibid, p. 103). Requirements for knowledge workers are creativity, flexibility, and andragogical competence. This is followed by a shift in “hegemonies for knowledge production both within models for business interaction and within the concept of workers’ employability in knowledge-based economies” (ibid). Since those active in Open Source communities would be income-less themselves, Moore & Taylor assume (in contrast to Dafermos & Söderberg 2009, Orsi 2009, Arvidsson 2009 and others) that the activity in the community production is motivated by the increase in chances for employment, thus increasing employability. Motivation and intention seem to be the very central points in regard to the question of alternatives. To be part of an alternative needs the intention to be so, and the motivation must not be part of the more capitalist realities. Otherwise, the social movements at work may have a destructive consequence for those involved, exposing the individual to an exploitation that is worse than ever before. This is not only the case in online communities. Drawing on the arguments of Staheli (2008), by looking at offline communities Hayes-Conroy (2008) states that the research on communities should consider the willingness and capacity of a group, since

“neoliberalism and anarchism both have an interest in local community. (...) But, if we are concerned about neoliberal co-option of community-based initiatives, we need to recognize how anarchist ideals may be informing local resistance and strategic decision making alongside the state and capital – and indeed how they might do it” (ibid, p.30).

In the previous paragraphs we distinguished between social actor’s motivation and intention, which now has been combined with the factor of *willingness*, but if social actors have the capacity to do so, as well, depends on their consciousness

5.4.3 Consciousness

By discussing the issue of active or passive resistance, Williams (2009) states that the distinction between passive (i.e. hairstyle) and active (i.e. violence) resistance does not really matter. The intention and consciousness of the social actors is much

more important, so that activity and passivity become a dimension instead of categories. For Williams, whether an activist is active or passive is just one or another form of conscious resistance. Drawing on two studies, Williams concludes that

“both studies emphasized how resistance was facilitated through specific acts of appropriation and ritual, yet they take us away from a passive view of resistance. Willis’ study does so by looking inside the everyday lives of these working-class youths, where we can begin to inductively derive a sense of intentionality in their behaviors, while Lowney’s probes the establishment and maintenance of a new self-concept that is validated by one’s subcultural peers. Their use of ethnographic methods, rather than the semiotic and rhetorical methods preferred among CCCS scholars, gives each study of resistance more internal validity because each is able to articulate both the meaning and target of resistance from the point of view of the young people themselves” (ibid, p. 24).

Even passivity can be an important aspect of resistance, since resistance depends on motivation and intention.

A wide understanding of the interweaving structures of autonomy and heteronomy in social production is given by Böhm & Land (2009) in “No Measure for Culture? Value in the New Economy”. The authors state that the discourse of culture has shifted from direct economic benefits to indirect benefits. Members of social production communities, such as artists, are discussed as human capital, social capital and cultural capital. At the same time, the discourse related to the outcomes has shifted from direct financial benefits for the regions through jobs, and tourism, to a less tangible touch. It is said that social activity increases social inclusion and cohesion, to the degree that it is even capable of reducing crime and other ‘malfunctions’ of society.

The ‘creative industry’ seems already to have become a tool of governance and is measurable in terms of social effects (ibid, p. 77). Böhm & Land focus on the valorisation processes of autonomous labour, approaching it with reference to three forms of capital: human, cultural and social. Creative ecology produces human capital and the social itself, as the social is subsumed by capital. Like a teacher who helps produce the new labour force, the cultural industry produces human capital that is needed by the capitalist system to proceed. Thus, unproductive labour turns to productive labour. Formerly not included by capitalist production, social relations, artistic work and charity are now made with a balance calculation and an inevitable source for the capital. Cultural capital can ignite aspiration, make people work

harder, get benefits and employment, whereas social capital describes the capacity of communication. While in fordist times of mass production and labour division, communication was prohibited and communication while on the job could be regarded as a sign of resistance, “communication [today] is essential to both organisation and production” (ibid, p. 92). Böhm & Land observe a shift from mass worker to social worker, with a new quality of social control: it is no longer the manager who controls the workers, but the specific processes of socialization inside a group, community or company (ibid).

