Performing Protest. Media Practices in the Trans-Urban Euromayday Movement of the Precarious

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Abstract

This dissertation addresses the question of how contemporary social movements use protest media strategically in creative and productive ways that go beyond representation. Mediated repertoires of contention are brought into play to create new political subjectivities, establish credible political actors, and circulate struggles across regional and national borders. However, media need to be aligned with specific cultural settings to unfold their performative power. Despite increasing interest for protest media in social movement- and media studies, their culturality has received little theoretical and methodological attention. This dissertation develops a cultural approach to protest media, drawing on critical anthropology, European ethnology, cultural studies, and theories of practice. The research is situated on the micro-political level, while post-operaism, governmentality studies and regulation theory provide a macro-perspective. The study offers a comparative cultural analysis of a trans-urban labour-related movement which mobilised around precarity throughout the 2000s. The most visible public performances were simultaneous Euromayday Parades on International Workers' Day in over 40 European cities. Using complex media arrangements, activists circulated plurivocal imageries of precarity. Methodologically, the research is based on a processual, flexible multi-sited ethnography. It traces imageries circulating in the network and reconstructs their historical and contemporary contexts through participant observation, interviews and extensive online ethnography. This is complemented by visual and textual analysis of selected media products. Following a critical review of cultural perspectives in social movement scholarship, reflexive activist scholarship is presented as a research position between the fields of activism and academia. In addition to a network perspective, detailed case studies in three global cities examine how imageries and narratives of precarity were aligned with everyday life, popular culture, symbolic time and urban space. Specific cultural politics were conductive to the adoption of the precarity frame in some cities (Milan, Hamburg) and led to its abandonment in others (London). Overall, it is argued that protest media were constituent in the formation of the Euromayday movement and central to its performativity. Mediated practices of meaning-making were crucial in generating situated knowledge on precarious conditions, developing new forms of organising and producing empowered political subjectivities based on multiple experiences rather than unity.

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Euromayday London 2005: A Teichoscopic Perspective

Introduction: Upgrading Mayday?

In the sky of London the first sun of May is shining. The big factories are silent, gloomy. All living things are going to a park in the suburb. The park is like a big ocean because many people are gathering there. (...) On the street of Hamburg, many wonderful groups are parading around with red flags and musical bands. 150,000 of the German laborers walk slowly step by step in line. (...) Beautiful Switzerland is smiling to the sun of Spring. On the street, people dressed up for the Festival are coming and going. (...) On the street of Lodz red blood instead of red flags shines. Instead of song, sounds of whips and the burst of shots resound.
(Rosa Luxembourg 1892, qt in Narihiko Ito, 2010)

Mayday 2004: Against borders and precariousness. A weekend of protests around the world. (...) In Milano, the Euromayday Parade was joined by between 80 and 100,000 people marching through the city centre, dancing to the sounds of several sound-systems, and doing some actions along the way. (...) In Barcelona, the Euromayday Parade started at 6.00 in the afternoon with a 10 to 15,000 strong crowd marching towards the city centre. At the end of the demo, the old police station of Via Layetana was temporarily occupied. Riot police charged those around the area whilst evicting the squatted building. (...) In Dublin as the EU 'enlargement' summit got underway a weekend of protests started with the largest Critical Mass the city had ever seen. On Saturday, a march was called by mainstream left wing groups. A private park in the centre of the city was opened to the public and occupied. Around 100 people participated in a No Borders demonstration against fortress europe. The day finished with Bring the Noise demonstration towards the EU summit where police attacked the marchers with water cannon and battons, with the result of 25 people arrested and several injured.
(Indymedia UK, 10.05.2004, S_239)

More than 110 years separate these accounts of demonstrations on Mayday, the International Workers' Day. Both emphasise the transnational character of Mayday in tableaux composed of events in several European cities. In both reports, a geographically dispersed collective actor takes central stage: the organised working class "walking slowly step by step in line" in the first; a social movement "doing actions", occupying buildings and parks, cycling slowly through the city centre in a protest format called *Critical Mass* and attacking an EU-summit with noise in the second. Both reports evoke

a particular kind of sociability emerging from the strange combination of festivity and confrontation, popular practices and protest that characterises Mayday: dancing and festive clothing are juxtaposed by confrontation with police forces, their shots, whips, water cannons and battons. In both reports, the public performance of the Mayday protests is a medium which transmits the politics of the participants to a wider public. Not least, both reports were circulated, the first in printed form, the other digitally on the internet.

The first account is taken from a pamphlet written in Polish language in 1892 by 22 years-old Rosa Luxemburg on occasion of the third International Workers' Day. She celebrates the working class and its struggle for the eight-hour day and sums up with a visionary call to the Polish people:

> *"When the sun of freedom rises upon us, when the iron binding our mouth and hands lose power,*
> *we hold high our red flag and together with our brothers and sisters of the world we cry the*
> *following words: "Long live Socialism! Long live Solidarity, Friendship, Freedom and*
> *Equality!"*

Translated to English, the pamphlet was quoted at a conference in Chicago by Narihiko Ito (2010), the chair of the International Rosa Luxembourg Society. The second account was published on the alternative online news platform Indymedia, which emerged out of the alterglobalisation movement. The report links the first trans-urban Euromayday Parade of the Precarious in Barcelona and Milan in 2004 to the protests against an EU summit in Dublin on Mayday. No author is given, as the report was composed collectively by volunteers from the UK node of Indymedia, based on reports that had been posted by participants on Indymedia sites in English, Italian, Spanish and Catalan language. No grand vision is evoked, but the heading summarises the Mayday actions as directed "against borders and precariousness".

The similarities between these Mayday reports suggest a continuity of Mayday as a protest format. Both the industrial and the post-Fordist Mayday demonstrations relate social protest to the wider culture and to the production logic of their respective social formations. However, this relation is established and configured in different ways. The formation of society and the ways it is imagined have changed through the struggles of the last 100 years, and so have the ways in which social transformation is imagined and, sometimes, enacted. Rosa Luxembourg and her contemporaries saw society as a class society, where workers were clearly separated from the bourgeoisie through their eco-

nomic, social, political and cultural position in capitalism. Conflict between rich and poor, powerful and disempowered took the form of class struggle. Led by the labour movement, the working class was imagined as the singular, unified agent of radical change. Mayday, the International Workers' Day became one of the most expressive and persistent symbolic expressions of the united labour movement (Korff 1986; Rodriguez 1991). In the current post-Fordist formation, however, Mayday has been reclaimed by several new social movements other than the traditional labour movement.

In Europe, the most recent addition to the international day of workers' struggles are the annual, trans-urban *Euromayday parades of the precarious*. These rework the class-based representations of the traditional labour movement through the highly mediated, expressive protest formats of the alterglobalisation movement. Euromayday transfigures the time-honoured forms of the labour movement, the identity politics of the 1980s and the direct-action oriented grassroots networks of the alterglobalisation movement. In calls to action, Euromayday claims that in post-Fordist societies, precarious people are filling the space which was occupied by the working class in Fordist society. The city is regarded as a place of production in analogy to the industrial factory. Consequently, actors regard the Euromayday parades as an intervention into the mechanisms of post-Fordist wealth production and an appropriate place to form and celebrate a new, rebellious social subject. This emergent socio-political vision in combination with the practical experimentation with mediated protest formats and trans-urban networking makes Euromayday a meaningful indicator for new developments of contemporary social movements.

Aim of the Study

Taking Euromayday as an empirical starting point, this study is dedicated to the cultural micro-politics of contemporary social movements. These movements operate locally and trans-nationally in a highly mediated, global environment, using a wide variety of alternative and protest media in their contentious public performances. Current social movement theory with its focus on organisational strategies considers the cultural productions of social movements including their use of media mainly in view of explaining mobilisation and framing processes. The tangible practices and processes creating these cultural productions largely remain locked in a black box. This is particularly striking when the rich repertoire of movements' own media production receives only cursory attention as an instrumental means to the end of mobilisation.

In contrast, this study offers a distinctively cultural perspective on social movements. Using a broad notion of culture and focussing on a wide range of media practices within the Euromayday movement, it puts the cultural productivity of social movements centre stage. It unravels the black box of activists' cultural practices by highlighting activists' practices of mediated meaning-making in urban, national and trans-national settings. I argue that media practices are *constituent* in the formation of social movements. In linguistics, the term constituent refers to the hierarchical relationship between the phrases that form the structure of a sentence. Constituent phrases of a sentence have an essential function within the structure of the sentence as a whole. Constituents can themselves be composed of more phrases, but the latter are not immediate constituents of the entire sentence (Burton-Roberts 2011). By stating that media practices are constituent of social movements, I mean that they have an immediate impact on the structure of contemporary social movements. Although media practices certainly contribute to the mobilisation of resources, the framing of contentious issues and the formation of what social movement theory refers to as movement identity, my analysis is directed at their formative function in contemporary social movements. In an extreme formulation, my argument explores whether media practices are to contemporary social movements what the establishment of organisations was to the emerging labour movement: the realisation of a constituent power. Post-operaists use the term constituent power to analyse the forces which create the possibilities for forming new social relations in endless conflict with the constituted, instituted power of Empire (Hardt/Negri 1999). The distinction between constituent and constituted power is important. Constituent power re-opens social spaces where a reconfiguration of social relations can occur. Constituted power is the state's idea of constituent power: the transformation of rupture and change into a governmental apparatus (Shukaitis 2009:45).

This study approaches media practices as constituent elements of contemporary social movements through a comparative multi-sited media ethnography. The production of heavily mediated visualisations, enactments and reflections both in digital and urban space is analysed as a process of subjectivation, where new political subjectivities and forms of sociability are imagined, prefigured and produced. Attention is given to the appropriation of popular and mass culture in the creation of oppositional signs and symbols, and their diffusion across geographical distance as well as political and cultural boundaries. This study also examines how social movements relate to their past and

present cultural environments. It contextualises movements' media practices with urban subcultures, urban geographies, and radical collective memory of previous movement cycles. Thus this study seeks to make a contribution to a better understanding of how cultural aspects impact on the emergence, diffusion or contraction of social movements.

Debates on Euromayday's claims

Euromayday claimed to create a new social subject around precarisation of work and life (Adolphs/Hamm 2008; Marchart 2010; Raunig 2007b). This has been discussed controversially by political commentators in the fields of activism and academia. Some regard the Euromayday initiative as a promising move away from identitarian and class-based politics and towards a new cultural politics in the current post-Fordist social formation and effectively as a protagonist of new social activism (Raunig 2004; Negri/Scelsi 2006). Affirming the movement's socio-political vision, they regard precarisation of work and life as a plausible base for the formation of a new, antagonistic social subject. They maintain that the movement of the precarious which revolves around the Euromayday parades re-appropriates the skills and abilities required in the post-Fordist production process and the immaterial labour mode of production. In this process, new political subjectivities, a new political imagination, or a new imagination of the social is formed. As the production of signs, symbols and concepts is at the core of post-Fordist capitalism, the Euromayday parades and the production of imageries of precarity are seen as a challenge to the post-Fordist regime. The new social subject - variously described as the precarious, the precariat, or precarity movement - seeks strength not in unity, but in difference. Drawing on the concept of multitude, Euromayday calls on "singularities that act in common" (Hardt/Negri 2004:105). Singularities can be organisations, friendship networks, subcultures or individuals. They are characterised not by a distinctive class position, but by a variety of points of antagonism and forms of struggle, that is, their subject positions (Laclau/Mouffe 1985:11).

Others counter this position. They contest that precarisation of work and life is a new condition specific to post-Fordist society which can give rise to a new antagonistic subject. They point out that from a historical and global perspective, precarity "has always been the standard experience of work in capitalism" (McRobbie 2011; Mitropoulos 2005; Stützle 2006). The Fordist concept of non-precarious standard employment relations was not the norm, but the exception. Even in the global North/West, migrants, women, domestic and seasonal workers as well as asylum seekers were excluded from

this exception. Consequently, they dispute that precarisation marks a new, overarching formation of the social with the new sectors of culture and knowledge production as its paradigmatic fields. They hold that the Euromayday initiative neglects the fundamental differences between the experiences of precarity in the new creative classes and those in traditional fields of precarious labour in a highly identitarian and de-politicised debate (Hauer 2007). As a result, Euromayday lacks organising power both on the transnational and on the social level (Cosse 2008). It only reaches a highly educated, young, culturally savvy sector of the precarious population. Those who take to the streets against the dismantling of the welfare system or in traditional labour struggles or riots, and social groups in a zone of disaffiliation such as illegalised migrants and the working poor are left out (Binger 2006; Hauer 2005, 2006). Especially in its early years as a trans-urban movement, Euromayday was strongly criticised for its rejection of forms of political articulation customary in anarchist/autonomous/grassroots activism. On the UK-based online platform Libcom, the founding document of the Euromayday network ranked amongst the top ten "worst things done in the name of anarchism" (S_350). Activists in Barcelona ridiculed Euromayday as a rebellion of "hyperactive" and " super-creative Teletubbies" devoid of any serious political project (S_16). Considering Euromayday's excessive use of digital media, its affinity to funny, detourning appropriations of products of the culture industry, and the cheerful appearance of the Euromayday parades, the reference to these cute creatures with their in-built TV screens does not fail to resonate. However, as this study will show, actors of this movement are by no means incapable to account for their choice of tactics in highly articulate theoretical elaborations based on everyday experience. The extensive mediatisation of this movement is no sign of de-politicization. The present study seeks to contribute to this debate. It argues that the production of oppositional readings through mediated practices is a core strategy in the cultural politics of contemporary social movements and therefore deeply political. This argument is substantiated by thick descriptions of the production process behind the mediated performances and visualisations of the Euromayday movement.

Outline of Chapters

This study propounds a cultural perspective to the field of social movement studies. In the first chapter, I review the literature of social movement theory and assess its capacity to analyse contemporary social movements from a cultural perspective. Concluding that the cultural challenge posed to this theoretical approach up until the mid-1990s

did not lead to a cultural turn, I offer a *broad notion of culture* to approach contemporary social movements through their practices. This combines the post-Marxist, post-structuralist reworking of cultural analysis in the field of Cultural Studies with conceptualisations of culture developed in historical and anthropological protest studies. I align these approaches with more recent sociological theories of practice.

My ethnographic engagement with actors of Euromayday included an intensive reflection process. Thus in the second chapter, I discuss the relationship between the fields of activism and academia. Based on a literature review and my own ethnographic process, I introduce *reflexive activist scholarship* as an emerging approach to study social movements. I argue that ethnography offers a suitable methodology for practicioners of knowledge production situated between the fields of activism and academia.

The third chapter gives an overview of the Euromayday network as a relational, trans-urban space. It outlines the practices activists use to imagine, organise and enact this network. Media practices are emphasized as an indispensable tool not only for purposes of mobilisation, transmission of information and internal communication, but also for subjectivation processes feeding into the imagination of the precarious as a new social subject. I argue that the productivity of the Euromayday network strongly rests on the activities of local nodes in individual cities: This is where the concept of precarisation of work and life is actualised in interaction with specific conditions and realities.

The forth, fifth and sixth chapter pose the question why the protest format of the Euromayday parade and the concept of precarisation of work and life were successful in some cities and not in others. I approach this question from a cultural perspective through thick descriptions based on three case studies in the global cities Milan, London and Hamburg. I conclude with a summary of my findings, arguing that reflexive media practices are beyond their instrumental and representative usages constituent of contemporary social movements.

In the remainder of this introduction, I will briefly run through the history of Mayday as the international day of workers' struggles, sketch its evolution from industrial to post-Fordist society and present important concepts affecting the emergence of Euromayday as a collective actor. I will introduce Euromayday as grounded in the alterglobalisation movement, and the protest format of the Euromayday parades as a performative act focussing on media practices within this movement. Finally, I will outline the methods I used to study this trans-urban movement.

Protest and Social Change from Industrial to Post-Fordist Society

Like a series of showcases reaching back over more than a hundred years, the annual Mayday demonstrations display the changing relations of workers movements amongst each other and vis a vis their respective governments (Rucht 2001:144; Achten/Reichelt/Schulz 1986:53). In the 19th century, the cultural construction of International Workers' Day evolved through a non-simultaneous, fissured and sometimes contradictory process. Cultural forms and desires arising from different historical periods, social strata and political geographies overlapped and were adapted to specific political and socio-geographical situations. Elements from popular Mayday customs and public performances from pre-industrial peasant culture, industrial proletarian culture, artisan and petit-bourgeois culture were combined and reconfigured to form a new political protest ritual. In all diversity, popular rural and urban Mayday customs and practices had in common that they related to social and economic problems of the everyday and combined them with playful and festive forms of sociability (Korff 1984:277). On International Workers' Day, this specific combination of popular cultural forms was connected to the social protest of the growing labour movement. Until today, the annual Mayday manifestations simultaneously contain elements of conflict and festivity (Rucht 2005).

Mayday: From Struggles for the 8 Hour Day to Integration

The political origins of the worker's Mayday lie in industrial conflict. A US-wide movement for the 8-hour day culminated in a general strike on Mayday 1886, where over 500000 workers walked out of 11,562 workplaces (Trachtenberg 1932). A mass demonstration in Chicago Haymarket square was brutally dispersed by police. In the post-strike repression, the authorities executed four anarchists, a fifth committed suicide. In commemoration of the Haymarket Martyrs and in continuation of the struggle for the 8-hour day, the US trade unions decided to repeat the Mayday walk-outs in 1890. The Paris Congress of the Second International formally adopted the same day for an already planned international demonstration for the 8-hour day. In each country, workers would organize the Mayday celebrations "according to conditions prevailing in each country" (Rucht 2001; Trachtenberg 1932). The event resonated internationally. On May 2nd 1890, the New York Times reported "Parades of Jubilant Workingmen in All the Trade Centers of the Civilized World", and the London times listed two dozen cities in Europe alone (Foner 1986:27-39). Four years later, Rosa Luxemburg reflected

about the unexpected way this one-off demonstration had become an annual ritual:

> *"No one spoke of a repetition of the holiday for the next years. Naturally no one could predict the lightning-like way in which this idea would succeed and how quickly it would be adopted by the working classes. However, it was enough to celebrate the May Day simply one time in order that everyone understand and feel that May Day must be a yearly and continuing institution"* *(Luxemburg 1894)*

Throughout her writings about Mayday, Luxemburg emphasized the contingency of Mayday, the spontaneity of its formation through the articulation of micro-political local struggles aided by organisations of the labour movement, and the way Mayday combined the struggle for the 8-hour day through work-stoppages with a festive celebration and thus established a proletarian public space (Laclau/Mouffe 1985:8-14; Ruppert 1986:239; Negt / Kluge 1977).

Labour historians pursued these features of the historical Mayday celebrations. They substantiate that the demand for the 8-hour day was not only a social, but also a cultural demand, as it addressed time autonomy against the regulating time regime of the factory (Friedemann 1991:184-186; Ruppert 1986:239-279; Nowotny 1989). Workers' life histories show that the Mayday festivities were not only experienced as a means to a political end, but also as an enjoyable cultural form of political expression enacted as a glimpse onto a better life in stark contrast to the daily toil of work (Korff 1984:246). Studies on the alterglobalisation movement pursue this imaginative aspect of social movements through the notion of prefiguration (Maeckelbergh 2009). In contemporary cognitive capitalism, work-related prefiguration has departed from the demand for a shorter working day, as the boundaries between times of work and leisure are blurring. Euromayday expresses the desire for autonomy through the demand for a basic income irrespective of employment, where subsistence is decoupled from formal labour (Nowak 2007:103; Papadopoulos/Stephenson/Tsianos 2008:247).

Until well into the 20th century, Mayday remained contested terrain. Conflicts occurred not only between workers on one side and capitalists and governments on the other, but also within the organisations of the labour movement. Employers tried to prevent walk-outs through lock-outs, threats and bribes. Governments made the Mayday rallies and processions illegal. Trade unions often decided against walk-outs. Workers bypassed these hindrances in many micro-political ways, for instance by holding informal political gatherings in country inns when public Mayday performances were for-

bidden, or, where walk-outs would be too risky or were not endorsed by the trade union, they turned up for work dressed in their Sunday best, often complemented by a red scarf or cravat (Lerch 1988).

After the First World War and the Russian Revolution, and even more after the Second World War, Mayday gradually changed. In the Soviet Union, it became an affirmative celebration of the new state. In Western countries, it transformed with the transition from industrial society to Fordist society (Rucht 2001). Workers were discovered as consumers. In order to consume the goods they produced, they had to be paid reasonably, and the welfare state provided health insurance and other benefits. The distinctive working class milieu as a counter culture, albeit never homogeneous, began to lose contour (Kaschuba/Korff/Warneken 1991). Trade unions subscribed to a new concept of society where workers were part of a broad middle class. Rather than pursuing class struggle, they engaged with employers in collective bargaining supervised by the state. Consequently, International Worker's Day was increasingly integrated into the general culture. Its confrontational character was largely superseded by legally sanctioned marches and rallies, celebrating what was perceived as an inclusion of working people as equals into general society. In many regions, Mayday became a public holiday and was eventually integrated in the national calendar.[1] Until today, the Mayday marches of the trade unions pursue a Fordist model both in their cultural form and in the structure of their demands (Nowak 2007:100).