Dafermos & Söderberg (2009) equate the experiences inside the not- or partly capitalist groups with a continuation of labour struggle. They argue, returning to Internet communities, that hackers do not create open source software to increase their later chances of employment, but say to themselves it is about the fun, often comparing it to “the toil of waged labour” (ibid, p. 54). Dafermos and Söderberg connect this notion of joy to the elimination of alienation:

“In attempting to escape from alienated existence, the hacker movement has invented an alternative model for organising labour founded on the common ownership of the means of production, on volunteer participation and the principle of self-expression in work” (ibid., p. 54).

Dafermos & Söderberg highlight the importance of a certain level of distance between the *act of doing* and the *gain of wage*. The alternative method of production, so they claim, would not have been possible if “decisions over technology [had] still been confined to market incentives, corporate hierarchies and government regulations” (ibid, p. 55). In their decision to keep the autonomy of the hacker community intact, or to give up and be adopted by the market structures, social actors fight some kind of continuation of the labour struggle. Under the protective shield of communities, social actors create alternative production systems and try not to invent products within the premises of creative production in a knowledge-based working society. Thus, in a way, social actors are even establishing conservative tendencies, privileging security over self-expression and moneymaking.

To theoretically describe the increased danger of exploitation social actors are exposed to in social production, Moore & Taylor introduce Foucault’s care of the self: the individual who takes back autonomy and self-determination from the dominant power. The *FOSS* movement could be such a mechanism of empowerment. But, according to Moore & Taylor, this optimistic conclusion is made too fast. *FOSS* and the

improvement of special skills, if they are used in capitalist production in the end, is evenly disempowering. Moore & Taylor use Foucault's four key types of technologies: technologies of production, of sign system, of power, and of the self. Technologies of the self allow individuals to retain a certain stage of self-determination of their own body and mind, in order to transform themselves to attain a certain level of happiness, purity, and perfection (ibid, p. 105). Individuals are dominated to meet the standards of these four types of technologies, "not only in the obvious sense of acquiring certain skills but also in the sense of acquiring certain attitudes" (Foucault, cited in Moore & Taylor 2009: 106). The skills social actors gain in the communities produce a self that is still manipulated by capital, but the domination is less obvious and so is the manipulation of the self. Domination now has more of an ideological dimension, giving the feeling of working in a 'sexy' community. The question is whether social actors can consciously avoid the exploitation mechanisms. Hardt and Negri, for example, recognize this community dimension but still adhere to the concept of conflict between capital and its workers.

To speak in Moore & Taylor's terms, the *FOSS* movement is reinforcing the capitalist project, which makes necessary a distinction between a 'general technological environment of domination and the notion of individual self-domination'. Social actors create themselves in the interaction with power and discourses, and domination of the self, in terms of ideology, is not necessarily a positive implication connected to empowerment. The

"FOSS becomes a structuring technology of the individual that seamlessly reproduces capitalist values in the subject, while simultaneously creating the misapprehension that a non- or even anti-capitalist agenda is being sought" (ibid, p.107).

Here, Moore & Taylor call our attention to the system immanence of at least some parts of the Open Source movement. The capitalist environment forces individuals to search for self-regulation and self-domination. Workers become their own commodities, and have to self-train in order to make themselves employable. Thus, even in a non-profit production chain, social actors are forming themselves, improving themselves and run risk of becoming tools of the capitalist system.

According to Moore & Taylor, the *FOSS* movement runs the risk of being a capitalist playground in which workers and unemployed are trained. This is obviously so as the international norms are still active in these groups, and skills can be easily

transformed to the capitalist advantage (ibid, p.109, cf. Böhm & Land 2009). Naples (2008) identifies this as also being an important point in regard to social movements and social movement organizations in general, when to be active and radical in the helping sector is sold as an increase in job chances and individual improvement.

Only a certain consciousness, motivation and intention together with a strong community prevents exploitation. But even if the community is strong, activists might still not be able to invent programming tools that are not usable by the capitalist system. The question is whether social actors actually want that. As we have learned earlier, social actors already have invented mechanisms to extract money from the capitalist system and make it available to the group. As long as communities cannot completely detach from the capitalist system, this is a possibility to keep it vital.

Knowledge in a knowledge-based economy is the most wanted commodity, but is difficult to trade and to control. Skills, knowledge and innovation are the dimensions of employability, and every worker needs a certain grade of autonomy to achieve this and make herself employable. Understood in this way, self-improvement, fulfilment and autonomy do not contradict capitalist surplus production, at any rate. The most urgent question of our times is whether in the end workers will be the ones in power of their own work-force, fight domination and eliminate discrimination. As the motivation of many participants may still be related to the hope to increase employability and make money, the actual political movement of hackers, according to Moore & Taylor, has not managed to “establish a clearly defined contestation of capitalist models of production” (ibid 2009, p. 113). Moore & Taylor acknowledge that even though peer-to-peer based software production is still bound to economic calculations, it may shape a different reality under certain circumstances (ibid, p. 101).

All three indicators show that the discussion of emancipation of body and mind has experienced a shift from *culture-based analysis* towards *sobriety-based analysis*. Instead of emphasizing the diversification of social actors, scholars seem to be concerned about the consciousness and seriousness of social actors to be creative in a way that does not fit into the modes of production of a flexible, knowledge-based capitalist system.

6 Interpretation of the findings in specific spatial and temporal context

The effort to emancipate from mental slavery and gain a surplus of autonomy and self-fulfillment by posing counter-critique was a useful strategy of activists in the 1970s and 1980s. Boltanski and Chiapello (1999) deduce that these movements have not at all tried to atomize the society. Rather, this was due the intelligent and artful intervention of a fast-learning consumption and commercial industry of a new form of capitalism that has turned diversity into individuality (ibid.). Honneth (2002) argues for the importance of seeing

“that the individualism of self-fulfilment that has been growing up for half a century now, which, through exploitation, standardization and fictionalization, has been turned into a emotionally cooled system of aspirations. Today, under its consequences the subjects seem to suffering instead of prospering” (ibid., p.154)⁴².

Bauman (1997) supports a similar argument when he states that

“(...) in postmodernity there dominates a constant pressure for the downsizing of all collective invasion within the destiny of the individual, towards deregulation and privatization” (ibid., p. 33)⁴³.

Honneth and Bauman teach us that modernity and late-modernity converge in one important setting: while in the different stages of industrialism, diversification meant emancipation, the late-modern dichotomy has changed into diversification as individualization, and diversification has lost its emancipative character. Adhering to the old critical arguments and forms of protest, it is difficult for activists to articulate their concerns and activities.

Canon is that criticism finds its way into the system, becomes visible and gets adapted (Hardt/Negri 2000, 2005) or accepted (Bauman 2000) and deflagrates without being able to destabilize the dominant social, cultural and political order (cf. Eickelpasch/ Rademacher/ Lobato et. al. 2008). In many cases, to protest even serves to stabilize the existing system – a late-modern system based on diversity that gains

⁴² Own translation.

⁴³ Own translation.

its strength from different opinions. According to Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri (2000), a set of universal moral values reproduces itself around us:

“Communicative production and the construction of imperial legitimation march hand in hand and can no longer be separated. (...). It [the machinery] constructs social fabrics that evacuate or render ineffective any contradiction; it creates situations in which, before coercively neutralizing difference, seem to absorb it in an insignificant play of self-generating and self-regulating equilibria” (ibid: 34).

In order to avoid this, it seems that the surrounding forces activists increasingly to invent tactics that strengthen their personal environment, because individualization is shrinking their scope of action. Obviously, they do so by rejecting any clear statement against the system but concentrating on practicing critique, thus substituting *discourse based critique* with *practice base critique*. At this stage it is impossible to say how exactly activists do that, why exactly they form communities and how they use organizations, but practical critique is much more difficult for the system to detach from its societal base and make use of to reproduce the hegemonic power structures. Because of embeddedness, it is much more difficult to *practically* get out of the capitalist system than to make an anti-capitalist stance, as anti-capitalist rhetoric does not really disturb anyone at this stage of modernity.

Capitalist production forces workers to close up, not to give away and let circulate important knowledge. This makes activists search for alternative ways to gain knowledge in a knowledge society, which may explain the communities they create. Activists neither create issue-bound communities nor territory-bound communities, but create communities that relate to knowledge production, such as online social production communities, ecological communities and so on. It is necessary to stay inclusive, but still to define themselves through exclusion.