Since the 1970s, attempts were made to adapt Mayday to the struggles in contemporary society. In many European cities, Mayday is punctuated by groups and initiatives who embrace the historical struggle of the labour movement, but are disillusioned by the seamless integration of trade unions into the social and political system, and who reject their hierarchic forms of organising. In Germany, the feminist movement established the night before Mayday as *Walpurgisnacht*. In popular culture, the night of Walburga is the night where the witches go flying. Feminists re-interpreted it as an occasion to reclaim the night for women. In many cities, the social-revolutionary Mayday dem-

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[1] The process of turning Mayday into a public holiday is in itself significant. Governments employed different strategies to disband Mayday from its origins in class struggle. In the US, Mayday was moved to a public holiday in September and re-branded as an affirmative, state-sanctioned 'Labour Day'. In Germany, the Nazi government introduced a public holiday on Mayday, re-coded as a fascist 'National Labour Day'. In Britain, a bank holiday not on Mayday, but on the first Monday in May was introduced by a labour government in 1978. In 2011, a Tory government considered scrapping the Mayday holiday and replacing it by a holiday celebrating the nation in October.

onstrations of the autonomous/ antifascist scenes have been taking the streets in the evening since the mid-1980s, heavily controlled by police units and often engaging in property destruction as an embodied version of anti-capitalist critique (Haunss/Mohr/Viehmann 1999:228-233). The alterglobalisation movement called for a global day of action on Mayday 2000, aiming to connect ecologism and globalisation critique to radical anarchist, socialist and communist traditions. Although dozens of cities worldwide participated, Mayday as a global day of action remained a one-off event (Hamm 2007; Rucht 2005). However, alterglobalisation activists in some cities continued the initiative for a few years on a local basis. In London, anarchists and other groups connected to the alterglobalisation movement marked Mayday with large anti-capitalist interventions between 2000 and 2004 (Uitermark 2004). In the 2004 trade union march, a black-clad anarchist bloc with a small sound system intersected the stream of lovingly embroidered banners brought out by the trade-union branches, an anarchist cricket game was performed, and a Mayday picnic in a park provided space for political socialising. In the US, Mayday began to be established as Migrant Day in 2006, when over a million people, mostly Latino immigrants and their supporters, took to the streets challenging anti-immigration forces (Pulido 2007).

The history of workers' Mayday suggests a connection between the relations of production and their cultural-discursive regulation on one hand, social protest and everyday life on the other. The labour movement turned the unifying regulation of workers' lives imposed by the factory regime into a strength by enacting the working class as a unified, collective subject (McDonald 2006:31). Where production relied on a clockwork-like, streamlined workforce, collective action halted the entire production machine. Strikes and walk-outs threatened the core of industrial production. In the second half of the 20th century, the increasing integration of workers and trade-unions in Fordist society took the confrontational sting out of the workers' Mayday. The emergence of Euro-mayday as a recent, confrontational incarnation of Mayday in the 21st century renewed questions about the changing relations between culture, protest and labour/production in contemporary European society. "MayDay is the child of the great transformations that are shaping our time" states a description of the 2003 parade of the precarious in Milan (Expósito 2004), and the call to action for this parade provocatively declared that the precariat signified for post-Fordism what the proletariat did for Fordism (S_302). Thus an overview of the current social formation is provided in the next sections.

Precarity and Immaterial Labour

Sociologists observed a fundamental change in the organisation of society since the 1970s, which encompassed social relations, culture and the economy. Regulation theorists describe this as a transition from Fordism to post-Fordism (Aglietta 1979; Brandt/Raza 2003; Lipietz 1992; Jessop 2001, 2006, 2007; Steinmetz 1994). As work- and life-worlds changed, the perceived normality of the Fordist concept of standard employment began to topple. The image of the average male employee, who pursues a structured career path throughout his working life while sustaining his family as the sole breadwinner, was increasingly undermined by precarious employment conditions.[2] What had long been considered as atypical and irregular employment relations produced an increase in patchwork biographies, where people pursued several careers intersticed by phases of unpaid work placements, voluntary work, project work, family time, unemployment or gap years. The generally accepted model of everyday conduct of life began to change both in practice and in discourse (Cingolani 2007; Schönberger 2007).

Issues of *precarisation of work and life* have been subject to extensive sociological debate (Bourdieu 1998; Candeias 2006; Castel 2003; Castel/Dörre 2009; Dörre 2005a, b; Marchart 2010; Pieper 2007). They are mainly found in what were long seen as irregular and atypical employment relations and have since become a widespread normality: part-time and contract work, temporary or minimal employment, freelancing and self-employment and not least the considerable sector of illegalised labour. Insecurity of employment and income as well as the increasing imperative of flexibility and mobility make long-term career or even life-planning difficult. Precarious workers are rarely covered by benefit schemes regarding health, maternity leave, old age or accident. Many have to deal with ambiguous spatial and temporal boundaries between work and leisure. Many cannot make a living out of their income, and few can draw on trade union support to represent their interests. Depending on life situations, precarious employment arrangements can be perceived as an increase of autonomy or as an imposition. Often, they are experienced as a mix of both (Tsianos/Papadopoulos 2007).

Post-operaist theorists conclude that the structure of productive labour itself has changed. They analysed the new mode of production as a shift towards *immaterial la-*

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[2] Scholars of workers' history and culture have discussed this phenomenon since the late 1980s. They interpreted it as an erosion of the working class milieu, identified a need to revise the concept of working class culture to make room for the heterogeneity of political workers culture, and stated that the figure of the worker may have disappeared as a symbolic subject, but not as a real subject (Kaschuba/Korff/Warneken 1991, Warneken 2001).

bour (Bologna 2006; Lazzarato 1996; Hardt/Negri 2000, 2004; Marazzi 1998, 2008; Negri/Lazzarato/Virno 1998; Pieper 2007; Virno 2004). Skills, activities and job patterns which are closely connected to people's personalities both as workers and consumers, and which Fordism tended to locate in everyday life and leisure, are increasingly shifting to the centre of the production logic. Knowledge turns into a product and a resource in the production process. Employers increasingly request communicative and affective skills such as creative use of language, signs and symbols, the ability for continuous self-improvement, and the capacity to cooperate and produce networks. Industrial sociologists describe this shift as subjectivation of labour, because labour increasingly demands "the whole investment of workers' subjective and intersubjective abilities" (Moldaschl/Voß 2002, see also Hamm/Sutter 2010; Papadopoulos/Stephenson/Tsianos 2008:228; Schönberger/Springer 2003). Immaterial labour requires self-directed, responsible participation of workers in organising and decision-making processes. Due to their permanently changing work- and life situations, precarious workers need to develop skills and techniques to reflect upon themselves and shape themselves according to the ever-changing needs of the labour market. The post-Fordist mode of production generates its own forms of subjectivity. It produces new types of knowledge, new needs and desires and new networks, which are changing the way people perceive and interpret themselves and their environments and the way they act both as individuals and collectively (Lazzarato 1996).

Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri introduced the term *biopolitical production* to indicate that this collaborative type of labour creates not only material goods but also relationships, communication, knowledge, affects and ultimately social life itself. Biopolitical production is "not limited to economic phenomena but rather tends to involve all aspects of social life, including communication, knowledge and affects" (Hardt/Negri 2004:101). Immaterial labour is not limited to waged labour, but includes "human creative capacities in all their generality" (105). Empirical indications for the shift towards immaterial labour can be found in the growth of the service sector especially in the global North-West since the 1970s. Although it can be observed across all sectors and industries, it occurs paradigmatically in the areas of media, science, advertising or culture, where production and distribution of knowledge are preeminent. This does not imply that all contemporary labour is immaterial. Sweatshops, factories and assembly lines continue to exist not only in developing countries, but also in the highly industrial-

ised urban metropolis (Sassen 2008). However, as a discursive paradigm, immaterial labour has assumed a hegemonic position over the industrial paradigm and tends to "transform all sectors of production and society itself" (Hardt/Negri 2004:223).

The shift towards subjectivated, immaterial, precarious labour is grounded in structural change of the production process. At the same time, this mode of production is an outcome of historical agency from below. In the movements of the 1960s, the demand to dissolve the distinction between work and life was directed against the alienation experienced in the production process. The demand for more autonomy referred not only to designated times of leisure, but also to employment relations. These demands were enacted in collective struggles against fixed hierarchies, spatial and temporal limitations and alienating work in factories, shops and offices. Post-Fordism enforces these demands in a neoliberally everted form. It activates the request for immaterial labour through new forms of governmentality, through the imperative of incessant biopolitical productivity which makes no difference between work-time and leisure, or between business and private practices (Bröckling/Krasman/Lemke 2011, Lemke 2002).

Potentials for Social Change: Multitude and Precarious Subjectivities

Critical social theorists assess post-Fordism, precarisation and the potential for resistance and social change in different ways (Papadopoulos/Stephenson/Tsianos 2008:222-258). For some, precarisation and immaterial labour indicate that capitalism is able to absorb critique and resistance and recast them into new, pervasive forms of exploitation (Boltanski/Chiapello 2005; Sennet 1998). For others, immaterial labour opens new avenues for social change (Dyer-Witheford 2001; Hardt/Negri 2000; Raunig 2008). In Michael Hardt and Toni Negri's optimistic view, the paradigm of immaterial labour forms the basis of the formation of the social as multitude (Hardt/Negri 2000, 2004; Virno 2004). The concept of multitude as an analytical framework and a political project pulls together contemporary experiences relating to labour/production, sociability, mobility, communication technology and political organising. The fragmentation of the social and the multiplication of identities observed in post-Fordist societies are seen as a recomposition of the industrial class formation rather than as a deficit that needs to be amended. Multitude is described as a social subject composed of "singularities that act in common" (Hardt/Negri 2004:105), an "open-ended network of singularities, a shifting mix of affinities, alliances, and above all, forms of cooperation" (Graeber 2009:530). These singularities cannot be reduced to sameness. Difference cannot be cast

into the mould of one single, unified social subject akin to the industrial working class. Despite its irreducible difference, multitude is not fragmented, anarchic, or incoherent. It is not to be confused with the crowd, the mob, or the masses. Multitude "designates an active social subject whose constitution and action is based not on identity or unity (…) but on what it has in common" (Hardt/Negri 2004:100). The unemployed academic with a migration background will not melt into one with the native hairdresser running her own shop; the freelance cultural worker will stay different from the part-time worker at the supermarket till. However, as women, migrants or city-dwellers, consumers and producers of popular culture, they may discover overlapping subject positions.

Precarity itself is understood in different ways. Oliver Marchart distinguishes narrow and broad concepts of precarity. In public debate, precarity is largely equalled with poverty. In a Durkheimian framework of social cohesion, precarity is seen as a "zone of disaffiliation" (Castel 2003) which threatens social coherence. In contrast, a broad notion of precarity regards it as a condition that weaves through society in its entirety and affects people across all social strata (Marchart 2010). Taking a historical perspective, Brett Neilsson and Ned Rossiter regard precarity as the norm of capitalist realities, and the perceived normality of regulated Fordist work relations as the exception[3]. They argue for a political understanding of precarity, where it is not entirely determined by the mode of production. They explore its potential to enable new forms of connection, subjectivation and political organisation (Neilson/Rossiter 2005; 2008). In a similar vein, Dimitris Papadopoulos, Niamh Stephenson and Vassilis Tsianos criticise mainstream sociological concepts of precarity where it is regarded as an imposed structural condition and in some cases as potential ground for the emergence of a precariat as a new, unified collective actor in analogy to the proletariat. They argue that such sociological concepts do not account for the specific sources of pride, respect and autonomy of precarious subjects. They favour an "operative political conceptualisation of precarity which is situated in co-research and political activism" and emphasize the agency of the precarious subject in its own constitution through everyday practices (Papadopoulos/Stephenson/Tsianos 2008:228). They argue that neither political parties nor trade-unionist or micro-political forms of organising are adequate means to politicise experiences of precarity. Instead, they propose a concept of *inappropriate/d sociability*. Based on political practice and empirical research, they contest that the post-Fordist regime

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[3]   See the discussion on Euromayday's claims, p 5f.

appropriates the subjectivity of the worker in its entirety. Rather, it appropriates "a de-individualised recombination of skills, qualities and capacities" (ibid. 252). This leaves "an excess of social relations in the field of precarious life conditions (…) which cannot be regulated by the regime of precarious life and labour" (ibid. 255). One might argue that it is this excess of social relations and sociability which fuels the Euromayday project and its attempt to constitute and enact precarious subjectivity on the stage of political protest.

Concepts such as the multitude as a class concept revised to explain the formation of the social in post-Fordism, or the politicising of precarity and precarisation as inappropriate/d sociability are blending critical social analysis and political project, often on the basis of authors' intimate knowledge of social movements. While the analyses are lucid and the political projects seductive, the blend would be incomplete were these concepts not translated back into the language of social protest and realised in the streets, where many of them originated. The Euromayday project is one way to actualise the concept of a non-identitarian, dispersed, precarious social subject, and push it further through actual practices. The annual Euromayday parades are amongst the most visible articulations of this subject. They will be outlined in the following section.

Euromayday's Performative Media Practices

Euromayday grew out of the alterglobalisation movement (AGM), which was presented as a collective actor in the introductory quote about Mayday 2004. The concept of the multitude is better suited to understand the formation of the AGM than any notion of a unified social subject. The AGM emerged in a differentiated, globalised, and highly mediated society (Appadurai 1996). In the late 1990s, disparate groups and initiatives began to act together in biopolitical micro-oppositions. These were directed against neo-liberalism, the globalisation of capital, the remorseless imperative of continuous productivity and the complete exploitation of life itself. Many of these conflicts found an expression in the loose assemblage of the AGM, which first came to the attention of an international public with the mass protests against the World Trade Organisation in Seattle in 1999. Up to the late-2000s, a series of globally synchronised protests against institutions of global governance ensued.[4] Local actors began to engage in global politics (Sassen 2004). The AGM advanced new cultural and political forms in intertwined

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[4] For a list of the major anti-corporate globalization events and protests from 1999 to 2007, see Juris 2008a:48-51.

local and global space (Eschle 2004; Habermann 2002; Juris 2008; Maeckelbergh 2009; McDonald 2006; Reitan 2007; Routledge/Cumbers 2009). Street protests were intertwined with hands-on appropriation of digital communication technologies (Bennett 2003; Pickerill 2007; Van Aelst/Walgrave 2002; Wright 2004). At a time before internet-connected mobile phones and other forms of ubiquitous computing had become common practice, physical *Independent Media Centres* were part and parcel of these protests. These locations provided participants with facilities to upload their own reports in multi-media formats to the alternative, open-publishing online news platform *Indymedia* in real time (Annie/Sam 2007; Downing 2003; Hamm 2003; 2005; Kidd 2003; Pickerill 2007; Scatamburlo-D'Annibale/Ghada 2004).

The movement for radical globalisation from below revived anti-capitalist critique, identified new areas of struggle and developed new forms of organising, mobilising and protesting. The protests themselves were highly tangible and performative. Actors developed an impressive repertoire of new cultural forms including mediated ones. For many participants, the protests led to a transformation of their everyday lives and political subjectivation through the physical, embodied experience of participation (McDonald 2006). However, the anti-capitalist critique of the AGM with its focus on institutions of global governance often remained abstract and formulaic. It was rarely grounded in people's everyday experience of being part of the post-Fordist production process.

Remember Mayday?

On Mayday 2004, Euromayday appeared as a new actor on the European landscape of social movements. With highly expressive public performances, the trans-urban Euromayday parades re-invented the industrial workers' Mayday as a public platform (Dohet/Faniel 2010). In contrast to the protests of the alterglobalisation movement, the Euromayday parades addressed the everyday realities of working life in post-Fordist societies. They gave visibility to and scandalised precarisation of work and life. This included insecurities of employment relations, but also those caused by immigration regulation or restricted access to public infrastructure including transport, education and housing. Euromayday actors regarded precarity not only as an empirical diagnosis, but also as a political project. They emphasised the double-faced character of precarity: a new regime of exploitation on one hand, a source of resistance, empowerment and autonomy on the other (Adolphs/Hamm 2008; De Sario 2007; Raunig 2007b; Riedmann 2006).

The first Mayday Parade of the precarious took place in Milan 2001. Initiated by media- and other activists in the Milanese scene of self-managed social centres together with a radical trade-union, it attracted 5000 participants from all over Italy. In 2003, the call for action was extended to the alterglobalisation movement. When Barcelona-based groups involved in the alterglobalisation movement adopted the protest format of the Mayday Parades of the precarious in 2004, Mayday became EuroMayday (Foti 2005; Mattoni 2006, 2010). About five months later, EuroMayday formed as a networked, trans-urban movement project at *Beyond ESF*, one of the autonomous spaces related to the European Social Forum in London in 2004 (DeAngelis 2005; Juris 2005a; Turrión/Martín 2005). Groups associated with the global protest movement agreed to organise EuroMayday Parades in cities all over Europe on Mayday of the following year and publicised this intention in the *Middlesex Declaration* (Cosse 2008, Doerr/Mattoni 2007). On the 1st of May 2005, Euromayday parades took place in 19 cities across Europe. By 2010, 111 Euromayday parades had taken place in 42 European cities from Helsinki and Hamburg in the North to Naples, Sevilla and Lisbon in the South, from Amsterdam and London in the West to Vienna and Ljubljana in the East (see table 1a)[5]. Additionally, the Mayday Parades of the precarious were adopted in Toronto and several locations in Japan (Kohso 2008; Yoshitaka 2005; S_186). The number of participants stretches from less than a hundred to over 100.000.

EuroMayday Parades are annual public performances of those who work in flexible, temporary or part-time jobs, as stagiaires or self-employed project-workers, often without social security and often intersected by phases of unemployment. They also belong to those who experience precarisation in areas other than work: migrants with precarious status of residence or none at all, people who are about to loose their homes due to gentrification, those who are disgruntled by rising transport costs, the privatisation of public services, education or public space in general. A vivid description evokes the

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[5]   This dissertation is based on research conducted within the research project *Protest as a medium – Media of protest*, based at Lucerne University (Switzerland) and funded by the Swiss National Research Foundation. Table 1a lists the cities where Mayday Parades of the precarious took place between 2001 and 2010. Starting point for assembling these data was a list of participating cities on the euromayday.org web portal. This was double-checked and completed by information gathered on the trans-urban mailing list of the Euromayday network, and by ethnographic conversations online and offline. Double-checking was necessary, as in some cases, local Mayday Parades were clearly affiliated to the network without being listed on the Euromayday web portal, while other cities were listed without holding a Mayday parade. One of these cases is the Dublin Mayday 2004 (S_47). Reports on Indymedia Ireland frame the demonstrations against a coinciding EU summit as affiliated to the Euromayday project (S_45), and a collage of Euromayday mobilisation materials produced in Spain includes a Dublin mobilisation poster, but the event is not listed on the Euromayday web portal.

dynamic and distinctively mediated character of the Euromayday parade in Barcelona 2004:

> *"Like an accelerated version of the practices of Reclaim the Streets, a stream of dancing, chanting and painting people flowed through the inner city of Barcelona. This stream – as the yellow press newspapers would argue – left a trail of havoc through the city. Yet this had nothing to do with the familiar anti-globalist rituals of disinhibition and transgression, for instance "removing the glass" from banks – that occurred in Barcelona too, but only as a marginal phenomenon – or riots between militants and the police. (...) With breathtaking speed, the streets that the demonstrators passed through were transformed into painted zones. Under the protection of the demo, the city was dipped into an ocean of signs: template graffiti, political slogans, posters, stickers, suggestions of web sites, labelled pedestrian crossings, contextualizing wall painting commented on here and there by performative actions" (Raunig 2004).*

By choosing the International Day of Workers' Struggles as the date for the protest, and referencing the iconography of the labour movement, Euromayday activists situated the event in proximity to the tradition of the labour movement.[6] At the same time, in their chosen protest formats, they emphasised singularities that act in common rather than a unified actor, and thus clearly marked a difference towards this tradition (Hamm/Adolphs 2009; Riedmann 2006:47). After, and sometimes even during the Euromayday parades, participants uploaded numerous online reports in textual and audio-visual formats to alternative and commercial internet platforms mainly in Italian, English, Spanish, French, German, Portuguese, Dutch, Slovenian and Scandinavian languages[7]. These reports document and sometimes interpret the distinctive aesthetic forms, which held the Euromayday parades together. Buzzing with creativity and activity, they were infused with the most diverse protest media. URLs were painted onto the streets, stickers and slogan-printed sticky tape were applied to shop-windows, cash-points, lamp-posts, T-Shirts or one's own face, graffiti was sprayed, banners were carried, placards inscribed. Bodies were dressed up with cartons, one-pound-bags, glitter and costumes, DJs created a sound-scape from more or less sophisticated sound-systems mounted on trucks or other vehicles, while people danced in the streets. Video and photos were taken, SMS were sent, radio connections established from city to city. Everybody seemed to be incessantly and pleasantly busy. Clearly, media practices were given

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[6] This proximity is not only symbolic. In several cities, the Euromayday Parade is timed not to coincide with the official trade union manifestation to allow consecutive participation in both events (Int 15, Int 23).

[7] More descriptions of specific Euromayday parades can be found in scholarly and activist articles and essays (e.g. Exposito 2003; S_306)

great importance in the Euromayday process. In the callout for the Mayday Parade of the precarious in Milan 2003, activists stated: "This new social subject is the precariat, and its weapons are labor conflict and media activism" (Exposito 2004). The 2004 call to action presents the Euromayday parade as "a libertarian and multi-identity format" to be "propagated and subvertised via independent omnimedia (print, spray, radio, video, net, satellite etc)" (S_332).

Raising Questions

From its beginnings as a transnational project, Euromayday inspired social theorists, political commentators and activists. Embedded in political commentary, theoretical reflection, and empirical social research, they present aspects of the Euromayday project in general or its actualisations in a particular city, often focussing on the wider issue of precarity as a social relation. Taken together, these accounts constitute a multi-facetted collection on the Euromayday process in specific urban settings and locally bounded political scenes, including Turin, Liege, Lisboa, Hamburg, Milan and Barcelona. Authors involved in the new movement or at its fringes provided accounts from the perspective of local and transnational social movement activism (for instance: Bergmann/John/Panagiotidis 2006; Cosse 2008; De Sario 2007; Exposito 2004; Feixa/Pereira/Juris; Foti 2005; Hauptfleisch 2005; Meade 2008; Milan 2005; Panagiotidis 2006, 2007). Euromayday was assessed from the perspectives of trade-unionism (Hauer 2006; Nowak 2007), hegemony theory and discourse analysis (Riedmann 2006; Marchart/Adolphs/Hamm 2007, 2010), post-structuralism and post-operaism (Negri/Scelsi 2006; Raunig 2004, 2007b, 2008; Vanni 2007), and social movement theory (Doerr/Mattoni 2007, Mattoni 2009a). "Precarious creativity" and "precarious politics" of the mediated interventions of the Mayday process in Milan were analysed in the contexts of critical political Net-art and a philospophical elaboration on autonomy and self-organisation (Bazzichelli 2008:238-253; Shukaitis 2009:165-189). The work of Alice Mattoni gives the most extensive insight into the multiple media practices of the movement. Although her work focuses on the precarity struggles in Italy, her case studies span the local, national, and trans-national territory, engage with social movements ranging from transnational and national coalitions to individual local movement groups, and cover initiatives in individual sectors of the labour markets as well as cross-sector activities (Mattoni 2006, 2008a, 2009a, b). Several contributions discuss media use in the Euromayday parades in the sense of visualisations and narratives (Doerr 2010;

Hamm/Marchart 2010; Hamm/Sutter 2010; Hamm/Adolphs 2009; Mattoni/Doerr 2007; Vanni 2007). Especially the spectacular, highly successful expressions of the movement, such as the larger Euromayday parades or the Milanese production of imageries of precarity and their derivatives were analysed, while smaller, less flamboyant interventions and everyday practices attracted less attention (Hamm/Adolphs 2009; Mattoni 2008b; Panagiotidis 2007; Raunig 2004; Tari/Vanni 2005; Vanni 2007).