Still, it appears to be difficult to pose resistance against the attacks of capitalist production, and, in relation to this, to resist racism and hostility towards others. The late-modern urge to take a stance, differentiate oneself from others and make oneself better than the rest leads many activists not to take any clear political stance. It seems that social actors spread their practical critique via performativity, which promises to be more fruitful and sustainable than posing rational arguments to follow one or the other direction.

The financial situation of activists is rather bad, so that practical critique still heavily depends on indirect income. Social actors are inventive in producing busi-

ness models with which it might be possible to extract money from the capitalist reality, and to keep it circulating inside the alternative reality. Conflicts seem to occur when capital tries to take advantage of the activists' products, modes of production, and financial means. The conflicts are, whenever possible, carried out on a legal way. As a reaction, activists have established organisations and license agreements to cope with this phenomenon.

The financial crisis seems to pose a new threat to the communities, as capital demands alternative realities to offer up huge sacrifices. In some places already, and in the future perhaps this will be the case more often, activists gather on the streets to reappropriate what has been taken, to show undirected discontent, or retaliation.

Until now, the analysis of protest apart from post-traditional social movement theories has been explained. This analysis can show us that in order to identify critique and the potentiality of alternatives created by social actors who are critical towards the system, sociologists are increasingly concerned with the shaping of alternative realities. Instead of a binary dichotomy of establishment and counter-movement, the papers analyzed have tried to put a new weight on alternatives, tried not to understand them in conflict with the establishment and thus as necessarily marginalized outcomes of the hegemonic power structures, but as alternatives that are created by social actors in distance to the system. This development can be related to the financial crisis of the 21st century, insofar as only this new crisis of capitalism has driven scholars to re-investigate and reevaluate alternative realities. Still, the observation that has led to this analysis obviously did not find any reaction in social movement research. Undirected, seemingly aimless and sometimes violent, but always locally based movements have not been interpreted so far. In the next chapter, I will make an attempt to bring these findings into post-traditional social movement theory.

7 A novel ontology of social movement research?

According to Antonio Pedro Dores (2009), it is difficult for post-traditional movement theory to understand and analyze the sometimes-violent social movements of the youth and marginalized, as there would be no head of the movement speaking for the others. It is rather the expression of deep dissent that consciously is not put into any representation:

“Suppose protesters do not want to be judged by a mono paradigmatic social opinion and so they just communicate by email, internet chats, sms and friendly small groups. They do not care to prepare talking to the mass media. Marginal political activists are looking for marginal ways of expression.” (ibid, personal communication).

This leads to a situation, for example for the ‘movements of movements’, the World Social Fora, in which no one is authorized to speak for all, and there is strong pressure to find “a common line of behaviour in order to overcome and defeat the neo-liberal common enemy” (ibid). According to Dores (2009) and his analysis of the Greek violent protest, important forms of protests cannot be measured by social movement theory, since the “common sociological sense for social movement requires an explicit intention of changing the way of institutional social management, which was not present” (ibid, personal communication). But inside the Greek movement itself, a rare feeling of solidarity had enriched the atmosphere, some kind of special bond that connects the political activists and supporters of marginalized movements. Dores continues that “all of them get stoked, for the moment. They just knew each other for the first time. ‘I saw society (solidarity) for the first time in my life’ – said a young mother of youngsters” (ibid.) of the same age as Alexandros Grigoropoulos, who had been killed.

In contrast, Roth (2007), as one of the most famous scholars of social movements, understands the ‘movement of movements’ still in the post-traditional context. While acknowledging the plurality of different movements, local experiments and many other alternatives, he sticks to the idea that hopefully in the end, the concept of ‘social fora’ will spread into regional and national political contexts:

“Potentially, the ‘altermondialists’ will manage to keep these alternatives, to update and translate them into concrete ‘glocal’ practices of change. This appears to

be all the more urgent because we not only have to deal with cataclysmic potentials and consequences of neoliberal globalization, but also with a strengthening of extreme right-wing counter-movements, who want to profit from that using racist ideologies of ethnic communities' (ibid, p. 213).

By definition, NSM and RM/POS theory are formed around single-issued social movements openly discussed, and oversee those activists that do not engage in the political, social and cultural game. NSM and RM/POS theory are bound to work with that kind of protest emerging in a counter discourse, which leads to a specific understanding of social conflict, change and mobilization. The following represents this interpretation:

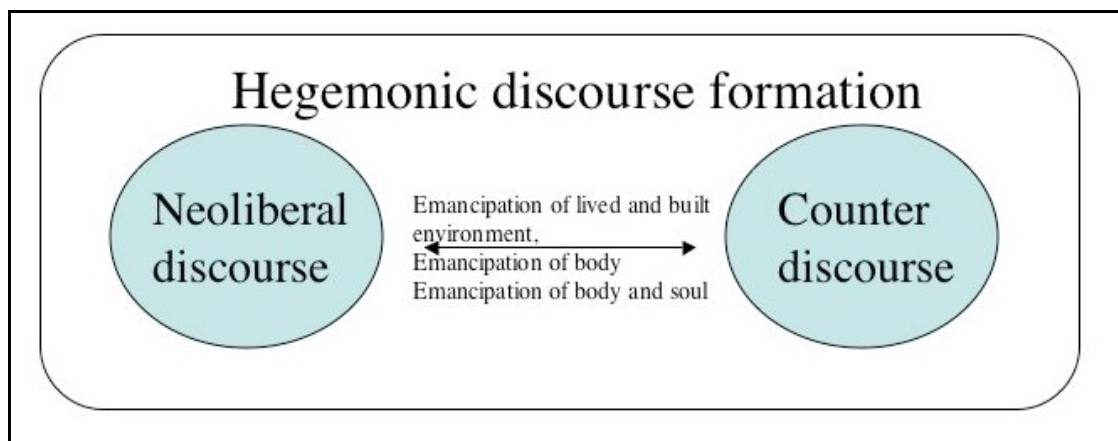


Figure 1 - Emancipation in Post-Traditional Social Movement Understandings.

If my understanding is correct, that ontology limited in this way obscures important aspects of social dynamism, we can conclude that the NSM as well as the RM/POS approach both interact within, and are reproducers of, the hegemonic discourse.

If protest would only be centred on counter-discourse, there would be no reason for the hegemony to fear criticism, anyway. But the news about the mass of police and military guarding the members of the G8 Summit, every time it takes place, the many brutal police and military actions at other protests in late modern societies, from Japan, Germany to the US, the aggression against recent youth uprising as most obvious in Athens and Paris, is indicative of a critical point. It seems that the “Empire” fears a *special* kind of protest and gives its best to demolish it, only visible if we accept that “(not) all diversity can be digested by capitalism” (Vaden & Suoranta 2009, p. 165). This observation makes it necessary to distinguish (not evaluate or

measure, cf. Koopman 2008, p. 300; Entrena-Durán 2009, p. 534) different kinds of protest.

As has been shown, the papers analyzed here are not overly concerned with direct conflict between the hegemonic discourse and the counter-discourse, but make an attempt ontologically to include alternatives into their analysis, which enables scholars to understand social actors' inventions and practices as emancipated forms of protest. The following figure illustrates this thought:

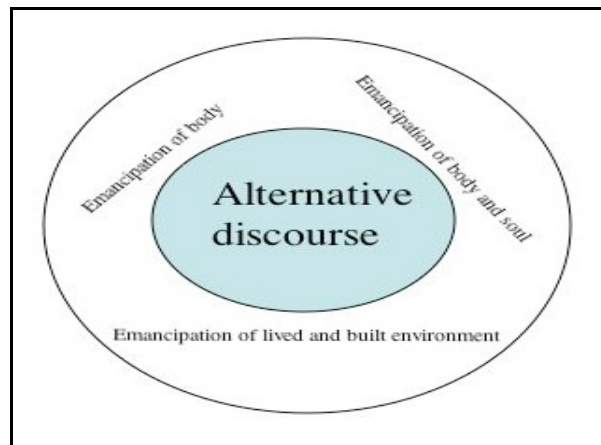


Figure 2 - Emancipation in Social Movement Research in the Financial Crisis.

In this case, by emancipating the alternative we see that protest is no longer understood as a single-issued movement. Certainly, to concentrate on a constructivist approach for the impact of the financial crisis on social movement theory is not without danger. As Bader (1991) remarks, this concentration may cut the relation between social-structural causes and definitions, or rather articulations:

“Discourses circle around themselves or compete with other discourses, but are not related to non-discursive levels. Experiences lose their own contumacy and are presented as being constructable or manipulable unlimitedly” (ibid., p.166)⁴⁴.