Overall, current research raises the question whether the highly mediated Euromayday project effectively constitutes a social movement which generalises social struggles across a diversity of issues, different social strata and national boundaries. In other words, is Euromayday really an expression of the precarious as a powerful new social subject which is able to act as an agent of social change? For this study, the question was reformulated. Rather than asking if Euromayday is de facto a powerful agent of social change, I focus on Euromayday's methodologies to create new political subjectivities through media practices that can also be observed in other contemporary social movements. Thus in this study, Euromayday is regarded as part of a wider change in the way contemporary social movements are forming under the current post-Fordist regime. It seeks to explain the process whereby tactical ruses of precarious everyday life are recoded as prefigurations of a dispersed, non-identitarian precarious political subject, using media in a way that extends the repertoire of media activism.

This study offers a comparative, relational approach. To assess Euromayday's heavily mediated mobilisation, it zooms out to take a bird's view on the trans-urban network as a whole. It explores how ties are formed between different nodes of the network, and the impact of mediated imageries of precarity in this process. Taking a frog's view, the study zooms in to the urban landscapes of individual cities with their varying composition of cultural logics and knowledges. This enables contextualisation of media practices with their respective urban, political and historical environments. Focussing on the respective initiating groups and their wider political scenes, I investigate the cultural micro-politics at the basis of the Euromayday project. These practices are often less conspicuous and flamboyant than most of the interventions which have already been analysed, but they show that the Euromayday parades are only the visible end of a wider process. It was observed that these parades are both the result and the starting point of a continuous search for new social processes and the production of organic theory (Nowak 2007:101; Marchart/Adolphs/Hamm 2010). Thus this study treats the Euro-

mayday parades not as an accomplished movement, but as an emerging attitude, a process and a method.

Contrary to current social movement research, which tends to overlook alternative media, empirical case studies about aspects of Euromayday give rise to the hypothesis that performative and reflexive media practices are not only important, but constituent factors in the formation of social movements. More specifically, imageries of precarity are constituent rather than representative of the new social imagination conjured up in the Euromayday project (Mattoni/Doerr 2007; Marchart/Hamm 2010; Vanni 2007). This study expands on this argument. Descriptions of the Euromayday parades in specific European cities indicate that these public performances temporarily transform urban space. Visualised figures of precarity also circulate along the trajectories of the trans-urban network, thus enabling its distributed nodes to act in common and engage in a shared process of knowledge production (Hamm/Adolphs 2009). As visual dialogues, imageries of precarity help to create transnational public spaces (Dörr 2010; Dörr/Mattoni 2007). In the 2004 and 2005 Euromayday Netparade, over 17000 people from all over Europe participated in a Mayday parade in a meticulously designed virtual city, each with their own, carefully built avatar. The Netparade addressed no specific opponent and raised no explicit demands. It merely invited visitors to participate by building an avatar and joining what was called the precarious conspiracy (Marchart/Adolphs/Hamm 2007). In isolation, the repertoire of such reflexive media practices may be disregarded as vanguardist artist critique or as individual pass-time. This study collates an accumulation of such practices and analyses how they relate to each other. It argues that they encourage actors to actively perform processes of subjectivation which feed into the formation of a new social subject.

Empirical evidence in existing studies shows that Euromayday draws on existing cultural repertoires. These include the traditional workers Mayday, rave culture, *Reclaim the Streets* parties and *Pride Parades* of the lesbian/gay/queer movement as well as detournements of popular Catholicism and products of the global cultural industry. For current social movement theory, the adoption of cultural repertoires and the circulation of repertoires of contention is not an issues that demands further investigation. Culture is envisaged as providing a tool kit of elements which are readily available to social movement actors (Soule 2004; Swidler 1986). This concept leaves many questions open. Which cultural repertoires are incorporated, and how? How do they operate?

Which factors influence their success or failure? To approach these questions, I follow several authors in pursuing the argument that the strength of the Euromayday movement, like that of the wider alterglobalisation movement before it, rests to a large extent on its ability to act performatively. Euromayday's performative actions invoke precarious subject positions. This is particularly evident in the production of mediated imageries of precarity such as San Precario, the saint who protects precarious people, or the figure of the Imbattibili, the precarious superheroes, who cunningly develop special powers out of their precarious situations (Chainworkers 2006; Mattoni 2008b; Tarì/Vanni 2005). Ilaria Vanni exemplifies this in her cultural analysis of the Imbattibili. In their participatory, appealing form, they work as invocations of nascent precarious subject positions. By combining narration, visualisation, theorisation and action in their media practices, participants carry out performative acts (Vanni 2007). In Hamburg, the performativity of the precarious superheroes was enhanced by inviting participants to publicly complete the sentence: "I am a superhero, because…" (Hamm/ Adolphs 2009). Imageries of precarity prefigure the reality they are striving for (Lazzarato 2003; Raunig 2007a). In this sense, Euromayday's media practices are performative rather than representative, "because they find in themselves, and not in any end product, their own fulfilment" (Virno 2004:13; 2005). They constitute action which is "performed through signs, and is performative, that is, it brings about a new state of affairs" (McDonald 2006:35f). Containing assemblages of media practices, the Euromayday parades are performative acts of signification which produce what they claim to represent (Butler 1997).

What does performativity entail, and which factors influence the degree to which a movement constitutes a credible performative speaker? Drawing on Austin's speech act theory, Paolo Virno gives a systematic answer in his analysis of the alterglobalisation movement as a performative movement. He distinguishes between those speech acts (in language or action) which impact on given conditions and those that remain empty gestures. To be valid, performative speech acts must be enunciated in a culturally appropriate manner and place. They depend on the enacted position of the speaker. Virno presents three types of unsuccessful performatives. The empty performative occurs where a speech act is spoken in inverted commas, for instance on stage. The misapplied performative is enunciated by a person, institution or collective outside clearly defined institutional roles or legal rights. Such speech acts will tend to be unsuccessful, as their effi-

ciency depends on clearly defined settings. A failed performative suffers from a lack of cohesion (Virno 2005). The performative capacity of the Euromayday project as expressed in its media practices depends on its ability to establish itself as a speaker in an appropriate environment, where it is seen as a legitimate speaker, and where its enunciations are heard. Speaking performatively requires intimate knowledge of a given cultural environment. Thus this study addresses the question how Euromayday established its position as credible speaker in some environments, and not in others, by exploring forms of subjectivitiy, sociability and collective memory in several urban movement scenes.

Media Production as Cultural Production

Media practices are constituent in the Euromayday movement. The need for social movements to command their own, alternative, radical media is no recent development. The traditional labour movement discovered the street as a medium to express demands that had no representation in the political system (Warneken 1991). In the Euromayday parades, media are once again invoked. Euromayday acts in a complex media environment. Multiple forms of mediation are put into interaction. Complex media assemblages form an interrelated urban and digital space (Doerr/Mattoni 2007; Hamm/Adolphs 2009; Mattoni 2009a, b). Combining 'new' and 'old' types of media, this environment is characterised by high levels of intermediality (Schmidt 2003).

But what exactly are media? The variety of interconnected media types and media practices in contemporary social movements explodes differentiations brought forward in media studies, such mass media versus communication media, storage versus transport media, or alternative versus mass media (Bachmann/Wittel 2006; Bergmann 2006). The research practice of singling out one type of media for closer analysis can hardly grasp the complex media assemblages built in the Euromayday parades. Conventionally, alternative media are seen as transmitters of unambiguous, enlightening counter-information. However, imageries of precarity function precisely because they are ambivalent and open to multiple interpretations. Neither can media practices in the Euromayday project and media activism more generally be fully explained through instrumental purposes such as the development of attractive action frames for mobilisation, identitarian cohesion or internal communication (Atton 2002, 2004; Donk/Loader/Nixon/Rucht 2004).

Theorising their own practices in and around the Mayday Parades, the Milan-based

media collective *Chainworkers* coined the notion "media sociali". These are resistant and collectively enacted forms of communication, representation and organisation, which are situated at the core of the post-Fordist production logic without being subsumed under this logic (Chainworkers 2006; Marchart/Adolphs/Hamm 2010; Mattoni 2006, 2008b). The term media in this broad sense expands the notion of alternative media towards what John Downing termed *radical media* (Downing 2001). These incorporate any type of radical mediation. They encompass the entire range of formats: digital, printed, painted, sprayed and broadcast, textual and audiovisual, embodied and enacted in public performances, circulated in physical and digital spaces, stored on websites or in numerous private archives, reproduced in public screenings and workshops or ephemeral and linked to the moment of protest.

Media-philosophical pragmatists proposed a broad notion of media, which provides a systematic framework for Downing's concept of radical media. This approach suggests that complex media assemblages are an interplay between perception media (space, time, sensory organs), semiotic communications media (body, image, language, sound, performance), and technical media of storage, processing and transmission (print, radio, film, television, computer, internet). Thus mediated expressions operate simultaneously as tools for perception, communication and transmission (Sandbothe 2008, Sandbothe/Nagl 2005). This three-dimensional theory of media allows analysing media products in all stages of the cultural circuit, which includes practices of production, circulation, and meaning-making in connection to social relations and lived culture (Johnson 1987:47). Analysis is not restricted to the content analysis of a communication medium, or to one single type of technical medium (e.g. website) or perception medium (body, street). As a relational approach, media-philosophical pragmatism allows to grasp the multi-layered media practices performed within the media environment of the Euromayday project. In the concluding section, I outline how I methodologically approached Euromayday and the complex cultural environment wherein it acts.

Ethnography in a Trans-Urban Movement Network

This study faced the challenge of designating a research field which contains the Euromayday parades as articulations of a highly dynamic transnational network and at the same time includes local perspectives on Euromayday parades in specific cities. Pluriperspectivity was an important methodological precondition for analysing the various

degrees of performativity of the Euromayday parades in different cultural contexts.

Based on a broad notion of culture, I constructed Euromayday as a field of research through an open-ended, multi-sited, processual and dialogic, practice-based, subject-centered and pluri-perspectivic ethnography (Eisch 1996:67-95; 2001; Eisch/Hamm 2001b; Hannerz 2003; Jeggle 1984; Marcus 1995; Falzon 2009). I conducted formal ethnographic research between 2006 and 2010. I accompanied the Euromayday network in numerous digital and face-to-face interactions. I participated in the shared mailing list of the network and in several German-speaking mailing lists. My research instruments included open-ended, narrative, problem-centred interviews (Schütze 1977; Witzel 2000), participant observation and the collection of textual and audio-visual materials produced by the Euromayday movement and its predecessors in digital and non-digital form. This methodological plurality generated a rich and diverse body of materials. I mainly evaluated materials I had gathered myself, but also drew on those collected by my colleagues in the research project *Protest as a medium – Media of protest*.[8]

Digital and visual communication over the internet is increasingly anchored in every-day life (Wellman/Haythornthwaite 2002). Consequently, my research field was situated both in urban and digital space, and my ethnographic process itself occurred both in online and offline interactions (Greschke 2007; Hengartner 2001). As I focussed on media assemblages which included digital information and communication technologies, my approach has strong components of media-ethnography (Ayass/Bergmann 2006; Bachmann/Wittel 2006) and cyber-ethnography (Dicks/Mason 1998; Escobar 1984; Hine 1998; Miller/Slater 2000; Murphy 2008).

Materials, Methods and Research Strategy

I conducted 23 formal interviews (table 4), produced extensive fieldnotes in 27 short-term, multi-sited research phases (table 5) complemented by notes about numerous digital ethnographic micro-interactions with actors in various locations. I documented 4 Euromayday parades in Malaga, Terrassa and Hamburg in video, photo and text. I also had access to materials from Aachen, Berlin, Geneva, Hamburg, Milan, Vienna, and Zurich gathered by colleagues in the *Protest as a medium – Media of protest* research project.

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[8] The research project 'Protest as media – Media of protest' (2006-2010) was based at Lucerne University, directed by Professor Oliver Marchart and financially supported by the Swiss National Science Foundation. My collegues were Stephan Adolphs, Jonas Aebi and Armin Betschart. The project focussed on the Euromayday parades of the precarious (see www.protestmedia.net).

I evaluated a body of almost 700 online sources produced by the movement (table 6 and 7), and used the systematic Euromayday online archive created by the Lucerne research project.[9] The archive consists of textual and audio-visual documents produced by initiators and participants of the Euromayday parades in over 40 European countries since 2004 and its predecessors in Milan since 2001 (table 3). Most documents were taken from various internet platforms. Previously unpublished materials include those of the research team. By July 2010, this archive contained 2596 entries. We also collected mediated materials distributed during several Euromayday parades, including flyers, stickers, posters, sticky tape, buttons, magazines, masks and even a handbag made of the cheap, sturdy, blue-red-white patterned plastic bags which have come to symbolise the autonomy of migration. The handbag is adorned with a mask depicting the Cheshire Cat from the movie Alice in Wonderland, which was made to signify the omnipresent grin of precarity.

The methodology of ethnopsychoanalysis provided important inspirations for my research process (Erdheim 1982; Nadig 1986; Reichmayr 1995). Having my ethnographic research accompanied by professional supervision for fieldworkers proved a beneficial and necessary corrective, when I ran the risk of losing my ethnographic perspective in favour of what can be seen as a complete insider perspective (Wittel-Fischer 2001). Psychotherapy provided a further corrective for my own transferences in the ethnographic process as an activist-turned-researcher. The processual, dialogic and open-ended character of my ethnographic approach allowed me to react flexibly to the developments in a particularly dynamic research field. My original research design was geared to a network wide perspective onto the media practices of the movement. In an early case-study, I used the operation of "tracking" as one of the methods suggested for multi-sited ethnography (Marcus 1995). I followed the figure of the precarious superheroes, the *Imbattibili* (Vanni 2007), in their online manifestations. I followed the online superhero figures back to their origins in several cities, including Milan, Hamburg, Andalucia, Terrassa and Hanau (Hamm/Adolphs 2009).

Initially, I had assumed that I would be able to participate in several, network-wide events and meetings of the Euromayday network. Based on my experience as an active participant in the global *Indymedia* network, I had assumed that like Indymedia, Euromayday would command network-wide online communication spaces such as wikis,

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chatrooms and interrelated mailinglists in addition to physical, place-bound spaces (Hamm 2003, 2005). I expected to develop long-term research-relationships from a network-wide perspective through continuous presence and interaction. These assumptions were not entirely unfounded, as between 2004 and 2006, Euromayday held several network-wide meetings annually, and the shared mailing list was a place of lively debate and organising. However, several participants and observers reckon that the Euromayday network had entered a crisis since 2006, despite the ongoing spreading of the annual Euromayday parades (Cobarrubias 2009:256f). During my research period, the shared mailing list began to resemble a notice-board rather than a place of interactive exchange, and only one public, network-wide meeting took place, in which I participated. Additionally, I was invited to participate in a meeting of the broader trans-urban project *Precarity Webring*, which gradually transformed into a smaller, more focussed working group loosely connected to the Euromayday process in specific localities.

As trans-urban networking within Euromayday shifted to more informal gatherings on the side of other events, to smaller workshops, mutual visits and micro-interactions, I changed my research strategy. I had the opportunity to participate in an informal gathering of people from different nodes of the Euromayday network as a side-meeting of a conference on labour and migration in Amsterdam in 2008 (S_11). In 2009, I had the opportunity for four short fieldwork phases which helped to establish a network perspective:

- A dedicated online chat-room was set up for the Euromayday network to provide a space for informal, network-wide communication. I participated in the few meetings which were arranged in this chat-room.
- People from several Euromayday-groups travelled to the Amsterdam *Wintercamp* in March 2009 (S_12, S_310). I evaluated the rich, audio-visual documentation online, which included interviews with Euromayday actors.
- At the *Subversivmesse*, a large art-event in Linz (Austria), I had the opportunity to interview Euromayday actors from Hanau and Milan.
- I participated in a workshop hosted by the Hamburg Euromayday circle about the use of autonomous social media, which brought together Euromayday activists from Liege and Malaga/Terrassa (S_146).

Additionally, I contacted individual actors and either visited them in their respective cities or communicated with them online. In some cases, I took a more formal approach

and contacted local Euromayday groups through their open mailing lists.

Research Station I: Malaga

Between 2004 and 2006, I had participated as an activist in the Euromayday net-parade and the Euromayday events in London. In 2007, I visited Mayday Sur in Malaga, a five-day gathering of people from self-organised initiatives in the Spanish region of Andalucia. This was the first time I participated in a Euromayday parade as a researcher. As part of the Lucerne research project, my remit was to explore and document media practices at this Mayday parade from a network perspective. However, as soon as I entered the squatted socio-cultural centre Casa Invisible in Malaga, I strongly felt a distinctive situatedness, where socio-cultural dispositives established in the alter-globalisation movement merged with those specific to activism in Spain, or more specifically Andalucia. Within 30 minutes upon arrival, I was introduced to about a dozen new people and met some previous aquaintances. Although my knowledge of the Spanish language is basic, we were able to identify shared friends and movement-related historical points of reference. As I communicated that I was involved with the UK node of the global Indymedia network and was now working with a formal research project on media practices, I was shown the media office, which was, with a big smile, presented as "the heart of the building". The room was packed with piles of posters, photocopies and stickers, several plastic bags with dozens of printed T-shirts, two old but reconstructed PCs running on the free software operating system Linux, and piles of network cables for people who wanted to connect their own laptops to the internet. All this was familiar alterglobalisation media activism territory. However, the familiarity was intersected with something different. I increasingly felt that this place and its relation to the Euromayday network was historically and spatially situated, embedded in the region Andalucia with its closeness to the Straits of Gibraltar, which connect the South of Europe to the North of Africa. Malaga was thus placed in close proximity to a geopolitical point where migrants collided with European border regime. Social struggles in the area impacted on the Mayday Sur gathering. Because of the imminent mass lay-offs at the car component supplier Delphi in the City of Cadiz, the Mayday Sur parade was preponed for two days in order to allow people to participate in the mass demonstration in Cadiz. What I experienced through my physical presence at Mayday Sur at the Casa Invisible was not a bounded community. A better analytical concept to describe its coherence is the "unity of place", which is taken from drama theory (Bausinger 1990

[1984]). This unity is not determined by a single unified ethical principle, but by relational horizons, which mark the space where events occur. These horizons provide coherence to events by defining the range of possible practices and communications. Events include different and conflicting ways and motives for acting (Bausinger 1990:56). The horizons marking the unity of place are not necessarily congruent with geographical space. At Mayday Sur, digitally mediated communication streams and shared practices from elsewhere were integrated in this specific unity of place, which allowed me to connect with events even though I was in many ways a stranger.

My fieldwork in Malaga led me to re-adapt my research design. I complemented the network perspective on Euromayday media practices by locally situated case studies in three global cities: Milan, London and Hamburg. Zooming into the relational unities of place in these cities provided additional perspectives to my multi-sited ethnography. The spatial tracking of media practices across the European geography and its connected manifestations in the difference-levelling digital space was complemented by a crucial historical perspective (Eisch/Hamm 2001:16f). In my local case studies, I followed the ethnomethodological "unique adequacy requirement" which holds that method follows research object (Garfinkel/Wieder 1992). Methodologies need to be tailored specifically to each research site to grasp its unique specificity. I fine-tuned my methodology not only to each of my three chosen urban Euromayday processes, but also to my relation to them.

Research Station II: Milan

The concept of a mediated Mayday parade of the precarious was hatched in Milan, partly as a mobilisation tool for the upcoming protests against the G8 summit in 2001. My guiding question was: Why did this format emerge specifically in Milan? Are there any factors in this particular urban setting which promoted what became the Euromayday repertoire of contention? My method followed the logic of thick description. As my knowledge of Milan and its radical history is limited, I started with an extensive collection of online materials of the movement. I contextualised these through expert interviews with local actors who were highly involved in the Mayday project since 2001. In a second round of contextualisation, I drew on past and present online representations of the groups involved, often drawing on the internet archive archive.org, where even websites, which have disappeared from the internet are available. With the help of activists, I put together a timeline for the Euromayday process from a Milanese perspective. As

part of a cultural structure in the urban setting from which Euromayday Milan emerged, three aspects crystallised: a focus on social movements' position within production relations, an intense, historically grounded political use of alternative media, myth-making and story-telling, and an emphasis on the creation of radical sociabilities. In a third round of contextualisation, I checked studies on social movements in Italy and Milan since the 1970s, the concepts of the various strands of the a/Autonomia operaia archipelago, and the work of groups which were important in the Italian political scene around the self-organised social centres since the 1990s. Finally, I checked my findings with activists who engaged in radical politics in Italy since the late 1980s. Thus my research process shifted between the terrain of radical collective memory and present political practices. I argue that it was precisely the careful alignment of Euromayday as a new repertoire of contention with the specific local situation in Milan, which made the Euromayday parades modular, flexible and transferrable into a wider network.