Precisely, the understanding I wish to propose is different: discourse is constructed by interacting social actors, and the construction and manipulation is not unlimited, but rather can be resisted through forming a different discourse, a different legitimacy and understanding of society which is tightly bound to the contumacy of

⁴⁴ Own translation.

experiences and practices – or what has come to be called the non-representational theory or the performativity approach (cf. Müller 2008, p.324; 330).⁴⁵

Social conflict and mobilization as well as social change are no longer understood as coming into existence within the hegemonic discourse, but are understood as something that forms itself in the outside. Concretely, Habermas' understanding of autonomy of the individual should be transformed to an understanding of autonomy of the group. It is not the life-world of the individual that is colonized, but rather the alternative reality that has been formed by social actors to widen their scope of action in an atomized society. It might be that members of the alternative realities have become stronger, even though their aim is not to break out of society, but to secure a livelihood. In this sense, protest appears silent and as some kind of defensive mechanism in the meaning of conflict, but offensive in the meaning of networking and communication. Whenever members, ideas, financial means and so on are snatched from the alternative reality, street protests might well occur, but only scattered, on a small scale, in relation to communal understanding of society. The following figure combines both theoretical approaches:

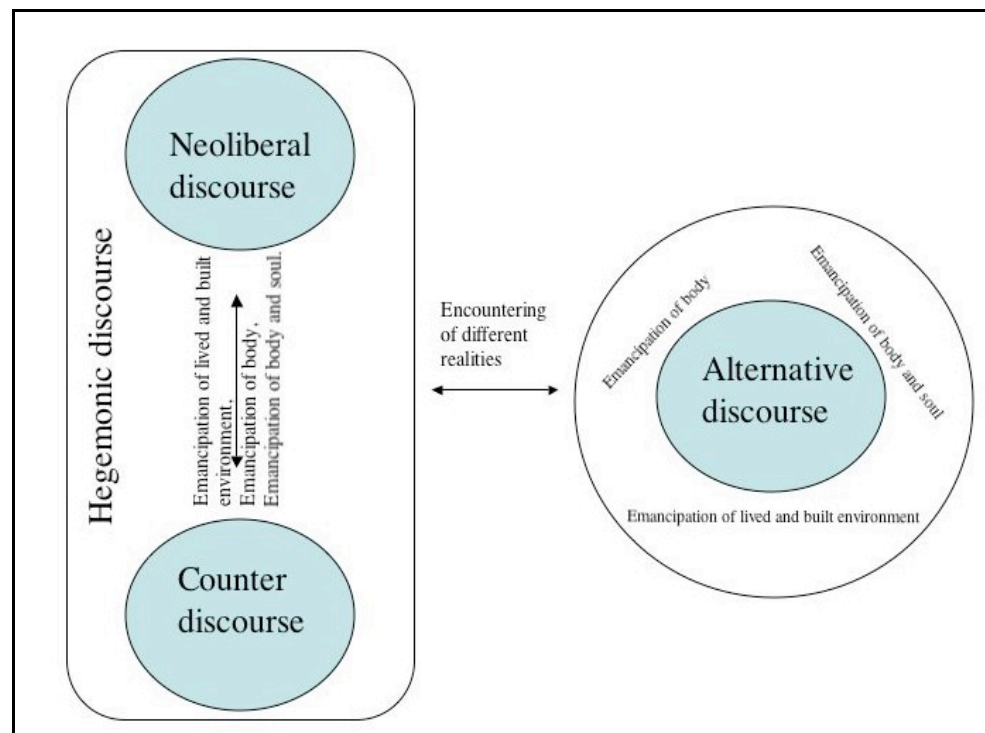


Figure 3 - Combination of 'Post-Traditional' and 'Financial Crisis' Social Movement understanding.

⁴⁵While the performativity approach is still conceptually framed by discourse theory of reproduction of particular discourses, the non-representational theory understands practice as the pre-cognitive aspect of the social, thus putting it outside any discourse formation.