Research Station III: London

In London, where the Euromayday network was instigated, the project was tentatively taken up by the direct action scene and abandoned after two years. As levels of precarity resemble those in Milan, my leading question was: Why did the circulation of Euromayday as a movement of the precarious come to a halt in London, although its urban structure resembles that of Milan? The contextualising, hermeneutic methodology I had developed for the Milan case study was also pursued in the London case study. However, I made two additions. First, I developed a technique to distance myself from this event. I was familiar with the London grassroots activist scene through my involvement with *Indymedia UK*. I entered this environment in 1999 as a newcomer with little knowledge of previous cycles of struggle in the UK. In order to participate, I needed to learn to decode numerous references to the anti-road movement, the Free Festival circuit and the Free Party scene as well as the Miners Strike, the Poll Tax Riots and the Criminal Justice Act. My strategy at the time to make sense of the codes and practices I encountered was to become a para-ethnographer. Without conducting formal, institutionally grounded ethnographic research, I reflected on my environment in a way that resembles the ethnographic research process. My position oscillated between that of an insider/activist, and that of an outsider/stranger (Hamm 2002; 2004; 2005; 2006a; 2006b). I participated in both London Euromayday events as an Indymedia volunteer and collected the materials which were distributed before and during the events. Four

years later, I revisited the online reports published on the Indymedia UK website, drew on the method of auto-ethnography (Ellis 2004; Bochner/Ellis 2006; Anderson 2006; Atkinson 2006), and conducted a narrative, problem-focussed interview and several informal ethnographic conversations with participants. I established an ethnographic distance to the London Euromayday events through a strategy that could be described as poetic textualisation. I assembled a collage of language-based extracts of online reports published on Indymedia in the format of a theatre play. This format preserved the pluri-vocality of Indymedia as a medium while casting the multiple voices, locations and actors into a narrative framework (see appendix). Based on analysis of reflexive, mediated processes of collective memory amongst activists, I argue that in London, a historically situated activist subjectivity operated not as a resource, but as a constraint for the diffusion of the Euromayday movement.

Second, in my reconstruction of the collective memory that influenced the attempted Euromayday process in London, I drew strongly on Indymedia UK, which contains a record of reports about past protest events since 1999. As activists use the platform also to reflect on important protests before 1999, it contains a record of radical collective memory. In addition to publishing reports and reflections, activists comment on other reports. Thus a further important quality of Indymedia as a source is its interactivity, which allows activists to collectively engage in the production of political subjectivities. I drew on Indymedia reports and comments to reconstruct processes of collective reflection and subjectivation in the spirit of para-ethnography. According to the para-ethnographic approach proposed by Dough Holmes and George Marcus, the practices of ethnography "have been assimilated as key intellectual modalities of our time". Thus subjects in the field of research are regarded as reflexive subjects „fully capable of doing superb ethnography in their own idioms" and situated discourses. Their perspectives "parallel the curiosities of ethnographers". Holmes and Marcus argue for close interaction with such "para-ethnographic tendencies and desires" (Holmes/Marcus 2008:84f). Thus the materials published on Indymedia platforms can be regarded as para-ethnographic sources. Following Holmes and Marcus, I embedded my textual analyses of these materials into a dialogic, ethnographic process. The London case study develops the thesis that activist subjectivities rooted in radical collective memory provide an important explanation for the failure of the Euromayday project in London. I argue that the focus on precarisation of work and life and the positioning of actors inside the eco-

nomic process proposed by Euromayday contradicted existing political subjectivities in the London activist scene. Like in Milan, radical collective memory and activist subjectivities were an important factor – but in London, it constrained the diffusion of the Euromayday project rather than advancing it.

Research Station IV: Hamburg

In Hamburg, where I conducted my third case study, the Euromayday project was wholeheartedly taken up by a newly-formed, dedicated circle of groups and individuals in 2005. Euromayday continued to be a fixed date in the local activist calendar until 2011, when this study was completed. My guiding question was how the Hamburg Euromayday circle used media practices to establish the Euromayday parade in Hamburg in collaboration with other groups in Germany. It became clear that the Hamburg Euromayday circle pursues a very ambitious project to create a new, non-identitarian form of cultural politics, and challenges the political practices enshrined in the radical political scene. I wanted to find out more about these prefigurative politics. Thus I added to my methodological instrumentarium a more extensive ethnographic aspect in addition to the participant observation and ethnographic documentation of Euromayday parades and interviews. The most active time for most groups in the Euromayday network lies between January and April. This coincides with the university term in Lucerne, where my workplace was located, making long-term, continuous fieldwork difficult. Thus I conducted a series of short-term field-phases in Hamburg, roughly every 2-4 months between November 2006 and June 2009 in addition to my participation in the Hamburg Euromayday parades in 2009 and 2010. People in the Hamburg Euromayday circle generously welcomed me in my triple roles as a guest, friend-of-a-friend and researcher. They included me in social occasions such as going out on a Saturday evening, or for a walk on Sunday afternoon, birthday parties, going for a coffee. This allowed me to learn how this circle creates a political sociability which is tailored to precarious and diverse conditions of working and living. Most importantly, the Hamburg Euromayday circle located the struggles around precarity in the everyday lives of those affected by it. It developed methods to move seemingly banal everyday experiences of precarisation onto the political terrain. The everyday was seen as a source of political strength, which provides formats for organising and mobilising.

Ethnographic engagement with the Euromayday network and the Euromayday parades in the making raised my awareness of agency within structural change on a global

level. As the ethnographic process was focussed on the micro-level of politics, and aimed at reconstructing perspectives expressed by actors through mediated practices, this study provides an interpretation "from below". The research process taught me how social movements work through given parameters in the realms of labour and the economy; state, borders, and control; the public sphere and information technology, and how these conditions are re-interpreted and challenged in a plethora of micro-struggles. Throughout this study, I attempt to show how social movement actors consciously take the changing work- and life-worlds in which they live, organise, and mobilise as their starting-point for developing concepts for radical change through new, prefigurative forms of political imagination.

I.   Cultural Perspectives on Social Movements

This chapter develops the conceptual framework which guided my empirical study of the Euromayday project as an enquiry into social movements, culture and media practices. It reviews conceptualisations of culture in current social movement theory and discusses them with a view to cultural analyses informed by post-structuralism, post-marxism and history from below. Conceptualisations of alternative media and media practices in social movements within media a communication studies are reviewed against the background of social movement theory. On the basis of these literatures, the chapter closes by presenting sociological theories of practice as a general framework for this study.

First, I review the genealogy of *current social movement theory* (CSMT) and present its most important concepts in relation to their application to cultural aspects. Particular attention is given to the culturalist challenge of the 1990s and its implications for the shaping of CSMT. Second, I review conceptualisations of culture in social movement theory and outline the main research debates. I relate these to *a broad notion of culture* as it developed as an operationalisation of the often highly theoretical debates amongst post-Marxists and post-structuralists in the course of the cultural turns of the 1980s in anthropology, cultural history from below, and cultural studies. I discuss whether social movement theory has seen its own *cultural turn*. I argue that although culture is recognised as an important factor in the emergence and activities of social movements, the general structural-functionalist framework with its advantages but also its shortcomings remained intact. I conclude by situating my three lines of enquiry - social movements, media and culture – in the sociological framework of theories of practice.

I.1.   Conceptualising Social Movements

Current social movement theory is a sub-field of sociology. It provides categories and analytical frameworks to explain empirically and theoretically how social movements

organise and mobilise (Garrett 2006:203), why they succeed in mobilising support in some situations and fail in others, how they impact on processes of social change and influence decision-making of institutional actors (Haunss 2004:22), and how they build collective identities and frame their demands to pursue their aims. Social movements are regarded as important sites of social change. As social laboratories where alternative social relations are prefigured, social movements provide insights into the functioning of the wider society. Social movements, albeit mainly the more formalised and reform-ist ones, have come to be accepted as legitimate political and social actors in Western societies, even as major players in the democratic process. The importance assigned to social movements is illustrated by the claim of a trend towards a "movement society" in Western democracies (Rucht/ 1993, 2002; Tarrow/Meyer 1998).

I.1.1   The Shaping of Current Social Movement Theory

Current social movement theory (CSMT) and political process theory (PPT) as its most influential strand are presently the dominant framework in English-language/European social movement theorising (Goodwin/Jasper 1999; McDonald 2006:19). CSMT was shaped by the dynamics of social movement cycles over the last 50 years mainly in Europe and the US and by the intellectual debates where battles over paradigms were fought, theoretical frameworks expanded, adapted, integrated or ex-cluded and empirical operationalisations brought forward.

Theorising about social movements is situated in two interrelated fields: the field of activism and the dynamics of protest cycles, and the field of academia and the dynamics of theory production. The field of activism with its continuous re-combination of con-tentious issues, action repertoires, ways of organising and mobilising and arenas of struggle often challenges predominant theoretical models and inspires new ones. The field of academia provides material and intellectual resources assigned according to intellectual, economic and political criteria. It organises the production of coherent ana-lytical frameworks in interaction with the wider dynamic landscape of paradigms and counter-paradigms. Actors engaging in knowledge production about social movements often have a biographical or political investment in both fields (Buechler 2000:33). As organic or "movement intellectuals" (Eyerman/Jamison 1991) in the field of social movements, they continuously produce embodied, "organic" or "direct" theory (Mar-chart/Hamm/Adolphs 2010; Sturgeon 1995) about social movements through self-

reflexive evaluation of day-to-day activist practices.[10] As academic intellectuals, they expand on collectively produced knowledge, connect it to the wider landscape of academic thought, cast concise theoretical models and, as the shaping of social movement theory shows, sometimes challenge the well-trodden paths of academic knowledge production.

Although an epistemic community rather than a bounded discipline, CSMT is institutionally grounded through publication series, dedicated encyclopedias or entries in social science manuals, handbooks, readers (e.g. Buechler 2007; Cylke/Buechler 1997; Downing 2011; Rucht/Roth 2008b; Ruggiero/Montagna 2008; Snow/Soule/Kriesi 2009[2004]; Zirakzadeh 2011) and specialised journals such as *mobilization* (since 1996) and *social movement studies* (since 2002). For English speakers, the online journals *Ephemera* (since 2001), *Turbulence* (since 2008) and *Interface* (since 2009) provide a space for debates at the intersections between activism, theory and academic social movement research.[11] Several institutions are dedicated to the study of new social movements, for instance Wissenschaftzentrum Berlin (WZB), the Social and Political Science department at the European University Institute in Florence and the Centre d'étude des mouvements sociaux in Paris. Most professional sociological associations have sub-sections for protest- and social movement research, and their major conferences usually include panels on social movements.

How was social movement theorising established in the academic field, and how did its theoretical framework evolve?

With the US civil rights movement, the 68-protest movements and later the 1980s movements for ecology, peace and women's rights, a type of social movements appeared both in Europe and in the US which could not be theorised within the bounds of the theoretical paradigms of the time. Sympathetic scholars on both sides of the Atlantic began to theorise social movements along new lines of thought (Canel 1997 [1991:1];

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[10]   Numerous guidelines, info-sheets, brochures, manuals and how-to guides document collectively produced knowledge about skills like running a campaign, writing a press release, squatting, engaging in video activism, setting up a media center, deploying techniques of direct action, making consensus-based decisions, knowing one's legal rights of demonstrators and so on. Frequent debates about issues like 'breaking out of the activist ghetto', 'media work' or 'consensus decision making' in the planning and evaluation meetings of radical movements are further testimony of an intense reflexive process. The proficient use of digital and conventional communication channels constituted through numerous smaller and larger assemblies, networks and affinity groups points to an intimate knowledge of networking practices.

[11]   A major contribution to cross-institutional and trans-language dissemination of critical thought by and about social movements is made by the multilingual publications of the Vienna-based European Institute for Progressive Cultural Politics (eipcp.net).

Buechler 2000:52).

The core of current social movement theory and political process theory as its dominant strand was laid in 1970s US-based social movement theorising, where the resource mobilisation theory (RM) displaced traditional collective behaviour (CB) theory by questioning its central presuppositions: The analysis of collective behaviour in crowds, riots, panics, strikes, or demonstrations as anomic and irrational reactions to rapid social change that result from relative deprivation (Canel 1997:189). In sharp delimitation to CB, RM presented a conflictual, instrumental and purposive model (Tilly 1985:740-41; 1978: 228–31), where social movements realise their structural potential through resource management decisions, organisational dynamics and political changes with the purpose of pursuing their interest (Oberschall 1973, Tilly 1978, McCarthy/Zald 1977; see also the research review by Jenkins 1983). The RM approach was complemented by the political opportunities approach (PO), which linked social movements with the wider political structure by investigating the opportunities social movements were awarded or denied by different types of political systems (Eisinger 1973; McAdam 1982; Tarrow 1983).

RM und PO were firmly grounded in structural functionalism, which is characterised by a instrumental-rational orientation, a causal line of questioning and a structural-synchronic rather than a historical-diachronic perspective. Theorists adopted a model of agency rooted in rational actor theory (Crossley 2002:56-76). On the basis of this epistemological foundation, social movements were constituted as rational and legitimate actors in the political field[12]. Consequently, the research agenda focussed on formally organised social movements or social movement organisations, and gave preference to more reformist movements over more radical ones (Fitzgerald/Rodgers 2000:575). The structural-functionalist paradigm[13] dominates social movement theorising until the present day (Buechler 2000 53f). However, the development of CSMT was punctuated by a major *culturalist challenge* which developed at the time of the cultural turns in the so-

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[12] Given that many protagonists of RM were involved in the movements they studied, and that the social base of many new social movements was found in the 'new middle classes' (Eder 1993), it is maybe not surprising that the new theoretical concept emphasised their rationality. Academic knowledge production is not only shaped by internal scientific reasoning, but also by the political and social conditions within which it occurs (Eyerman/Jamison 1991:160).

[13] Kuhn (1962) used the term paradigm to describe the Foucauldian discourses that regulate scientific thought. For Kuhn, science is not an evolutionary, progressive march towards greater and greater truth but rather "a series of peaceful interludes punctuated by intellectually violent revolutions" (Foucault's "ruptures") in which one point of view is replaced by another.

cial sciences and humanities in the mid-80s, was fully fledged by the early 1990s and resulted in empirical and methodological adjustments of structural-functionalist social movement theory from the mid-1990s onward (Buechler 2000:52). Culture remained an hotly debated issue in social movement theorising throughout the decade.

In his analysis of "the twists and turns in social movement theory" from a sociology of knowledge perspective, Steven Buechler identifies two main "cultural rivals" to RM (Buechler 2000:19-57). The first cultural rival was European post-Marxist theorising on social movements with its meta-level perspective on antagonistic social change. It emphasized discontinuity between the old social movements, namely the traditional labour movement, and the new social movements which formed since the 1960s. Post-Marxists challenged dogmatic and determinist Marxism by theorising collective actors who clearly were not the working class. They sought explanations for the "post-material values" (Inglehart 1977) which formed the contentious issues of the new social movements, and claimed that culture had become both the arena and the means of struggle. In the literature of current social movement theory, this body of work is subsumed under the misleading term *new social movement theory*. Other than this unifying label suggests, post-Marxist theorising on social movements is extremely varied in intellectual tradition, disciplinary context and theoretical framework (Buechler 1995:442; Cohen 1985; Haunss 2004:24; Klandermans 1991; Larana/Johnston/Gusfield 1994). Buechler accounts for this by using the term in plural and speaking of new social movement theories, containing both pro- and post-Marxist approaches[14] (1995:442). Others characterise the European strand of social movement theorising as constructivist, culturalist or post-Marxist theorists (Crossley 2002:150; Haunss 2004:24). I will refer to it as post-Marxist to emphasize its wider theoretical foundation.

The second cultural rival was the framing approach. Based on a symbolic interactionist version of collective behaviour theory and social constructionism, it directed attention to social movements' symbolic and discursive activities and highlighted actors' strategic development of interpretative schemata to frame their activities.

Both the framing approach and post-Marxist social movement theorising challenged,

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[14] Buechler (1995) distinguishes between pro-Marxist/political and post-Marxist/culturalist theorists. The former, for instance Castells, maintained the importance of class-based movements, which they understood as political and more radical than 'cultural' movements, while the latter, for instance Melucci, held that the new social movements had displaced class-based movements and were more radical than those, as they could not be co-opted in the political system.

albeit in different ways, "the instrumental, political, rationalist cast of resource mobilisation theory by underscoring the expressive, symbolic, socially constructed, and prefigurative dimensions of much of contemporary social activism" (Buechler 2000:52). The cultural challenge rested not only on theoretical debates. It was backed by an increasing number of well-received empirical studies focussing on cultural aspects of social movements, such as identity processes (Haunss 2004), movement cultures, countercultural networks, cultural productions and identity processes (e.g. Epstein 1991; Fine 1985; Fantasia 1988; Rupp/Taylor 1987; Taylor/Whittier 1992, 2007 [1995]) and of course framing processes (see Gerhards/Rucht 1992).

The cultural challenge led to several adjustments to the research agenda and the methodological instruments of structural-functionalist social movement theory. As cultural dimensions sat uneasy with RM and PO, scholars widened the framing approach, added cultural or discursive (Della Porta/Diani 2006:47 [1999]) opportunities to the political ones, identified cultural resources besides financial, institutional and volunteer support, or drew on concepts developed by post-Marxist theorists such as collective identities or submerged networks (Melucci 1980; 1984, 1985, 1988, 1989).

Post-Marxists and political process theorists engaged in considerable theoretical interaction throughout the second half of the 1980s. The post-Marxist claim of a discontinuity between old and new social movements proved a veritable bone of contention. However, leading proponents of both sides were "willing to re-examine their premises and entertain the claims of rival paradigms" (Buechler 2000:52). A division of labour was proposed, where RM concentrated on the 'how' of mobilisation on a meso-level, while the 'why' guided the work of post-Marxist theorists who theorised the significance of social movements on a socio-political meta-level (Klandermans/Tarrow 1988; Melucci 1980:212). Despite conflicting epistemological premises, it was argued that both approaches were compatible, as they examined social movements at different yet complementary levels of analysis such as macro-meso or cultural-strategic (Canel 1997; Cohen 1983, 1985).

Political process theorists called for an integration of the input of post-Marxist and social constructionist theories (Buechler 1993, 1995; Cohen 1985; Canel 1997). An early attempt at integration was offered by Ron Eyerman and Andrew Jamison (1991), who drew on critical theory and the sociology of knowledge to form a "cognitive approach". Cultural dimensions of social movements were included through the concept

of "cognitive practice" whereby social movements produce knowledge within specific historical contexts. They presented the notion of knowledge as a bridge between RM and post-Marxist theories, which they labelled "identity theory". The cognitive perspective developed into a favoured model to analyse the symbolic dimension of collective action (DellaPorta/Diani 2006 [1999]:73f). A most influential attempt to integration was made by McAdam, McCarthy and Zald (1996). Their political process theory (PPT) combined analysis of political opportunities, mobilising structures and cultural framings. The proponents claimed that political process theory integrated all competing approaches: The post-Marxist demand for social analysis on the macro level was satisfied by the study of political opportunities, RM was included in the analysis of mobilising structures, and cultural framing accommodated both the post-Marxist claim to the centrality of culture and the symbolic-interactionist focus on social movements cultural activities on the micro-level. Critics noted that this attempt at synthesis was in fact merely revived resource mobilization theory complemented by social constructionism (Buechler 2000:54; Giugni 1998:373). Thus while grappling with integration of their cultural rivals, theorists strengthened CSMT by successfully streamlining RM, PO and framing in the PPT approach.

The framing approach was successfully aligned with the instrumental line of questioning favoured by structural functionalism. In this way, social constructionism established "a solid if subordinate niche (…) as the legitimate 'alternative' approach in the analysis of social movements" (Buechler 2000:54). In the early debates between post-Marxists and political process theorists, paradigms of critical theory (Habermas 1981, 1987; Offe 1985), constructivism and post-structuralism (Laclau/Mouffe 1985, 1988; implicitly in the works of Melucci) slipped into the debates amongst social movement theorists. Post-Marxist theories provided important concepts to the development of CSMT, namely a focus on identities and networks in social movement processes. However, their underlying epistemological foundations are merely hovering along the sidelines of CSMT or are subsumed under its structural-functionalist paradigm.[15]

Along with the theoretical debates, a considerable body of empirical work on cultural dimensions of social movements developed. Culture became a major empirical and methodological concern in CSMT, exemplified in empirical studies and conceptual arti-

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[15] In Latin America, post-Marxistsocial movement theorising, especially the hegemony-theory approach developed by Laclau and Mouffe, are being pursued in the discipline of anthropology through the concept of cultural politics (Alvarez/Dagnino/Escobar 1998, Alvarez/Escobar 1992)

cles (Polletta 1998), groundbreaking conferences and several anthologies (Darnovsky/Epstein/Flacks 1995; Johnston 2009b; Johnston/Klandermans 1995b; Klandermans/Roggeband 2007; Laraña/Johnston/Gusfield 1994; Morris/Mueller 1992). For some authors, the shift in emphasis towards cultural dimensions of social movements indicated a pendulum swing towards a cultural paradigm in current social movement theory (Johnston/Klandermans 1995a:3; see also Williams 2004; Johnston 2009a; Giugni 1998:370; critical: Buechler 2000:52). Empirical research drew on post-Marxist, constructivist concepts if they proved useful for analysis. They were less concerned about the theoretical coherence of PPT. Their application of post-Marxist ideas led to the gradual methodological integration of concepts such as collective identity or networked forms of organising into CSMT (Herkenrath 2011; Haunss 2004; Hellmann 1998; Koopmans 1998). At the same time, theoretical complications arising from the unworried combination of concepts grounded on different or even incompatible epistemological foundations – structural functionalism vs. post-structuralism and constructivism (Eyerman/Jamison 1991) – led to heated debates about whether or not "conceptual stretching" of PPT could remedy it's "structural bias" (Goodwin/Jasper 1999). By 1999, the cultural challenge had produced an acknowledgement in CSMT of the need to analyse cultural dimensions of social movements and an awareness that a theoretical foundation for the cultural analysis of social movements was needed. An increasing codification of the enriched version of CSMT is reflected in handbooks (Roth/Rucht 2008b)[16], introductions (Della Porta/Diani 2006) and research reviews outlining the genealogy of current social movement theory (Haunss 2004; Hellmann 1998, 1999; Herkenrath 2011; Klandermans 1997; Koopmans 1998; Tarrow 1998; Tarrow/Meyer 1998; Teune 2008). The cultural challenge was cast into a seemingly coherent and in some respects authoritative framework.

Also towards the end of the 1990s, a new protest cycle confirmed the need for cul-

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[16] In this handbook, Rucht and Roth identify a "dominant" strand of the "Neue Soziale Bewegungen" approach, a German version of "New social movement theory" with an institutional ground at the Wissenschaftszentrum Berlin (WZB). The handbook article draws the boundaries of this strand tightly around those approaches which are oriented towards sociology and political science with a strong focus on analysis on the social base of social movements (Hellmann 1998). Some of the initial post-Marxist "new social movement theorists" as well as other culturally oriented authors are placed on the fringes, either because they do not fit into the framework of current social movement theory or because social movements are not their main research interest: Eder's perspective is rejected as strictly macro-sociological, Habermas and Offe are excluded because they discuss social movements only in passing, Klandermans as a social psychologist is not connected to the sociological debates in Germany (Rucht/Roth 2008b:642).

tural analysis of social movements: The alterglobalisation movement with its high visibility in the public sphere, its spectacular street protests, its proficient use of new information and communication technologies and its globally distributed actor base enhanced studies on transnational, networked forms of organising (Della Porta 2007; Della Porta/Andretta/Mosca/Reiter 2006; Della Porta/Tarrow 2005; Diani 2000; Diani/McAdam 2003; Diani/McAdam 2004; Tarrow 2003; Tarrow 2005). The AGM also sparked publications on the implications of new communication technologies on social movements, which were reviewed with a view to CSMT (Carroll/Hackett 2006; Downing 2008; Garrett 2006; Mosca 2007; Mosca 2010). However, CSMT only hesitantly develops approaches to social movements alternative media in general and ICTs in particular and rarely exceeds an instrumental conceptualisation of media as resources (Donk/Loader/Nixon/Rucht 2004).

CSMT proved attractive to authors in disciplines other than sociology. It was reviewed, adopted or critically adapted by scholars from media and communication studies (Garret 2006; de Jong/Shaw/Stammers 2005), anthropology (Escobar 1992; Juris 2008), geography (Pickerill 2003a; Routledge/Cumbers 2009) or political science (Haunss 2004, Stammers/Eschle 2005). Although several attempts were made to transform CSMT by aligning it with cultural studies (Martin 2002), theories of practice (Crossley 2002, 2003), and theories of space (Routledge/Cumbers 2009), the potential of interdisciplinary and cross-paradigm debates to widen the research agenda of CSMT from the analysis of organising processes towards social analysis on a meta-level and towards cultural dimensions is far from being exhausted.

Most research reviews on CSMT distinguish between five main approaches: CB / Social Psychology, RM, PO, Framing, and new social movement theories.[17] Recent research reviews tend to add an separate, cultural section to accommodate work on collective identity, networked social movements and their transnationalisation or cultural

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[17] The narrative evolving in the research reviews presents five main collective protagonists or general approaches organised in theory clusters. The US-based *political process* cluster (PP) includes the *resource mobilisation* (RM) approach and the *political opportunities* (PO) approach. PP rebelled against the *collective behaviour* (CB) cluster and won the turf of sociological study of social movements. Later, it adopted the *framing* approach and thereby one of CB's descendents. Meanwhile in Europe, protagonists of the loosely-knit *new social movement* (NSM) cluster insisted on culture as both object and framework of research on social movements. Following some interaction between PP and some of the NSM protagonists, the PP framework was maintained while NSM provided it with a cultural angle. Having cast the five general approaches into a coherent theory based on the foundation laid out by PP, the narrative proceeds to outline "recent developments in social movement theory" such as identity, cultural production or networks for further investigation.

productions (Haunss 2004; Herkenrath 2011; see also Hellman 1998). In the following sections, I discuss these theoretical building blocks before summarizing the state of the art of CSMT.

I.1.2 Collective Behaviour: Irrational Crowds or Prefigurative Movements?

In US-based sociology up to the 1970s, collective actions of social movements were mainly analysed as collective behaviour (Blumer 1969a [1939]; Gurr 1969; Kornhauser 1959; Smelser 1962; Turner/Killian 1972 [1957]). Drawing on early versions of crowd psychology and mass theory (Le Bon 1885), *collective behaviour theory* interpreted panics, crowds, riots, mobs, crazes, fads and rumours, and revolutions as non-institutional and spontaneous, rooted in individuals' psychological situation, and mostly irrational, dangerous, threatening or extreme. Deviance, urban riots and radical political movements were seen as aberrant or deviant behaviour and forms of social pathology. Like other forms of collective behaviour, social movements were largely regarded as effects of social strain, relative deprivation (Gurr 1969) societal breakdown or dysfunction (Buechler 2000:20f). Early resource mobilisation theorists vehemently criticised these assumptions (Jenkins 1983, McAdam/McCarthy/Zald 1988). Consequently to the often knockdown critique, collective behaviour theory – or rather, what Nick Crossley termed "the straw model of the collective behaviour approach" (Crossley 2002:54) - was largely disregarded in the early years of social movement theory.

With the dissemination of constructivism and the rising emphasis on culture in social movement theory, collective behaviour theory was re-read and its strengths were noted (Buechler 2000:19-32; Crossley 2002: 40-55; Haunss 2004:31; Herkenrath 2009:39; Neidhardt/Rucht 1991:424). Proponents of CB from the Chicago School such as Killian, Turner and Smelser had emphasised the rationality of collective actors since the 1960s. Some collective behaviour theorists included technological change in their diagnosis of the uprooting effects of modernisation as social change (Merton 1970 [1938]; Smelser 1962). Considering the eminent role of new information and communication technologies in contemporary social movements, social movement theory could benefit from an inclusion of this aspect. On the basis of symbolic interactionism, collective behaviour theorists softened the structural determinism of this Durkheimian model and thus paved the way for the framing approach (Blumer 1971:306; Blumer 1969b; Turner/Killian

1972). Under the paradigm of structural functionalism, Smelser linked structural factors influencing social movements to specific occasions of collective behaviour in a "value added process" which outlined several necessary stages which formed the "career" of a social movement. With its emphasis on the episodic nature of participation in social movements, collective behaviour theory contributed to analyses of the fluid, networked character of contemporary social movements. Focussing on individual motivations, it allowed exploring why people participate in social movements. Collective behaviour theory acknowledged creative agency and meaning-making as significant practices in social movements. Interactions within social movements generate new ideas, values and norms, which may lead to broader societal change. In recent studies, the prefigurative aspect of social movements is discussed as a strategic practice (Maeckelbergh 2009:88-98). Collective behaviour theory was gradually re-integrated in CSMT (Martti 2008). It inspired the framing approach, a new theorisation of social movements from a social psychology perspective (Klandermans 1997); a cognitive approach (Eyerman/Jamison 1991); and the integration of emotions (Jasper 1998) to account for cultural aspects of social movements (Crossley 2002). Buechler observes a return of collective behaviour based on the acknowledgement that "all social movements require microfoundations that transform individual agents into a collective actor that can engage in social activism" (Buechler 2000:149). He argues that the collective behaviour approach provides "plausible connections between the immediacy of everyday life on the local level and forms of collective behaviour that are also more immediate and spontaneous" (Buechler 2000:156).

I.1.3 Political Process Theory: Social Movements as Rational Actors

The mainly US-based *political process theory* (McAdam/McCarthy/Zald 1996)[18] focuses on structural analysis of social movements as they appeared since the 1960s. Political process theory analyses how social movements mobilise resources and support, how they organise, how they react to structural political processes and opportunities, how they frame their issues, and, more recently, how they build recognisable collective identities. Political process theorists conceptualised social movements as collective ac-

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[18] I use the term political process theory (PPT) as an umbrella term for the analytical integration of RM, PO and framing first proposed by McAdam, McCarthy and Zald (1996). In this I follow Goodwin/Jasper 2004; McDonald 2001; Haunss 2004:28; and della Porta/Diani 2006). Other authors reserve the term for the political opportunities approach (Herkenrath 2009).

tors held together by common purposes and solidarity. Social movements engage in sustained, contentious politics against powerful opponents through forms of organising and collective action outside institutional political channels (Haunss 2005; Tarrow 1998:2). Social movements are understood through analyses of their ways to mobilise resources, to relate to political opportunities and to shape cultural frames. The main object of study are the organising processes of social movements. Political process theory is based on the integration of three approaches: resource mobilisation, political opportunities and framing. The *resource mobilisation* approach was developed during the 1970s. It established social movements as rational and political collective actors by analysing their internal organising structures and their ability to mobilise resources as the main qualifier for success or failure. In the next decade, a focus on *political opportunities* sought to remedy a major criticism of this approach by including the wider political environment of social movements in the analysis. The recognition that social movements need to develop and present their concerns in coherent and attractive ways lead to the development of the *framing* approach, which draws on symbolic interactionism to analyse how social movements develop collective identities. The underlying paradigm of political process theory is structural functionalism. Based on an instrumental cause-and-effect logic, structural functionalism analyses opportunities and constraints social structures are posing to actors. Thus political process theory seeks to answer questions such as: Which causes enable or constrain social movements? What are the structural constraints and opportunities social movements are facing? How do social movements organise within this structure of constraints and opportunities? Which structural conditions lead to success or failure of social movements?

Ressource Mobilisation

The *resource mobilisation approach* developed in sharp distinction to the collective behaviour approach (Buechler 2000:32-52; Haunss 2004; Neidhardt/Rucht 1991; Hellmann 1999; della Porta/Diani 2006; Herkenrath 2011:43f; Ruggiero/Montagna 2008:168), acknowledging that "sane people might reasonably choose to protest" (Boudreau 2001:18). Resource mobilisation theorists set out to establish social movements as rational collective actors and players in the political system, who acted rationally and strategically to achieve well-defined goals. They found that protest was a normal rather than a deviant response to social factors. Social movement activities were thus seen as political struggles expressed in conflicts of interest. The resource mobilisa-

tion approach focused on the means available to social movements (Gamson 1975; Jenkins 1983; McCarthy/Zald 1977; Oberschall 1973; Tilly 1978). Relative deprivation or structural strain were abandoned as causes for the emergence of a social movement. Instead, it was argued that mobilisation potential was determined by group organization and the ability to mobilise people, infrastructure and finances for sustained campaigns (Jenkins 1983). Expanded personal resources, professionalisation and external financial support enabled the establishment of formal social movement organisations (SMOs). SMOs controlled resources, which were mainly understood as labour, membership and money. Thus research focussed on organisation and mobilisation processes carried out by SMOs, their strategies to raise money, extend their member base and mobilise for collective action. In recognition that mobilisation occurs not only on the level of SMOs, but also through the practices of participants, research was gradually extended to micro mobilisation contexts (McAdam 1988; Snow/Zurcher/Ekland-Olson 1980).

Using the language of business, McCarthy and Zald presented an entrepreneurial model of social movements, where SMOs supported the goals of a movement and facilitated resource aggregation, steered by movement "entrepreneurs" offering "products" and acting in movement "industries" across movement "sectors" while competing with each other for scarce resources. Rather than ascribing the proliferation of social movements and NGOs since the 1960 to an increase in structural conflict, this model attributed it to an increase of wealth and available resources (McCarthy/Zald 1977; McAdam/McCarthy/Zald 1996).

The resource mobilisation approach was subject to extended criticisms, often raised by its proponents themselves. Its economic determinism, which equalled resources with success, was questioned. On the basis on empirical data, the increase of political actions and protests since the 1960s was ascribed to actors who were neither sustained by professional SMOs nor commanded a resource-rich external "conscience constituency" (Jenkins 1983:534f).

Focussing on the meso level, resource mobilisation theory did not relate social movements to wider societal changes, processes and conflicts on the macro level. Neither did it account for the micro-political level of day-to-day practices and meaning-making (Haunss 2004:30). Empirical generalisation and hypothesis testing were applied to develop middle range theory (Kitschelt 1991; Merton 1968). Although resource mobilisation theory claimed to explain all social movements, its reach was limited by theo-

retical and methodological considerations. It preferred those aspects "that can most easily be observed and measured: large, professional social movement organizations rather than more diffuse activities, networks or subcultures; individual attitudes as expressed in surveys rather than structural cleavages, ideologies or collective identities" (Kriesi/Koopmans/Duyvendak/Guigni 1995:239). In its utilitarian orientation, resource mobilisation theory also emphasized such movements and SMOs who aimed at reform of the political system and acceptance as legitimate political actors within this system. While the extent of institutionalisation, funding, formal organisation and bureaucracy explains a more formal, reformist type of movements, it does not account for the recent increase of largely informally organised, often more radical movements with little financial resources. Radical social movements striving for radical social change with their often informal organisational structures were tacidly placed outside the research agenda. It was argued that radical social movements contradict central arguments of political process theory, as their success may occur "not simply despite a lack of resources but perhaps because of a lack of resources" (Fitzgerald/Rodgers 2000:575).

Resource mobilisation theory contributed to a re-conceptualisation of social movements away from the irrational crowds of collective behaviour theory by taking a strictly rational view onto social movements organising processes. This amounted to a veritable "hyperrationalism" (Cohen 1985:688), which systematically excluded explorations of the cultural side of social movements constituted by practices, experiences, motivations and feelings of participants and the related processes of meaning-making (McAdam1994:36).

Political Opportunities

In post-Marxist theorising, social movements were seen as struggles challenging the power relations in society. The need to analyse social movements in the context of wider societal processes was also recognised in political process theory. As a result, theorists began to include social movements' political environments into the analysis (Eisinger 1973, McAdam 1982; Tarrow 1983, 1998 [1994]). They argued that the formation of social movements largely depended on the *political opportunities* afforded by the political system. Political opportunities were defined as those "dimensions of the political environment that provide incentives for people to undertake collective action by affecting their expectations for success or failure" (Tarrow 1998:19f). The scope of social movement agency thus depended not only on their ability to mobilise resources,

but also on external influences. The appearance of social movements was thus correlated with specificities of the political systems wherein they acted. This synchronic perspective was increasingly operationalised in comparative approaches (Kriesi/Koopmans/Duivendak/Guigni 1995; Rucht 1999). As opportunities and constraints for social movements also depend on the historical development of power relations within a political system over time, they were also studied from a diachronic perspective (Giugni 1999/McAdam/Tilly 1999; Tilly 1999; Tilly/Snyder 1972; McAdam 1982). With regard to contemporary, networked protest movements, questions were raised as to the definition of the political environment of transnational movement networks, which act simultaneously in their various local, regional and national political environments as well as on a transnational or even global level (Herckenrath 2011:48). Political process theorists argued that these movements underwent a scale-shift from the national to the global level through new political opportunities (Tarrow 2003). Others assert that contemporary social movements actively created strategies and tactics on the cultural terrain which allowed them to operate on a variety of levels simultaneously (McDonald 2006; Routledge/Chambers 2009).

Framing

Resource mobilisation theory assessed social movements by their ability to mobilise resources through social movement organisations. The political opportunities approach contextualised social movements with wider political processes. However, neither the existence of political opportunities nor the mobilisation of resources fully accounted for the emergence of social movements. Not every political opportunity is seized, and not every movement that commands social movement organisations is able to mobilise a sufficient amount of followers. Thus theorists turned to the processes whereby social movements construct – or frame – their themes, issues and concerns both in relation to a wider audience and to their internal formation. Social movements' discursive and cognitive strategies were added to the research agenda of social movement theory. Its proponents drew on social constructionism and symbolic-interactionist versions of collective behaviour theory, which insist on the importance of micro-level interactions for understanding social problems:

> *"Sociologists who seek to develop theory of social problems on the premise that social problems*
> *are lodged in some kind of objective social structure are misreading their world (...) None of*
> *these concepts is capable of explaining why some (...) empirical instances (...) become social*

> *problems and other do not. This explanation must be sought in the process of collective defini-*
> *tion." (Blumer 1971:306).*

In relation to social movements, collective action was defined as "an interactive, symbolically defined and negotiated process among participants, opponents and by-standers" (Buechler 2000:40). Theorists drew on Erving Goffman's frame analysis (1986 [1974]) to develop the *framing approach* (Benford/Snow 2000; Gamson 1992a; Gamson 1992b; Gamson/Fireman/Rytina 1982; Hunt/Benford/Snow 1994; Snow/Benford 1992; Snow/Burke/Worden/Benford 1986). The term "collective action framing" (Snow/Benford 1988; Snow/Benford 1992) was quickly adopted and further developed.

Frames are models of interpretation, through which individuals localise, perceive, identify and name events in their social environment. They are "interpretative schemata that simplify and condense the 'world out there' by selectively punctuating and encoding objects, situations, events, experiences and actions within ones present or past environment" (Snow Benford 1992:137). They are defined as "conscious strategic efforts (…) by groups of people to fashion shared understandings of the world and themselves that legitimate and motivate collective action" (McAdam/McCarthy/Zald 1996:6). Frames are not equalled with ideologies, which are seen as broader, coherent and relatively stable sets of convictions, and as influencing the field of politics as well as of the everyday (Haunss 2004:36). Rather they are seen as "innovative amplifications and extensions of or antidotes to existing ideologies or components of them" (Benford/Snow 2000:613). In the interactive activity of framing, social movements generate, change and use such interpretive schemata to communicate their issues, mobilise followers and develop perspectives of agency. To analyse this dynamic process, three types of framing are distinguished. "Diagnostic framing" defines problems and identifies their causes. "Prognostic framing" proposes solutions or suggests strategies to deal with the problem. This includes identifying opponents and potential followers. "Motivational framing" highlights the urgency of the problem and defines the collective actor who opposes it. It mobilises target groups to actively participate in the movement and/or support it. It has been noted that particularly analyses of the third type of framing could lead to important insights regarding the functions of framing processes for the production of collective identities, however this path is yet rarely pursued (Herkenrath 2011:53; Gamson 1992b, Hunt/Benford/Snow 1994).

Diagnostic and prognostic framing aim at consensus mobilisation within the movement, motivational framing aims at external mobilisation. Thus the discursive processes within social movements are aligned with their specific movement strategies and dynamics.

The activity of framing does not occur independently from existing discourses. Rather it is seen as an interpretive process. In line with the rational actor paradigm, this process is analysed as a purposeful activity. Movements need to find frames, which facilitate a new view on social problems. These frames need to resonate with existing culture and connect to existing interpretative patterns. Frames need to integrate individual perceptions into collective interpretive schemata, and they need to be made compatible with those of other movements in order to enable coalitions and mobilisations (Herkenrath 2011:53). This process is analysed with the concept of "frame alignment", which includes several strategies such as frame bridging, frame extension, frame transformation and frame amplification (Snow/Burke/Worden/Benford 1986).

If frame alignment is successful, frames of different movement sectors are being connected to form "master frames" like for instance "rights frames", "choice frames" and "injustice frames" (Rucht/Gerhards 1992). As relatively abstract concepts, master frames allow for the inclusion of a variety of specific issues. Recent commentators regard frame analysis as well suited to the analysis of coalitions between movements, but criticise that the framing approach focuses largely on organised collective actors rather than taking the loose, submerged networks of much contemporary activism into account (Haunss 2004; Herkenrath 2011; Buechler 2000).

The framing approach is generally regarded as one of the main carriers of cultural analysis within political process theory (Johnston 2009a:1; Tarrow 1998:17). A cardinal problem with the framing approach to cultural analysis is its rather static conceptualisation of culture. Convictions, beliefs and interpretative cultural patterns are regarded as resources or toolkits and thus reduced to their role in recruiting and mobilising processes. While strategic agency is emphasized, the relative autonomy of cultural relations and perceptions is neglected (Haunss 2004:38).

Theorists disagree as to whether the framing approach signals a paradigm shift from structural to cultural analysis of collective action (Johnston 2009a:1) or whether its object is so narrowly defined that it "leaves out most of culture" (Goodwin/Jasper 1999:29, 44).

On one hand, attempts were made to widen the scope of framing analysis. The notion of "cultural framing" became a container for any symbolic, emotional, identity- and value related dimension of social movements which cannot be analysed as resource mobilisation or political opportunity, including collective identities, grievances, shared goals, repertoires of contention, and the sense of efficacy or empowerment (Goodwin/Jasper 1999:43, 46). In this understanding, the framing approach allowed tackling important cultural aspects such as narrative, which has a crucial function in situations where no formal social movement organisations exist (Polletta 1998). While frames are often understood as resources for social movements, they can also be analysed as cognitive processes through the "micro discourses" within movements. The methodology of micro-discourse-analysis linked individual interpretations to mobilising frames (Johnston/Klandermans1995b). A wide notion of cultural framing suggested that cultural analysis within political process theory occured under the banner of the framing approach, which was supposed to cover all necessary aspects of cultural analysis. Such "conceptual stretching" (Goodwin/Jasper 1999) led to the complaint that "recent writings have tended to equate the concept with any and all cultural dimensions of social movements" (McAdam/McCarthy/Zald 1996). On the other hand, framing was defined rather narrowly as the "conscious, strategic efforts by groups of people to fashion shared understandings of the world and of themselves that legitimate and motivate collective action" (McAdam/McCarthy/Zald 1996:6). Frame analysis was to focus on the interpretive efforts civil society organisations must conduct in order to gain participation of activists and support of external sponsors. In this definition, the framing approach with its focus on "how organizations use values, beliefs, and general cultural trends to their advantage" was "nicely synchronized with the instrumental-structuralist focus of political process and opportunity structure models" (Johnston 2009a:3).