It seems as if the distortion of the TINA discourse by the financial crisis has led many researchers to rethink their understanding of protest against a system that reminds of Empire, and the theoretical revaluation of alternatives is one of the consequences. To initialize a further prospective theoretical framework, two concepts shall be introduced, Berger/Luckmann and their understanding of the construction of reality, as well as Michelle Maffesoli and his understanding of polycephality⁴⁶.

As Williams (2009) teaches us, the question of activity or passivity is not the one that can account for the question of what protest is, or what social movements are. To understand mobilization and conflict, neither the amount of people nor the strategies of the fight against the hegemon are significant, but rather the fact that open protest appears in many places, and the nature of the inventions and practices social actors adopt to form their reality. Thus, even the smallest group of two (or even *one*, Does 2009) protesters is sufficient to demonstrate the encountering of different realities. In this sense, *space* and *socialization* become the major dimensions for social movements: *space* becomes important for the concept of social movements since the alternative reality is usually based in the local,⁴⁷ while, as Maffesoli demonstrates, social actors may quickly move from one group to another; *socialization* happens through different practices and performances of the movements, and is close to what Berger & Luckmann (1980) have called secondary socialization; it becomes a form of communication and articulation.

The question of space directs us towards Michelle Maffesoli (1996) and his understanding of the constitution of the underground puissance. With reference “to the research and monographs completed on youth groups, affinity associations, small-scale industrial enterprises” and the rise of telecommunication networks - nowadays maybe social networks on the Internet - that would show “the ‘supra-singular’ or ‘supra-individual’ realities”, Maffesoli reminds us of what Watzlawick has called the ‘ardent and unquenchable desire to be in agreement with the group’ (ibid, p.75). The time of the tribes, as Maffesoli puts it, describes a society of people who are seeking to be together with others, to form peer groups. Maffesoli explains that the policy or the aims of those groups are less important for humans, and the single fact of being

⁴⁶ This systemic overview is only for analytical reasons, and shall not be confused with a system theoretical approach.

⁴⁷ Local, in this sense, does not have to be understood as a pre-set border but is dynamic, even spanning globally at times (Bernd & Boeckler 2009).

with people who think and act alike would cause group-hopping while the social bonds are still tight. Maffesoli draws on considerable historical and contemporary evidence to show that the study of individualism papers over the “intersection of a multiplicity of circles whose articulation takes the shape of sociality” (ibid, p. 77). Maffesoli states:

“This affectual nebula leads us to understand the precise form which sociality takes today: the wandering mass-tribes. Indeed, in contrast to the 1970s – with its strengths such as the Californian counterculture and the European student communes – it is less a question of belonging to a gang, a family or a community than of switching from one group to another. This can give the impression of atomization or wrongly give rise to talk of narcissism. In fact, in contrast to stability induced by classical tribalism, neo-tribalism is characterized by fluidity, occasional gatherings and dispersal” (ibid, p.76).

In accordance with Maffesoli’s argument, we may state that people can move from one group to another, switching between different alternative realities regardless of their coupling with or relation to capitalism. Social actors can be members of different realities at the same time, and it is the development of a ‘local identity’ that constitutes mobilization.

According to Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckmann (1980, 1969), marginalized individuals, those who experience an asymmetric relationship between their subjective reality and the socially imposed, do not have a social base to articulate themselves and thus do not build a contrasting self-identification. Only when they manage to consolidate in solid groups will they be able to lay the base for social change (ibid, p. 177). The creation of a contrast reality can be objectified by mobilization. New members can be gathered and socialized into this contrastive and contrasting reality. Below the carpet of society, mostly unseen by those living in the “official” reality, the collective creates its own structures and mechanisms of social reproduction. It is important to discuss the socialization within these groups, and the creation of the base that can foster these structures and mechanisms. According to Berger and Luckmann, two processes of socialization are significant in building the subjective, and the assigned, reality for humans, under consideration of speech as the most important transistor of legitimization (ibid, pp. 139). The first is primary socialization, where significant others objectify reality and train the child to behave in accordance to and live a meaningful life. By giving sense to the everyday world, this socializa-

tion has a deep impact on the individual. Then secondary socialization teaches the individual to behave according to a role that is socially assigned.

This latter socialization is less strong than the first and can be varied easily. While the primary socialization has taught us not to be naked at the work place, the secondary tells us about the dress code. This dress code, of course, is changeable quickly. But to show up naked in the office needs more persuasiveness and rather good arguments.