The narrow definition of the framing concept serves its synchronisation with political process theory. As the framing approach appears to be the main locus of cultural analysis in political process theory, the problem with this narrow definition is that it impedes profound cultural analysis of social movements within the bounds of political process theory. In an argumentative twist, frame analysis was equated with cultural analysis. However, it can only grasp the purposeful and strategic interpretive activities within social movement organisations, while excluding cultural analysis of other, less purposive cultural processes within social movements such as the construction and spread-

ing of narratives, the slow and submerged development of cultures of resistance, the seemingly sudden bursts of cultures of solidarity (Fantasia 1988), the staging of cultural performances, the production of political subjectivities, and not least engaging in media practices. With its conceptual focus on formal social movement organisations, i.e. formally organised collective actors, frame analysis is relatively rarely applied to the fluid, networked type of social movements that seems to become more and more frequent (Herkenrath 2011; Haunss 2004; Jasper 2007). Applying frame analysis to the alter-globalisation movement, Graeme Chesters and Ian Welsh suggest to pay more attention to micro and meso level framing activities, and to the genesis of action frames involving negotiation of conflicting ideological and tactical dispositions (Chesters/ Welsh 2004). As a consequence of alignment with political process theory, the framing approach highlights only a small section of the cultural processes involved in social movements. Frame alignment theories "do not adequately address the broader culture outside the social movement or the ongoing culture inside it" (Jasper 1997:77) – yet they are treated as if they would exhaust the potentials of cultural analyses of social movements.

I.1.4 Post-Marxist Theories: Cultural Politics of New Social Movements

Theorists rooted in continental European intellectual traditions of social theory and political philosophy such as Marxism and critical theory approached social movements from a different angle (Buechler 1995:441). Like their US-counterparts, they tried to understand the 1960s protest movements and the womens', environmental and peace movements of the 1980s. In distinction to political process theorists, they did so on the basis of critical theory, post-Marxist and poststructuralist trends in 1970s Europe (Canel 1997; Crossley 2002; Haunss 2004:24f; Hellmann 1998:10f; Salman/Assies:225). Seeking to explain the emergence of what they considered a new type of social movements in the context of wider social and cultural change, they questioned the economic and class reductionist aspects of traditional Marxism (Canel 1997 [1991]). They share a constructivist rather than a realist view on society. Thus social movements are not regarded as a given empirical entity, but rather as emerging formations built through symbolic processes of meaningmaking embodied in everyday practices and related to the social, political and economic power-relations of society. Thus grievances and ideologies are socially constructed, they can not be deduced from a group's structural location.

In traditional Marxist theory, capitalist societies are based on the antagonism between labour and capital as the main societal conflict, which is enacted in class struggle. Society is seen as the expression and the result of this antagonism. Social change is deduced from the economic formation. The working class, or more specifically, the labour movement, is assigned a privileged place in the unfolding of history as the historical actor and collective agent of social change. Thus the context for collective action is provided by specific social formations in their totality (Buechler 2000:46). Post-Marxist theorists found that the orthodox version of marxism did not account for the new social movements. Economic reductionism treats politics and ideology as functions of the economy, and class reductionism assumes that social agents are primarily constituted by their class position (Canel 1997:190). New social movements challenged both reductionisms. The conflicts they raised were not about control over means and relations of production, located in the factory or more generally the work-place. They were about control over the production of meaning and the constitution of new collective identities and were located in the realm of culture, located in the city, in everyday life and in active consumption. New social movements challenged society in areas like gender, human rights, environment, peace, and self-realisation (Melucci 1980). Neither their social base nor their self-understanding allowed conceptualising new social movements as expressions of class struggle pursued by the working class.

With the new social movements, post-Marxists argued, new collective actors had moved to the centre of contemporary conflicts and displaced traditional working class struggles. Understanding these collective actors required a theoretical departure from orthodox Marxism. They were new in the sense that they indicated major social change in the formation of society, raised new conflicts, and constituted themselves along the lines of processes of collective identity rather than class, which was reflected in their informal, decentralised, networked modes of organising (Melucci 1980, 1994). In contrast to the traditional labour movement, they did not strive for unity embodied in political parties, associations or trade unions.

Post-Marxist social movement theorising rests on the work of Alberto Melucci (e.g. 1980, 1984, 1985, 1989, 1996), Alain Touraine (1971, 1981, 1985, 2002), Jürgen Habermas (1981, 1987, 1991), Klaus Offe (e.g. 1985), and Manuel Castells (1983; 1997), who are generally regarded as its main theorists within the social movement literature. Herkenrath (2011) and Buechler (1995) also include Klaus Eder (1985, 1993)

and Jean Cohen (1985); Buechler, Canel (1997) and Jasper (2007) include Ernesto La-clau and Chantal Mouffe (1985) with their synthesis of post-structuralism and neo-Gramscian Marxism. Crossley (2002:153-167) emphasizes Habermas' theory of the structure-liveworld relation as the clearest expression of the European, post-Marxist strand of social movement theory.

From Class to Culture and Identity

Post-Marxist theorists contended that in the new social movements, culture had become both the arena and the means of struggle, protest or collective action (Buechler 2007). Social movements were seen "equally and inseparably as struggles over meanings as well as material conditions, that is, as cultural struggles" (Escobar 1992:69). New social movements raised the problem of control of collective resources such as nature, the body, or interpersonal relations "in directly cultural terms" (Melucci 1980:205). They challenged the hegemonic system of meanings to extend their room for manoeuvre (Buechler 1995:442; Cohen 1985; Melucci 1989; Couldry 2002:152). In its heterogenous and contested nature, culture became one of the very substances of the conflict (Salman/Assies 2007:212). Thus post-Marxist theorists focussed on the cultural impact and cultural strategies of social movements (Herkenrath 35-65). They stressed the cultural politics of new social movements, where autonomy and self-determination came to the forefront, while they put less emphasis on movements' strategies to maximise influence and power within the political system. The cultural arena was not regarded as a separate field that existed independently from social and political power-relations, because "daily life, democracy, the state, and the redefinition of political practice and development are closely interrelated" (Escobar 1992:408). Social movements were seen as a suitable field of study in which to explore these interrelations. Post-Marxist theorists placed symbolic forms of resistance in the cultural arena alongside instrumental action in the political sphere or in opposition to the state. They observed that many movements rejected conventional goals, tactics, and strategies such as seeking to influence decision makers through petitions, participation in political parties or election campaigns or lobbying. This orientation away from interaction with the political system was often dismissed as aculturalisation of politics and a tendency towards depoliticisation. In contrast, post-Marxists argued that cultural hegemony was an important form of social power. In some instances this emphasis superseded changes in the political regulatory framework (Cohen 1985, Melucci 1989). Consequently, the anti-

hegemonic cultural politics of social movements were regarded as a valid form of resistance (Buechler 2000:47f; Whittier 1995) – and "if hegemony is a valid theory of power, the counterhegemonic practice of forming oppositional collective identities is a genuine form of resistance (Buechler 2000:191) Thus post-Marxists placed major strategic importance on cultural societal change.

Most post-Marxist social movement theorists agreed that the social base of the new social movements could not be pinpointed to a class, and definitely not to the working class. A different position is held by Eder and Kriesi, who maintained that the new social movements were grounded in habitus and economic position of the new middle classes (Eder 1993:141-157, 158-184; Kriesi 1989; Offe 1985). Most other theorists agreed with Melucci, who maintained that the new social movements operated on the basis of fluid and fragile collective identities which could not be deducted from the class position of the participants (Melucci 1980, 1995). These collective identities were constructed in a continuous and self-reflexive process from subject positions relating to gender, sexuality, ethnicity/race, age or practice-based ethical values such as caring for peace or the environment (Melucci 1995; Buechler 1995:442; Herkenrath 2011:57). For Melucci, the social construction of collective identity was not only a major prerequisite, but also a major accomplishment of the new social movements (Melucci 1988). The framing of identity-production as an accomplishment resonates E.P. Thompson's groundbreaking work "The Making of the English Working Class", where he passionately emphasises the agency of "ordinary people" in creating the working class (1980 [1963]). Translated to Melucci's and Touraine's terms, Thompson analysed the emergence of the English labour movement as a product of self-reflexive agency, where collective social actors act upon themselves. The collective identities they produced were no less processual than those of the new social movements. However, workers identities described by Thompson were predominantly based on class and understood as class-consciousness, while the new social movements gave more weight to other subject positions such as gender, sexuality, race, or those grounded in certain ways of life related to post-material values.

While political process theorists argue that formal social movement organisations are a prerequisite for collective action, post-Marxist theorists hold that collective action in new social movements is often based on a variety of submerged, latent, and temporary networks characterised by decentralised, horizontal decision making processes (Melucci

1989). These movement networks are not necessarily visible in civil society, as they are often located in subcultures (Leach/Haunss 2009). However, in moments of contention, they coalesce temporarily "into self-referential forms of organisation for struggle" (Buechler 1995:446). As these organisations are often transitory, geared to a specific campaign, mobilisation or event and dissolving afterwards, Melucci suggests to speak of movement networks and movement areas rather than organisations. The network formula directed attention away from formal social movement organisations as they were known from the labour movement, and regarded as its major achievement (Kramer 1987:217-238; Williams 1972 [1958]:392). The networked form of organising enacted by new social movements relates to the post-Fordist formation of society, which is characterised by increasing individualisation, mobility and flexibility.

Cultural Politics and Self-Reflexivity

For post-Marxist theorists, the predominant role of culture in new social movements as arena and means of struggle echoed the transition to a new formation of society. Much of their theorising refers to the meta-level, and situates social movements in relation to wider social change. Post-Marxist theorists described this change as the transition to a new social, economic and cultural formation with a specific form of governance. The new type of society was characterised as post-industrial, post-materialist, or programmed society (Touraine 1981), network society (Castells 1997), post-Fordism (Mayer/Roth 1995), information- or simply complex society (Melucci 1996), advanced society (Eder 1993) or advanced capitalism (Buechler 1995, 2000). A result of previous struggles, this historically specific social formation was seen as the structural backdrop for emerging new forms of struggle, enacted through new social movements.

This is not the place to launch into a detailed discussion of the various conceptualisations of the current social formation, which was examined in regulation theory (Aglietta 1979; Brand/Raza 2003; Steinmetz 1994; Jessop 2001; Jessop/Sum 2006), post-operaist theories (Negri/Lazzarato/Virno 1998; Marazzi 1998, 2008) and governmentality studies (Bröckling/Krasmann/Lemke 2011; Lemke 2002). Two main characteristics should be mentioned. First, in the new type of society, its capacity to produce symbolic goods, codes and information is gradually becoming more important (Melucci 1984, 1985; Ruggiero/Montagna 2008:197). Second, the extension of cultural activities refers not only to the everyday life of consumers, but also occurs in the economy, where the production of cultural, immaterial goods such as brands and lifestyles displaces the produc-

tion of material objects, and where labour increasingly involves immaterial activities relating to knowledge, concepts, networking, soft skills, affectivity and subjectivity. Thus when post-sixties collective actors shifted their activities to the terrain of culture and away from the explicitly political field, they targeted the core of the new, post-Fordist economic formation of society.

It is this change which led Melucci to proclaim new social movements as different from the labour movements. Of course, the 19th and early 20th century labour movement also operated on the terrain of culture and used culture as a means of protest and a medium of social self-affirmation (Kaschuba 1990:123, 1986) – one only needs to think of the differentiated landscape of working men's clubs and proletarian youth- and women's organisations, the quires, sportclubs, reading circles, the festive design of the mayday demonstrations as a family event and their alignment with folk imageries or the programmatic establishment of proletarian culture as counterculture (Kramer 1987). However, the position of culture in the current, post-Fordist socio-economic formation has become more central than it had been in the industrial and Fordist eras. Consequently, cultural politics assumed a central role in contentious collective action.

The claim that the new social movements arising since the 1960s were distinctively different from previous ones, and that a major distinction rested in their cultural politics led to an extensive debate between PPT and post-Marxist theorising. It was often misconstrued as an "empiricist thesis about the observable properties of a specific movement cluster" (Crossley 2002:150), as if new social movements were somehow more cultural than the labour movement. Political process theorists countered this misunderstood claim by presenting empirical evidence on previous movements with equally informal forms of organisation, little interest in confrontation with or cooption by the political system, and a focus on everyday ways of acting and relating (for instance Cohen 1983; Calhoun 1993). However, post-Marxist theories did not so much claim a new type of social movements, but developed different, more cultural perspectives to analyse them as a result of macro social analyses which found that cultural productions assumed a central position in contemporary societies (Haunss 2004; Crossley 2002:150-153).

Alain Touraine circumscribed the alignment of a social movement with the specific historical formation of the society in which it acts with the term "historicity". By this he means the capacity of a collective social actor to "act upon itself in order to reshape the set of cultural models that guide social practices." It is "the set of cultural, cognitive,

economic, and ethical models by means of which a collectivity sets up relations with its environment; in other words, produces (…). a culture" (Touraine 1988:40). This kind of self-reflexivity is an important characteristic of social movements. While in everyday language, self-reflexivity in social movements is often regarded as a process of turning inwards and away from social and political struggles, the concept of historicity acknowledges self-reflexivity as the "the symbolic capacity of social actors to construct a system of knowledge and the technical tools that allow them to intervene in their own functioning, act upon themselves, and thereby produce society" (Buechler 2000:6; 1995:144) Thus self-reflexivity is not a retreat, but a precondition for the agency of social movements within society.

Touraine regarded culture as a "fundamental object of historical contestation" (Canel 1997), as "a stake, a set of resources and models that social actors seek to manage, to control, and which they appropriate or whose transformation into social organization they negotiate among themselves" (Touraine 1988:8). For him, culture was a product resulting from social conflict over the appropriation of historicity (Touraine 1985:774). If culture occupies a central position within post-industrial societies, it makes sense to locate their central conflicts not in the struggles over political rights or material resources, but in those over the production of symbolic goods or cultural reproduction. Struggles and conflicts raised by new social movements were increasingly guided by postmaterialist values (Della Porta/Diani 2006:69-72; Inglehart 1977). Post-Marxists stressed the cultural politics of new social movements, where autonomy and self-determination came to the forefront, while they put less emphasis on movements' strategies to maximise influence and power within the political system (Buechler 2000; Habermas 84-87). According to Touraine, the main actors engaged in these struggles was the social group of technocrats, who controlled the production of meaning, and those who resist this control and claim it for themselves. This resonates with Habermas' evaluation of new social movements, which he regarded as predominantly defensive rather than progressive, as they defended the life-world against the intrusions of the system.

Despite their different intellectual backgrounds, post-Marxist theorists analysed the new social movements along a bundle of shared themes (Buechler 1995:442; Herkenrath 2009:57). From a constructivist perspective, they analysed culture as a terrain and a means of struggle; located the main concern of new social movements in their claim to

control over collective resources and the production of meaning, i.e. a claim to autonomy and self-determination; emphazised a shift from materialist to post-materialist values; identified the process of collective identities organised in submerged networks as the main mode of formation of new social movements; and accentuated their self-reflexivity.

The main points of critique of post-Marxist social movement theorising were summarised as early as 1991 (Canel 1997 [1991]). First, it was criticised that new social movement theories neglected the strategic-instrumental dimension of social movements' contentious collective action and failed to analyse decision-making processes, strategy development and the mobilisation of resources on the organisational level. It was claimed that the emphasis on identity came at the expense of considering strategic questions (Cohen 1985). The second point of critique was that post-Marxists conceptualised new social movements in radical antagonist opposition to politics, civil society and the state. Due to the focus on the cultural aspects of the new social movements, their relationship with the political system in conventional terms, their struggles for institutional reform and their potential contributions to democratisation of the state were overlooked. In this way, it was claimed, the political dimension of new social movements was stripped away. Critics understood the culturalisation of the political as a depolitisation rather than an expansion of the political to civil society and the terrain of culture. Third, as post-Marxist theories tend to focus on the macro level of social analysis, it was claimed that they ignored the organisational dimension of social movements. Rather than analysing internal dynamics, questions of leadership and recruitment and goal displacement with the instruments of organisational theory, they explained social movements' internal processes through processes of identity, flat network structures or models such as participatory democracy. Fourth, by emphasizing the newness of new social movements and their discontinuity in relation to previous social movements, post-Marxist theorists overlooked aspects of continuity between the old and the new actors.Fifth, while post-Marxist contributions to a theoretical understanding of social movements on the meta-level is acknowledged, a lack of empirical studies into their micro-contexts was pointed out.

PPT aimed to produce a structural theory of social movements, a framework which would allow comparison and assessment of different social movements movements in transnational and historical comparison. The post-Marxist claim that different theoreti-

cal concepts were needed to grasp different types of movements across history presented a challenge to a practice of theorising that was described as "invariant modelling" (Goodwin/Jasper 1999). However, the persistence of the term new social movements in CSMT points to a need for historical periodisation of social movements. With the emergence of the alterglobalisation movement, the periodisation was continued in debates about "even newer social movements" (Crossley 2003a), "new new social movements" (Feixa/Pereira/Juris 2009) or "contemporary social movements" (Ruggiero/Montagna 2008).

I.1.5   Current Social Movement Theory and the Culturalist Challenge

Over the last decade, CSMT has seen several thematic developments. With the emergence of the alterglobalisation movement, interest in the transnationalisation of social movements increased (e.g. Della Porta/Andretta/Mosca/Reiter 2006; Della Porta/Tarrow 2005; Farro 2004; Giugni 1998a; Herkenrath 2011a; Keck/Sikkink 1998; McAdam/Tarrow/Tilly 2003; Olesen 2005a; b; Rucht 1999; Tarrow 2005; Thorn 2007). Several studies and accounts focus on the AGM as a particular movement cluster (Andretta/Porta/Mosca/Reiter 2003; Della Porta 2007; Eschle/Maiguashca 2005; Juris 2008; Kingsnorth 2003; Maeckelbergh 2009; Marchart/Weinzierl 2006; McDonald 2006; Notes 2003; Reitan 2007; Rucht/Roth 2008b). The extensive use of the internet first by the AGM, then other social movements directed some attention to social movements own, alternative media, although it was noted that more research is needed in this field (Caroll/Hackett 2006; Downing 2008; Garrett 2006; Mosca 2007, 2010). As a result of the questions raised in the course of the culturalist challenge, cultural aspects were added to the research agenda.

On the conceptual level, current reviews on the genealogy of social movement theory present collective identities as the main container for cultural aspects along with the framing approach (Hellmann 1998; Herkenrath 2011; Koopmans 1998). Under the heading "cultural, social and political productions", Haunss differentiates between movement cultures/ subcultures and processes of collective identity (Haunss 2004:40-51). Extensive accounts on the issue of collective identity were presented (Haunss 2004:55-74; Polletta/Jasper 2001; Melucci 1995; Castells 2007[19]). In his critical evalua-

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[19]   Although Castells does not explicitly place his recent work within the bounds of current social movement theory, he draws on the works of social movement theorists such as Tilly, Tourraine, Diani and Melucci. As he is regarded as one of the main proponents of post- or neo-Marxist social

tion of the genealogy of CSMT, Buechler (2000:188-194) places collective identity within his discussion of the political and the cultural in collective action, rather than adding it besides the building blocks of CB, RM, framing and new social movement theories. Other influential conceptual additions referring to cultural aspects were the networked character of social movements (Della Porta 2006; Della Porta/Diani 2006 [1999]; Diani 2000; Diani/McAdam 2003; Juris 2004, 2009; Stammers/Eschle 2005; Leach/Haunss 2009) and movement cultures or culture as a movement characteristic, often approached through frame analysis (Johnston 2009b:3f; Johnston/Klandermans 1995a; Haunss 2004:40-42).

On an empirical level, especially recent studies fan out a wide range of cultural aspects within social movements such as cultural productions (Haunss 2004; Lofland 1995), subcultures (Epstein 1991; Fantasia 1988; Leach/Haunss 2009; Martin 2002 subcultures), emotions (Goodwin/Jasper/Polletta 2001; Jasper 1998, 2006, 2007), grammars of experience (McDonald 2004), radical habitus (Crossley 2003; Haluza-DeLay 2008), and narrative (Polletta 1998, 2006).

On a theoretical level, this impressive body of work on cultural issues raises the question in which ways CSMT has responded to the culturalist challenge which was posed in the early 1990s. Does CSMT constitute a thorough theoretical synthesis between PPT and its cultural challengers? Where the conceptual problems resolved? Did social movement theorising undergo a paradigmatic change which fully accommodates thorough analysis of the cultural politics of social movements? Can specific concepts be "poached" and be given a more post-structuralist, culturalist bent?

From the perspective of CSMT as an overarching school of thought, it appears that the theoretical and institutional gap between the two contenders was bridged. Proponents of both sides are co-publishing and cross-citing each others work. Central concepts proposed by the culturalist challengers are firmly placed on the research agenda of CSMT. Research reviews codify the genealogy of CSMT in a way that suggests that CSMT is a set of equally important theoretical approaches welded together into a coherent analytical framework (Haunss 2004; Hellmann 1998; Herkenrath 2011). Each approach is geared towards a specific empirical interest and line of questioning and has its

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movement theory (Buechler 1995), I include his work on identity in this listing of cultural dimensions in current social movement theory.

strengths and weaknesses. The approaches complement each other. For instance, the structural bias of RM with its focus on formal social movement organisations is complemented by the network model, which allows theorists to tackle more fluid types of movement organising. The micro-perspective of the framing approach can be complemented by POS, which looks at the political structure of society. Thus it appears that the hard opposition between RM and post-Marxist theories has given way to synergetic, mutually beneficial coexistence under the umbrella of CSMT.

However, scholars are split over the question whether this proclaimed synthesis constitutes a paradigmatic change. Some posit that CSMT, albeit hesitantly, underwent its own cultural turn (Williams 2004; Johnston/Klandermans 1995a; Johnston 2009b; Giugni 1998b:370) or at least a created a "cultural synthesis" (Jasper 2007:60), and that around the year 2000, "the cultural toolkit was (…) as rich as the structural one" (Jasper 2007:72). In this view, the inclusion of empirical questions and methodological operationalisations drawn from a different paradigm, but separated from its epistemological foundation into PPT constitutes paradigm change, even though the structural-functionalist core of CSMT has remained unchanged.

On the basis of his sociology of knowledge analysis of social movement theory, Buechler contests this position. He distinguishes genuine theoretical synthesis or a paradigm change from a practice he calls "conceptual poaching". The former "implies moving beyond preexisting paradigms to create something new", while the latter means "appropriating the language and issues of a different paradigm and incorporating them as a minor theme in a peexisting paradigm that undergoes not fundamental change in the process." Isolated elements from a different paradigm are "detached from [the] core assumptions to become welded to other approaches in piecemeal fashion" (Buchler 2000:53f).

In this view, the addition of cultural elements without simultaneous reflection over their epistemological foundations in post-marxism, post-structuralism or constructivism does not constitute a change of paradigm. CSMT remained firmly grounded in structural functionalism, while post-Marxist and post-structuralist epistemological presuppositions were shifted to the sidelines. Treated as poaches, cultural concepts leave the theoretical framework of PPT intact and coherent, while being stripped of their theoretical strength. Conceptualising movement rhetoric, narrativity, performance or image production as resources strengthens an argument about the mobilisation of resources, but it impedes a

theoretical understanding of the messy, contradictory processes of meaning-making which often does not follow instrumental lines. Melucci's conceptualisation of collective identity was integrated in CSMT early on. However, in theoretical considerations more than in empirical studies, the concept of identity assumed a static quality, for instance as an instrumentally mobilised resource. In a 1995 article in one of the first anthologies on social movements and culture, Melucci found it necessary to emphasize that he understood collective identity as a process (1995). As Polleta's narrative analysis (2009) shows, inspiration can be taken from post-structuralist approaches, as long as they can be subsumed under the paradigm of PPT. However, explicitly post-structuralist theories of social movements (Laclau/Mouffe 1985) were relegated to the fringes of current social movement theory.[20] Thus, a process of conceptual poaching has re-asserted PPT as the core of CSMT "with ritual nods to rival contenders" (Buechler 2000:54) rather than paving the way to a thorough reformulation of social movement theory. In the process, the post-Marxist strand of social movement theorising has virtually disappeared as an independent analytical framework focussing on social movements. In summary, it seems that what Oliver Marchart writes about the cultural turn in the social sciences in general applies also to social movement theory:

> "(...) natürlich wurde der cultural turn von den Sozialwissenschaften nur partiell und nur in bestimmten Subdisziplinen oder von engen personellen Fraktionen dieser Disziplinen vollzogen. Der Begriff des Paradigmenwechsels erscheint zur Beschreibung des cultural turn zu hoch gegriffen." (Marchart 2009:18).

However, the culturalist challenge has not gone away. CSMT is not as static and seemless as its presentation as a model in well-structured research reviews may suggest. Previous debates that were instrumental in shaping CSMT are inscribed in its theoretical framework. The number of empirical studies tackling cultural aspects of social movements proves that there is a need to relate social movements to the cultural dimension. While in theoretical reflections, cultural phenomena such as the crucial role of subcultural movement organising outside formal social movement organisations can be overlooked or reduced to a goal-oriented, intentional process, empirical study brings them back to the forefront. To solve the resulting empirical problems, scholars engaging with CSMT still grapple with the task of bending a predominantly structural theoretical

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[20] Hegemony theory as developed by Laclau/Mouffe, however, has been a major building block in the conceptualisation of social movements in Latin America (Escobar/Alvarez 1992:77-82)

framework to accommodate cultural aspects – and of bending the notion of culture to fit into a structural functionalist framework. There is yet no agreement how to resolve the resulting conceptual problems and frictions. As the conceptualisation of culture is crucial for this study, the following section examines in detail the implicit and explicit notions of culture at work in CSMT.

I.2.   Conceptualising Culture in Relation to Social Movements

Culture is one of the two or three most complicated words in the English language.
(Raymond Williams 1983:87)

The debates on culture in current social movement theory prove that Raymond Williams' dictum about the complications of culture has not lost its validity. In reaction to the culturalist challenge, Doug McAdam, one of the main proponents of PPT, conceded:

"The dominance, within the United States, of the 'resource mobilization' and 'political process' perspectives has privileged the political, organizational, and network/structural aspects of social movements while giving the more cultural or ideational dimensions of collective action short shrift" (McAdam1994:36, qt in Polletta 1999).

Two years later, together with John McCarthy and Mayer Zald, McAdam presented a seminal synthesis of the resource mobilisation, political opportunities and framing approaches which became the basis of political process theory. Today, culture is widely acknowledged as an important dimension in current social movement theory (Buechler 2000:187; Goodwin/Jasper 2004; Hart 1996; Jasper 2007; Kurzman 2008; McAdam 1994:36; Polletta 1999; Polletta 2008; Salman/Assies 2007; Swidler 1995; Williams 2004). Some theorists even saw an "explosion of social movement theorising around the notion of culture" (Buechler 2000:187) and cautioned against a drastic pendulum swing towards the cultural dimension.

Starting in 1990s, linguistic, sociological and anthropologist conceptualisations of culture were reviewed in relation to CSMT in several anthologies (Johnston/Klandermans 1995b; Johnston 2009b; Klandermans/Roggeband 2007; Larana/Johnston/Gusfield 1994; McAdam/McCarthy/Zald 1996; Morris/McClurg Mueller 1992). Other collections and articles on culture and social movements align their work more with the less bounded post-Marxist tradition of social movement theory or anthropological approaches (Alvarez/Dagnino/Escobar 1998; Escobar/Alvarez 1992; Darnovsky/Epstein/Flacks 1995; Nash 2005).

Despite this acknowledgement and despite a growing body of empirical research focussing on cultural aspects, the intricacies of cultural analysis led to some heartfelt groans amongst social movement theorists: "What culture is and what culture does are issues bogged down in a conceptual morass from which no adequate sociology of culture has been able to emerge" (Archer 1996, qt in Johnston 2009a:5); "hardly anyone agrees with anyone on a definition of the concept of 'culture', but almost everyone agrees that it is among the most elusive and difficult to specify of social science concepts" (Lofland 1995:190f). Culture was described as a "sociological monster", which is hard to be dealt with (Haunss 2004:40), and the proposal for a broad notion of culture where culture is an "ubiquitous and constitutive dimension of all social relations, structures, networks and practices" that "permeates all variables, even the most structural ones" was polemically dismissed as a call to "all-out theoretical eclecticism" (Koopmans 1999). Considering such statements, Fine's pre-cultural turn worry about "treating culture as an amorphous, indescribable mist which swirls around society members" (Fine 1979:733) seems alive and kicking despite highly complex and differentiated models of cultural analysis which have since emerged.

One explanation for the confusion about culture amongst social movement theorists may be the "appealing familiarity of certain widespread but limiting understandings of culture" (Polletta 1999:64). It seems that to many authors, the "broad and often imprecise term" of culture is "intuitively apparent" (Johnston/Klandermans 1995a:5). This echoes an observation made about the use of the notion of culture in traditional sociology in 1979: "One speaks glibly of the culture of a particular group with the expectation that one's audience will have a common-sense understanding of what is meant" (Fine 1979:733). One of the recent conceptualisations of culture in social movement theory takes a notion of culture "in everyday parlance" as a starting point:

> *"When we refer to culture in everyday parlance, we recognize that different groups of people make different assumptions about the world, categorize it in different ways, and adhere to different values and beliefs, all of which significantly shape behaviors and ways of thinking. This commonsense notion of culture can be applied readily to social movements insofar as participants often hold values, attitudes, beliefs, and ideological orientations that are often quite distinct from the broader culture and that shifts in beliefs cause social change" (Johnston 2009b:4).*

What the author presents as the seemingly obvious commonsense notion of culture would probably be contested by activists engaging in DIY culture with its emphasis on

doing things, or by the manager of a local cultural venue, while it might be supported by a council worker running a multi-cultural centre. Several strands of theorising culture shine through this initial definition, some of which are spelled out in the remainder of the article. The reference to "different groups of people" refers to the boundaries drawn between different subcultures, classes, ethnicities, nationalities, or even larger units. It can point to notions of identity as well as to traditional anthropology, where fieldworkers set out to far-away lands – mostly colonies - to study what they regarded as pure and uncontaminated cultures. The emphasis on values and beliefs shaping behaviours and ways of thinking provides a distinctively Weberian tinct. The reference to "ways of thinking" and the placement of cultural agency on groups of people indicates a connection to Kluckhohn's cognitive anthropology (Kroeber/Kluckhohn 1952). Thus even a seemingly unproblematic commonsense statement reveals the complexities of the notion of culture. If culture is to be moulded into an analytical device for scholarly research on social movements, the term should not be taken for granted. Its complexity needs to be carefully considered.

In CSMT, the epistemological conceptualisation of culture as an analytical device often remains implicit. Culture has an important place in the theoretical framework of CSMT, but it can be hard to establish what exactly authors mean when using the term. As Melucci pointed out in one of the first anthologies on "culture and social movements", "a new interest in culture and the related attention to hermeneutics, to linguistics, and to the many methodological warnings coming from ethnomethodology and cognitive sociology have (…) made more evident the low level of epistemological awareness and self-reflexivity typically implied in traditional research on collective phenomena" (Melucci 1995:42).

Often, culture is explained by way of an enumeration of cultural forms such as " traditions, 'common sense,' material artefacts, idioms, rituals, news, routines, know-how, identities, discourse, and speech genres" (Goodwin/Jasper 1999:42), or "norms, values, traditions, artefacts, and expectations within a community" (Fine 1995:127). Looking for the epistemological foundations of the term culture in social movement theory, we are often relegated to footnotes[21] or fobbed off with cursory reference to a relatively

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[21] For instance, it is only in a footnote that Eyerman/Jamison (1995:465) identify the interchange between social movements and culture as an underdeveloped area in sociological theory, pay credit to historical studies on this question (e.g. Scribner's work on popular culture and the reformation), acknowledge the influence of cultural historians such as Raymond Williams, E.P. Thompson and

safe and canonized authority on matters of culture.

However, such hints allow tracing the traditions of cultural analysis which have made their way into CSMT through an intellectual attitude which Buechler calls "conceptual poaching" – an attitude which is often useful for grasping specific cultural phenomena, but has the drawback that it may engender considerable confusion on the theoretical level. Traditions of cultural analysis referenced in CSMT are situated in the sociology of culture, in cognitive and semiotic anthropology and (even though rarely) in cultural studies.

Brief, descriptive definitions of culture are often taken from early Weberian or Durkheimian concepts, from contemporary sociologies of culture and theories of practice, from semiotics/linguistics, or from classical cognitive or systemic/semiotic anthropology. Traces of the theoretical framework of cultural studies can also be found. References to its foundations in Raymond Williams' cultural materialism (1958a, 1977), Thompsons work on the "making of the English working class" (1980), the reformulation of the Gramscian concept of hegemony as well as the studies on youth cultures and style (e.g. (Hall/Jefferson 2006; Hebdige 1979; Willis 1977) are mainly found in works focussing on movement cultures and identities and/or drawing on symbolic interactionism and collective behaviour theory (Gamson/Croteau/Hoynes/Sasson 1992; Eyerman/Jamison 1998; Leach/Haunss 2009; Fantasia 1988, Fantasia/Hirsch 1995; Juris 2005a; Snow/Soule/Kriesi 2009), in critical evaluations of social movement theory and/or its genealogy (Goodwin/Jasper 1999; Cox 1999; Jasper 2007; Salman/Assies 2007), in work about identity politics and subcultures (Martin 2002; Darnovsky/Epstein/Flacks 1995) and in studies which do not strictly place themselves within the CSMT canon (Downing 2001; Routledge 1996, 2000, 2003, 2004; Routledge/Cumbers 2009; St.John 2009; Graeber 2009). The complexities of anthropological and post-Marxist notions of culture, such as the not-so-recent developments in anthropology following the Writing Culture debate about ethnographic representation (Clifford/Marcus 1986, Herzfeld 2001:21-54), are rarely taken into account (Fantasia/Hirsch 1995:144f) or even summarily dismissed, for instance when Johnston diagnoses that "the view of a uniform cultural fabric" has been "torn apart, politicized, con-

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Christopher Hill and reveal cultural studies as a source of inspiration for their work (esp. Hall 1989 and Gilroy 1992, 1993). They crically note that while cultural studies provides insights on youth cultures, it failed theorising their relation to social movements.

textualized (and textualized), relativized, schematized, diversified, iterated, elaborated, narrated, and – some may say – obfuscated" (Johnston 2009b:5).

As much of CSMT operates on the meso-level (Haunss 2004), middle-range operationalisations for the study of cultural aspects are preferred over epistemological theorisation:

> *"The recent renaissance in the study of culture may have been facilitated, however, by people's deciding not to worry too much about exactly what culture "is" and how to conceive it. Instead, let us simply get on with looking at matters that we intuit to be cultural, even if we cannot provide a precise formulation of "it." I am sympathetic to this spirit of pragmatic intuition and I therefore propose not to be overly concerned here with definitions and the epistemology of conceptualization" (Lofland 1995:190f).*

Since the mid-nineties, several traditions of cultural analysis or notions of culture were reviewed or elaborated on in relation to CSMT and adapted to its theoretical and empirical needs (James Jasper 2007; Salman /Assies 2007; Johnston 2009a; Johnston/Klandermans 1995a; Swidler 1986, 1995; Hart 1996; Polletta 1999, 2008; Giugni 1998b; Martin 2002; Crossley 2002; Eyerman/Jamison 1991, 1995; Williams 2004).

The next section critically discusses perspectives on culture employed in CSMT: the Weberian value-oriented perspective, a contrary perspective from the sociology of culture exemplified by Swidler's metaphor of culture as a toolkit, a cognitive perpective, and an interpretive, anthropological perspective. It concludes with an outline of a broad notion of culture as a way to theorise practices in social movements, which is pursued in this study.

I.2.1 Culture as Values: the Weberian Perspective

A recurring conceptualisation of culture in CSMT is the notion of shared understandings, values and beliefs, which are assigned an important role in organising collective action (Inglehart 1977; Jasper 1997; Johnston 2009; Rochon 1998; Wildavsky 2006). Sydney Tarrow explicitly adds "cultural understandings" as a variable to the explanandum of collective action:

> *"Movements do have a collective action problem but it is social: coordinating unorganized, autonomous and dispersed populations into common and sustained action. They solve this problem by (1) responding to political opportunities through the use of (2) known, modular forms of collective action, by (3) mobilizing people within social networks and (4) through shared cultural understandings" (Tarrow 1998 [1994]:9 qt in Tarrow 1999).*

The underlying view of culture as values, beliefs, norms and understandings derives from Max Weber. For him, human action is guided by material and ideal interests which in turn are shaped by worldviews. He sought to explain human action by analysing how culture in the shape of an internalised worldview motivates action. Ideas create ends or goals which in turn influence conduct. These ideas or values are deeply internalised in individual actors. Weber's model of culture is a causal one. Culture supplies ends or values which guide action and behaviour (Swidler 1986; 1995). Both Weber and Durkheim (for a comparison see Swidler 1995) regard culture as "symbolic configurations or formations that constrain and enable action by structuring actors' normative commitments and their understandings of the world and of their own possibilities within it" (Emirbayer/Goodwin 1996:365).

In CSMT, implicitly Weberian conceptualisations of culture are preferred over post-structuralist, post-Marxist positions. The Weberian perspective allows to envisage central concepts of social movement theory such as incentives, recruitment and participation as "voluntary acts of movement adherents" (Johnston/Klandermans 1995b:15) rather than expressions of discursive structures. Culture-as-values aligns well with the individualistic focus of the framing concept. Finally, the model suits the "predilection for causal explanation" in social movement theory and the tendency towards "positivistic logic and rules of evidence and proof" (Johnston/Klandermans 1995a:15; see also Johnston 2009a:3f).

However, empirical, quantitative studies on the correlation between values held by prospective activists and their actual participation found that strong commitment to values did not correlate with the degree of active participation. As internalised principles and/or attitudes did not constitute a satisfactory explanation for activists decisions to participate, political process theorists explained this phenomenon as a result of a "complex evaluation of the opportunities and constraints for action" (della Porta/Diani 2006 [1999]:72f). Thus the explanatory model turned away from cultural analysis and returned into the folds of PPT.

Ann Swidler, a leading sociologist of culture engaging in debate with CSMT suggests a cultural-theoretical solution for the same problem. She regards the Weberian conceptualisation of culture as "fundamentally misleading" for the analysis of action (Swidler 1986:273). She argues that the model of values as the central causal elements of culture is flawed, because "culture's power is independent of whether or not people believe in

it". To explain what is distinctive of the behaviour of groups or societies, she argues, scholars should not analyse cultural values or preferences, but turn to other distinctively cultural phenomena such as culturally-shaped skills, habits, and styles, in brief, to cultural performances (Swidler 1986:275).

I.2.2 Culture as a Toolkit: Sociology of Culture

Sociology of culture is a preferred point of reference in CSMT. A prevalent formula is Wuthnow's definition of culture as "the symbolic expressive aspect of social behaviour" (Wuthnow 1987:4; Johnston/Klandermans 1995b:3, Zhiao 2010).[22]

Culture is seen as a cognitive set of meanings or rules enacted through practices, which constrains or furthers agency. Swidler extends this notion towards a theory of practice by pointing to Foucault, Bourdieu, but also Wuthnow and Sewell (1980, 1985, 1992), who argue that "culture constitutes social experience and social structure, that culture should be seen as socially organized practices rather than individual ideas or values, that culture can be located in public symbols and rituals rather than in ephemeral subjectivities, and that culture and power are fundamentally linked" (Swidler 1995:31). Pursuing an explanatory task in analyzing cultures' power to affect action, she re-thinks how culture works, and how it constrains or enables action. She suggests to "turn culture inside out" (Swidler 1995:31). This represents a shift from the Weberian perspective, where culture/worldview is located deep down inside the individual mind, from where it moves to the outside world in form of visible, publicly acted-out practices, gaining power the more coherent it is. Swidler argues instead that culture works from the outside (public performances, institutional practice, which are not necessarily bound together by a coherent worldview) to the inside of the individual and collective mind, where deeply engrained beliefs are situated. The product of culture is situated in practices. Cultural actions – enacted discursive interventions - increase the power of culture from the outside in. Thus "culture influences action not by providing the ultimate values toward which action is oriented, but by shaping a repertoire or 'tool kit' of habits, skills, and styles from which people construct 'strategies of action'" (Swidler 1986:273).

Swidler identifies three sources of cultural power: codes, contexts and institutions. Regarding the cultural politics of social movements, codes are the most promising site where social movements can intervene, as "altering cultural codings is one of the most

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[22] Wuthnow (1987) distinguishes between subjective, structural, dramatic and institutional dimensions of culture.

powerful ways social movements actually bring about change" (Swidler 1995:33). This is exemplified by the work on youth cultures of the Birmingham strand of cultural studies, namely Dick Hebdige's (1979) study on the punk subculture, where standard mainstream status codings are interfered with by a deliberate embrace of "ugly" styles. However, Swidler concedes that this would mean a shift in the line of questioning of CSMT, away from success in mobilisation or other gains in conventional political terms, and towards an understanding of the cultural politics inscribed in "the flamboyance or visibility of a movements tactics" (Swidler 1995:34). It would direct attention to the "global properties of cultural systems" rather than specific movement actors or specific gains. Seeking to understand "why some cultural offensives succeed and others fail" (34) may help to explain many of social movements' enduring accomplishments which appear as transformations in culture rather than the political system.

In shaping her notion of culture, Swidler follows a causal line of argument, but in a different way from the Weberian perspective. Culture does not define the ends of action through worldviews, ideologies etc, but provides cultural components which are used to construct strategies of action. Strategies of action are defined as "persistent ways of ordering action" and thereby causal effects of culture (Swidler 1986:73). Especially her metaphor of culture as "a 'tool kit' of rituals, symbols, stories, and world-views" (Swidler 1986:273) resonated with CSMT. Within CSMT, there is a tendency to reify the performative, outside aspects of culture illustrated by Swidler's image of the tool kit (for instance Herkenrath 2011b:54; Meyer 1999:85; Spicer/Perkman 2008; Teune 2004:7). Culture's tool kit is frequently understood as a resource which people use instrumentally to "construct strategies of action" (Johnston/Klandermans 1995b:7) and to "generate meaning, interaction, and, ultimately, structure" (Fine 1995:129). Especially the framing approach invites to treat collective action frames instrumentally as "a particular type of resource, subject to strategic use by skilled political entrepreneurs" (della Porta/Diani 2006 [1999]:87): This was criticised by scholars posing that "cultural interpretations conductive to collective action do not so much originate from cognitive processes and strategic framing as from collective processes with a strong emotional dimension" (della Porta/Diani 2006 [1999]:87; see also Goodwin/Jasper/Polletta 2001, Goodwin/Jasper 1999).

However, Swidler's notion of culture is not quite as instrumental and reifying. She uses the tool kit metaphor to distinguish her approach from Weberian models presenting

culture as "a unified system that pushes action in a consistent direction", but does not necessarily imply that the contents of the toolbox (public performances such as rituals, symbols and stories, as well as world-views) are readily available irrespective of social, political and economic power relations. In an extension of the metaphor, I would argue that access to the tool kit is regulated by factors such as habitus, cultural, social and economic capital and cultural grammars – regulations which can be subverted, dodged, sidestepped or overrun. In this extended metaphor, culture is not the toolkit, but the entire relational system built around it, which can be contested or affirmed. The contents of the toolkit are not necessarily restricted to their conventionally approved use – a nail can be turned into an earring or a deadly weapon. In their cultural analysis of the politics of the veil during the Algerian revolt against French colonialism, Fantasia/Hirsch (1995) expound how its meanings twisted and turned according to the strategic needs of the revolutionaries through women's practices. The veil as a cultural tool was cast and re-cast, it was "actively transformed in and by collective action" and so did the gender power relations in Algeria. Through their emphasis on emergence, agency and transformation, Fantasia and Hirsch contest the reified version of the toolkit model, where cultural traditions and objects are seen as mere "resources to be wielded in their original state". For them, culture is not a static field providing opportunities and constrains for a movement, but contested terrain, where movements seize dominant cultural patterns and turn them to their advantage. Their take on cultural analysis is to "understand the social processes (interactional dynamics, spatial forms, organizational encasements) through which cultural objects are actively transformed in collective action" (Fantasia/Hirsch 1995:145). The conceptionalisation of culture proposed by Fantasia and Hirsch, with their references to Raymond Williams and Bakhtin bend towards what I will introduce as a broad notion of culture in chapter I.3.