Mobilization has to be interpreted more than just the volunteer work in a social group or the occasional participation in a street rally. It constitutes socialization within an autonomous group that grows stronger by socializing those who think and act alike. While traditional institutions lack membership, sociality is on a rise. In accordance with Berger & Luckmann, the authors discussed are aware that the stability of an “official” reality can only be questioned when it encounters a reality that works with different strategies. The question of mobilization has led authors to discuss issues related to the consciousness and capacity of movements to create this alternative reality, and social mobilization is central to it.

Social mobilization on the level of daily-life practice describes the capacity of groups to grow strong horizontally, not vertically. That means the more an alternative way of living together enters the reality of social actors and vice versa, the less strong may the official reality become, and the power it executes.

Only if these findings are applied into the ontology of post-traditional movement research may we be able to identify a novel social phenomena. Important is not only the conflict between hegemon and counter-hegemon, but as well the question of what happens if the hegemonic system tries to take advantage, influence or diminish the non-digestible alternatives. Cannot the Robin-Hood movements or the violent protests be understood as a rebellion of social actors against this attack? Should not movement researchers re-investigate the colonization methods of the hegemonic system, not as a system that reaches far into the individual actors, but rather as an attempt at colonizing alternatives that are explicitly dangerous to the system? If so, cannot undirected small-scale protests be understood as the visible signs of an attack on flexible capitalism, or maybe Empire or whatever it might be called, to eliminate the alternatives, to eliminate indigestible alternatives, and to eliminate any possibility of showing the social change that already is happening? Is it not high time for a re-

investigation into social movements, with the aim of giving sense to the visible protests?

8 Concluding remarks

This Master's thesis tried to make a connection between the developments in sociological fields related to social protest after in times of the capitalist crisis, and the visible undirected small-scale protest forms, which seem to increase during the crisis. The papers analyzed mostly shifted their focus towards the workers as analytical subject, and highlighted the importance of autonomy, and how to reach it. My epistemological stance explained that the post-traditional understandings of mobilization, conflict and creativity have lost the emancipative component in late-modern societies. My analysis has tried to show that literature re-interprets mobilization, conflict and creativity in terms of emancipation, as explained in the table below:

	Emancipation of the lived and built environment	Emancipation of the body	Emancipation of the body and soul.
Modern expression	Conflict	Mobilization	Creative practices
Late-modern, expression during the capitalist crisis	Social Cohesion	Performance	Anti-capitalist Practice

Figure 4 Expression of Emancipation in Modernity and Late-Modernity.

In modern times, a conflict could call attention to a marginalized group, a mass demonstration could force politics to initiate an institutional change and breaking out of the capitalist production system by way of creative and artistic practice opened the possibility of being the master of ones own work. This simplification is, at this point, necessary to explain the development. The literature review has shown that instead of calling attention to a group, social actors turn groups into more exclusive entities and increase their social cohesion, show and explain their different practices on a small scale and have to be much more conscious about their social location in the capitalist system to be able to be the master of their own work.

Based on these findings, I interpreted the undirected small-scale protest to be the visible signs of encounter of different realities. Whenever and wherever capital tries to take away something from these non-digestible groups, social actors strike back. Hopefully some signs of undirected small-scale protest can be at least partly explained with this theoretical advancement, but certainly not all. Therefore, I would like to draw attention to the paper of a colleague, Fabian Gödeke, with whom I work, think and act together in certain issues regarding both our papers. He approaches the issue of resistance from various perspectives to find out what possibilities are left to escape from domination in late modern societies, who interprets flash-mobs and other spontaneous, not politically directed activities as an attempt to orchestrate the death of individuals in order to make it impossible for the hegemonic power structures to take advantage of them. Both our papers highlight the importance of spontaneous activities from different angles, and I hope more will follow and enter our discussion on social protest in late-modern, late capitalist societies.

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Erklärung nach § 20 Abs. 7 der Prüfungsordnung
für den Masterstudiengang *Social Sciences*

Hiermit versichere ich, dass ich die Masterarbeit bzw. meinen entsprechend gekennzeichneten Anteil der Masterarbeit selbstständig verfasst und keine anderen als die angegebenen Quellen und Hilfsmittel benutzt habe.

Datum, Unterschrift