I.2.3 Culture as a Cognitive Process

An influential introduction on social movements introduces "the symbolic dimension of collective action" in two subchapters on "culture and action" (Della Porta/Diani 2006 [1999]:64-88). One deals with the "role of values", the other with the "cognitive perspective". While the culture-as-values model is criticised, the cultural dimension of collective action is presented as cognitive praxis. The Weberian model of culture is given secondary importance in favour of Swidler's toolkit metaphor or Eyerman and Jami-

son's notion of culture as "a set of instruments that social actors use to make sense of their own life experiences" (Della Porta/Diani 2006:73, see also Eyerman/Jamison 1991). The recommended methodology to study cognitive praxis is provided by the framing approach. The term cognitive appears as a marker for the analysis of cultural dimensions within CSMT.

Several typologies and classifications of culture as a cognitive dimension have been offered. They systemise a wide range of cultural factors and locate them within the social system (Jasper 2007; Johnston 2009a; Klandermans 1992; Polletta 2004a). Drawing on Giddens (1984) and Sewell (1992), Francesca Poletta offers a concept of "cultural schemas" which organise "how people do things" (Poletta 2004a:169). These schemas operate in numerous social sites and include cognitive categories such as values, conversational dynamics and national narratives. Poletta shares with Swidler (1995) an interest in cultural schemas situated in institutions

In an attempt to systematise cultural aspects found in empirical studies on cultural aspects of social movements, Hank Johnston presents three basic, interrelated categories which form a cultural "matrix": Ideations, artefacts, and performances (Johnston 2009a). Ideations are values, beliefs, mentalities, social representations, habitus, norms of behaviour and normative forms of speech as well as cognitive concepts such as frames, schemata, algorithms and grammars. The category of ideation echoes the Weberian view of culture as a system of beliefs and value, enhanced through concepts from cognitive anthropology which pose culture as a set of rules that guide human behaviour (Goodenough 1964). Artefacts are cultural products with a certain materiality such as music, art, and literature. This echoes a notion of culture from early anthropology, which studied culture predominantly through material objectivations. Performances are defined as symbolic actions which acquire meaning through the acts of the performers, as well as their audiences. Johnston puts great emphasis on the performative aspect of his cultural matrix. He stresses that his model is open and fluid. Rather than a set entity, he sees it as being constantly reproduced by practices, ideations and cultural knowledge of agents and audiences. He distinguishes his model from Clifford Geertz' notion of culture, which is deemed as being too static to be applied to social movements. Interestingly, he references Geertz' concept of culture as a web of meaning in the singular form, while Geertz used this metaphor as well as the term culture in the plural, thereby conveying a fluid and contested notion of culture rather than a static one (Geertz

1973d). While Johnston's cultural matrix is helpful in categorising aspects of culture, it is not meant to conceptualise culture as an analytical device to understand power relations.

James Jasper presents a similar threesome as a typology of different dimensions of culture: Physical artefacts, metaphors of meaning and rhetoric (Jasper 2007). Jasper's model is complemented by an extensive typology of emotions for application in social movements. The category of physical artefacts includes jokes, gossip and rumour, speeches, lifestyle choices, performing acts, theatre, rituals, people and events, texts (including mediated texts) and visual symbols. Metaphors of meaning are movement cultures, frames, collective identities, symbolic allies and enemies, characters, narrative, text and discourse. Rhetoric is Jasper's concept for "carriers of meaning". He draws on Aristotle's model of rhetoric, which outlines the relationship between orator and audience which is mediated by a message. It echoes the simple sender – message – receiver model from early communication theory. Jasper links his category of rhetoric to the concept of "social performance" (Alexander /Giesen/Mast 2006) as an embodiment of cultural meanings. With his typology, Jasper aims to bridge a gap between "more structural and more cultural approaches to mobilization" (Jasper 2007:59). During the cultural challenge, structural approaches (PPT) were seen as focussing on movement strategy, while cultural, post-Marxist ones were seen as centering on identity and thereby as non-strategic (Cohen 1985; Giugni 1998). One of the riddles in the debates between proponents of structural and cultural approaches was the question whether culture is situated on the terrain of social structure and thus constraining social movements, or whether it could be used to explain agency and social change (Goodwin/Jasper 2004). For Jasper, rhetoric is "a lens for viewing culture that parallels strategy as a way of viewing political action" (Jasper 2007:80). He emphasises that culture is constructed, but not arbitrary or infinitely flexible (Jasper 1997:52).

An influential and complex cognitive conceptualisation of culture in CSMT is the "cognitive approach" to social movements proposed by Ron Eyerman and Andrew Jamison (1991, 1995, 1998), which "calls attention to the creative role of consciousness and cognition in all human action, individual and collective" (Eyerman/Jamison 1998:21). Social movements are understood as social forces opening up public spaces for the production of new forms of knowledge, including collective identities and ideas. As contingent and emergent spaces carved out of existent contexts, social movements

are seen as experimental arenas for the practice of new forms of social and cognitive action. The cognitive approach shifts attention away from forms of movement organisation towards the "content of social movement activity" such as, for instance, the role of popular music in the 1960s social movements (Eyerman/Jamison 1995:450, 1998). Rather than focussing social movement research on the organisations or institutions which eventually grow out of emergent social movements, the cognitive perspective analyses the cultural content of movement activity. This directs attention to social movements' transience, their momentariness and looseness.

In distinction to the de-historicising structural analyses prevalent in PPT, the cultural focus of the cognitive approach implies that movements are historically situated, with particular emphasis on emergence and afterlife. The cognitive model is aligned with post-Marxist theorising on social movements past and present, and takes inspiration from the Birmingham school of cultural studies. With Melucci (1985, 1995), Eyerman and Jamison emphasize that social movements are "processes in formation". With Hobsbawm (Hobsbawm/Ranger 1992), they analyse the mechanisms of tradition making[23], and with a nod to E.P. Thompson (1980 [1963]), they accentuate that social movements "do not spring already formed to take their place on the stage of history" (Eyerman/Jamison 1995:450). Their emphasis on emergence and transformation is grounded in Raymond Williams' (1977) concept of "dominant", "emergent" and "residual" segments of the cultural formation (Eyerman/Jamison 1998:37 - 41, 87), and his concept of "structure of feelings", where he explains the dynamic relationship between culture as structure and culture as agency:

> *"Lived experience is not just a tradition, but a selective tradition, an intentionally selective version of a shaping past and a pre-shaped present, which is then powerfully operative in the process of social and cultural definition and identification. (...) From a whole possible era of past and present, in a particular culture, certain meanings and practices are selected for emphasis and certain other meanings and practices are neglected or excluded" (Williams 1977:115).*

Eyerman and Jamison apply William's general concept of lived experience as a central locus of culture to social movements and the lived experience of activists. Activist

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[23] The connection to the British post-Marxist school of historians is apparent in their use of the term tradition making: "an important component of tradition making is what could be termed exploration: the terrain must be mapped, the resources mined, and the gold sifted from the sand" (Eyerman/Jamison 1998:37). They also reference authors such as E.P. Thompson, Raymond Williams, Christopher Hill and R.W. Scribner, who have all analysed the cultural expressions of social movements (Eyerman/Jamison 1995:465)

lived experience is shaped by past traditions and present structures, but by selecting certain meanings and practices and neglecting others, activists contribute to the cultural shaping of present and future through practices of collective memory.

Eyerman and Jamison's cognitive approach constitutes a cultural perspective on social movements where culture takes centre stage. They state that cultures rearrange their traditions and resources by certain forms of social movements, and aim to identify the distinctive forms of social activity which are at work in processes of cultural transformation (Eyerman/Jamison 1995:450). The cognitive approach focuses on social movements as important cultural producers, and thus contributes to an understanding of the role of culture in processes of social change. The remit is not only to understand how social movements develop, but also "the distinctive forms of social activity which are at work in processes of cultural transformation" (Eyerman/Jamison 1995:449). Eyerman and Jamison observe a separation in social theory between culture and society:

> "In social theory, culture is usually conceptualized in terms of values or systems of norms, as all-encompassing interpretive frames and behavioural routines which set the conditions for, but are distinguished from, processes of social change. Culture and society are generally seen as separate spheres of human existence, the one primarily concerned with symbols and representations, the other with material reality and social practices" (Eyerman/Jamison 1995:450).

This separation is reflected in an under-theorising of the "interchange between social movements and [popular] culture" (Eyerman/Jamison 1995:465) and the link between politics and culture. Given the importance of linking culture to social structure in the analysis of social movements (Fantasia/Hirsch 1995), Eyerman/Jamison aim to reconnect the separated disparate discourses, "the one constructing a realm of social and political movements, the other circumscribing a world of popular culture and entertainment" (Eyerman/Jamison 1995:451).

Cognitive approaches to culture are attractive for CSMT for several reasons. First, they can be aligned with cultural repertoires as a resource, with cultural systems of meaning as sources of constraints or opportunity, and with cultural change as an outcome of social movements. Findings can be cast in generalisable explanations of causes and effect. The cognitive framework somehow seems to give 'objective' credibility to the analysis of culture. In Johnston's view, the cultural process of meaning-making is constrained by "shared cognitive processes that impose structure onto the world *because of how the human brain works* [author's emphasis]" He argues in a somewhat essential-

ising manner that "the attribution of cause is a basic cognitive process (…) fundamental to how we make sense of the world" (Johnston 2009a:5). Second, much theorising in CSMT is about establishing clearly separated categories, which can be used as explanatory variables for social movements' success or failure. If culture is to be used as an explanatory variable, it must be conceptualised as separate from the social or the political structure. Statements such as 'culture sets the conditions for social change' presuppose that culture is distinguished from social change. At the same time, the need for a conceptualisation of culture that links it to the social has been emphasised. The cognitive approach provides this link. Third, it was pointed out that convincing analysis of cultural factors requires categorisation and quantification in a way that makes them "empirically verifiable" (Johnston 2009a:6). Cognitive concepts of culture are more open to such procedures than interpretive ones.

The proliferation of models such as Polletta's cultural schemas, Johnston's cultural matrix, and Jasper's typology of carriers of meaning accentuate the need to theorise and operationalise culture within CSMT. Cognitive notions of culture provide frameworks to analyse cultural dimensions such as movement identity formation, network cultures, and symbolic politics within the research agenda of CSMT and to methodologically isolate specific aspects for analysis. Empirical studies fan out an impressive range of cultural phenomena, and taxonomies for the study of cultural aspects are presented, albeit without a claim to permeate the core of CSMT, which continues to conceptualise the relationship between social movements, society and culture through a binary, instrumental logic of cause-and-effect, cost-benefit, constraint-opportunity.

Particularly Johnston's model demonstrates the difficulties encountered by social movement theorists seeking to integrate conceptualisations of culture into the largely structuralist-functionalist framework of CSMT characterised by "a core of individual economistic rationality, in a world of structured culture" (Cox 1999:48). A persistent adherence to the cause-and-effect oriented approach of classic political process theory and a reluctance to open the framework of social movement theory towards cultural analysis and cultural theory was clearly expressed in one of the first collections dedicated to "Social movements and culture":

> "it is unlikely that the sociology of culture is able to incorporate the most enduring findings of
> the past two decades of social movement research [.…] The fundamental question as we see it is
> what answers cultural variables can provide to the core issues of the field, that is, the rise and

decline of social movements and the waxing and waning of movement participation, movement success or failure" (Johnston/Klandermans 1995: 21).

Numerous attempts were made to culturally circle the square of social movement theory by poaching on post-structuralist conceptualisations of culture while leaving the structural-functionalist framework of social movement theory intact (Buechler 2000:52). For Buechler, the conclusion is to drop the structural-functionalist framework alltogether. He suggests to approach social movements in a way which takes the duality of the political and the cultural dimensions of all social movements in every phase of their life-cycle into account through analysis of the "political economy and cultural construction of social activism" (Buechler 2000:209f).

I.2.4   Webs of Meaning: An Interpretative/Anthropological Perspective

Clifford Geertz's anthropological, interpretive concept of culture was an important point of reference for cultural interpretations of social movements in CSMT (Geertz 1973b; Benford/Snow 2000:2; Fantasia/Hirsch 1995:144; Johnston 2009a:8; Johnston/Klandermans 1995a:6, 13; Salman/Assies 2007; Swidler 1986, 1995:26ff). Geertz' concept of culture aligns well with the need of social movement theory to establish a link between culture and the social system, although this aspect has often been overlooked. He found that functionalism with its emphasis on systemic balance and social integration emphasised people's affirmative cultural practices and overlooked the dysfunctional, disruptive, disintegrative and disturbing dimensions of culture (Geertz 1957). Geertz argued that the inability of functionalism in both sociology and anthropology to cope with social change was due to its inability to analyse both cultural and sociological processes in their own right, and its tendency to treat one as a derivation of the other. Thus he turns both against the "omnibus concept of culture" (33) in traditional anthropology and an all-encompassing concept of social structure. For Geertz, culture and the social are not separate spheres, but two different abstractions of the same phenomena:

> *"Culture is the fabric of meaning in terms of which human beings interpret their experience and guide their action; social structure is the form that action takes, the actually existing network of social relations. Culture and social structure are then but different abstractions from the same phenomena. The one considers social action in respect to its meaning for those who carry it out, the other considers it in terms of its contribution to the functioning of some social system"*
> *(Geertz 1957:33f).*

Geertz presents a form of cultural analysis which is able to grasp the incongruencies of social change as a discontinuous and disjunctive process, where old and new meanings overlap and the cultural framework of meaning often contradicts the patterning of social interaction (Geertz 1957:53; Geertz 1995; Welz 2004:10). He analysed culture as a semiotic system, as historically produced "webs of meaning" which guide human action and are at the same time questioned, affirmed, produced and reproduced through public performances acted out by people[24]:

> *"man is an animal suspended in webs of significance he himself has spun, i take culture to be*
> *those webs, and the analysis of it to be therefore not an experimental science in search of a law*
> *but an interpretation of one in search of meaning"* (Geertz 1973c:5).

Geertz regarded the analysis of culture not as an experimental science seeking to determining causes and effects, but as an interpretive science in search of meaning. His ethnographic methodology consisted in the production of "thick descriptions" (Geertz 1973d). A thick description is a "nuanced account of people doing things with cultural forms" (Herzfeld 2001:25), "the interpretive inscription of social discourse, primarily in its interpersonal and local rather than its institutional and global expressions" (Nicholas Thomas qt in Herzfeld 2001:25). Thick descriptions focus on situated, localised knowledge, and aim to recount, translate, analyse and understand what has been called "the native point of view", that is the way in which people produce webs of meaning while they are using them to make sense of their worlds. Thus producing thick descriptions is a theoretical and methodological as much as a descriptive operation (Reed/Alexander 2009:37). Whether they tackle a conflict between a variety of institutional, collective and individual actors in the mountains of Morocco (Geertz 1973a), or the cultural practices involved in the "Deep Play" of Balinese cockfights (Geertz 1973d), Geertz's thick descriptions illustrate how this approach allows analysing the interaction of conflicting and contested ways of meaning-making as a complex social discourse. In their analysis of revolutionaries' tactical use of the politics of the veil during the Algerian revolt against French colonialism, Fantasia and Hirsch (1995) show that the analysis of contested webs of meaning is well suited to understand how social movements make use of, contest and act within culture.

Geertz' understanding of culture differs from Weber's values in that culture is not lo-

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24 According to Geertz, culture is "an historically transmitted pattern of meanings embodied in symbols, a system of inherited conceptions expressed in symbolic forms by means of which men communicate, perpetuate, and develop their knowledge about and their attitudes toward life" (Geertz 1973c:89)

cated deep down in the mind of the individual, but enacted in public performances (Swidler 1986). He argues that "culture is public because meaning is" (Geertz 1973a:10). Geertz's focus on public rituals as a site where culture is publicly enacted and produced was deemed useful for the study of social movements with their emphasis on protest events as a strategy to publicly shape and express their struggles.

Referring to Geertz' interpretive notion of culture, Ton Salman and Willem Assies (2007) argue for a cultural contextualisation of social movements. Analyses should not detach the factual period of action and protest from the broader sociocultural life-world or the people or groups involved in a movement. Equally, the societal politico-cultural hegemonies in which protests emerge should be taken into consideration. They suggest four dimensions where anthropology could make a contribution to social movement theory: an elaborate notion of culture, a clarification for the debate between more structuralist and more agency-focused approaches to social movements, a focus on perceptions of participants and a holistic perspective on social movements which allows to integrate political science, economics, architecture, musicology, and other disciplines (Salman/Assies 2007:206f). They argue against the isolation of culture as a distinct, empirical social sphere (209) which is then used as an explanation for something. Culture, they pose, should not be presented as an "unequivocal cause of anything".

Theorists of social movements have claimed that classic anthropological notions of culture emphasise its coherence and its integrative aspects and are therefore too static to be used in the analysis of collective actors striving for social change (Fantasia/Hirsch 1995:145). They juxtapose these with post-Marxist notions where culture is seen as a contested terrain (Williams 1977, Thompson 1961). As was shown, social movement theorists tend to prefer notions from classical and cognitive anthropology (Malinowski 1944; Benedict 1961; Kroeber/Kluckhohn 1952; Goodenough 1956, 1964) over the Geertzian approach.

However, beginning with Geertz, anthropologists have challenged the concept of cultures as discrete and bounded entities or self-contained realms of one single and congruent set of significations, symbols, rituals and traditions and emphasised instead its plural, contested and fragmented character (Clifford/Marcus 1986). Contrary to romanticising concepts of culture which emphasise its homogenising qualities, Salman and Assies state that culture as a societal practice divides societies and keeps them divided in a process that Bourdieu (1984) called distinction. They emphasize the hybrid

and often contradictory nature of cultural formations and show how the dimension of contested meaning permeates the decisions of social movement actors.

Salman and Assies warn against research strategies that take social movements for granted and explain them as an almost mechanical reaction to deprivation or assign their emergence to "the mere injection of a discourse made available by third parties or a charismatic leader" (Salman/Assies 2007:213). They suggest a historical, cultural and actor-centered approach to analyse the complex processes involved in their formation. Culture is thus seen as an integral part of the constitution of political actors and identities. However, culture is not seen as an exclusive framework of analysis, as identities are also produced by societal positions, access to resources, role in power configurations, gender or age.

Contrary to Salman and Assies, proponents of the framing approach in CSMT interpret the Geertzian concept of culture as a "set of pervasive and integrated set of beliefs and values that have considerable staying power" akin to an ideological system (Benford/Snow 2000:613). In their view, the cultural system of meanings changes not through the contradictions and incongruencies it contains in itself. Rather, change occurs through the challenges posed to it through collective action frames.

While social movement theorists reviewed an interpretive and anthropological notion of culture, this was largely re-framed to suit a "predilection for causal explanation in social movement research" and an often implicit tendency "toward positivist logic and rules of evidence and proof that do not lend themselves to systemic of semiotic analyses" (Johnston/Klandermans 1995:15). Johnston takes a cautious view on interpretive approaches to culture, as these are unlikely to satisfy the needs of CSMT, "given the instrumentalist-structuralist lens through which many issues of the field are seen" and given that "the search for causes of movement success and the variable development of movement trajectories, protest events, and state responses is not something that will be easily foregone" (Johnston 2009a:5).

Thus interpretive cultural analyses of social movements tend to be placed on the fringes of CSMT. However, I suggest that the cultural analysis of prefigurative, emerging and culturally productive social movements would benefit from a broad notion of culture that is grounded in an interpretive, anthropological approach, and combines it with post-Marxist elements and theories of practice.

I.3.   Theorising Practice: A Broad Notion of Culture

To analyse the interplay between the social and the cultural and its political implications in contemporary social movements from a cultural perspective, a broad notion of culture is needed. It needs to link the world of signs, symbols and significations and embodied practices of meaningmaking to political and discursive, socially grounded power relations, and people's experiences and practices on the micro-level to macro-structures and discourses. Such a *broad notion of culture* (Lipp 1993; Maderthaner/Musner 2007; Warneken 2000:207) gradually developed in Europe from the 1960s onwards as an operationalisation of the highly theoretical debates amongst post-Marxists, post-structuralists and politically-minded scholars on the left in the course of the cultural turns of the 1980s (Bachmann-Medick 2006). Application of this broad notion of culture to new and contemporary social movements was scarce. However, in reflexive activist scholarship on contemporary social movements on the fringes of social movement theory, it is implicitly present. For the purpose of this study, the broad notion of culture which lingers in the background of participatory, politically engaged scholarship on social movements shall be made explicit.

The broad notion of culture was collectively developed in a loosely-knit epistemic community, largely situated in, but not restricted to French, German and English-speaking Europe. It has no single protagonist or discipline. Major scholars operating with a broad notion of culture are reluctant to define culture in brief, concise and quotable sound-bites. Formulas which circumscribe culture as "the cultural side of society" (Warneken 2000:209), the "other side of the social" (Bausinger 1980) or the "subjective side of social relations" (Johnson1986:43) indicate that the cultural dimension permeates every aspect of society, echoing Raymond Williams' "whole way of life" (Williams 1958a) and Thompson's "whole way of struggle" (Thompson 1961). This contrasts a notion of culture prevalent in conventional history, where it is conceptualised as an additional subfield along with politics, economy and the social, or in conventional sociology, where it tends to be seen as a variable, a counterpoint to structure or as an empirical subfield.

The broad notion of culture was fleshed out in the writing of cultural historians, historical anthropologists, and scholars in a version of cultural anthropology which emerged from a critical revision of folklore studies in German-speaking countries

(Gerndt 1988; Bausinger 1980, 1984b, 1985, 1990 [1961]).[25] The term 'broad notion of culture' became customary in the latter discipline to label a specific combination of a range of cultural theories (Jeggle/Korff/Scharfe/Warneken 1986b). It takes into account the debates on culture, power and identity, on subcultures and active audiences within the framework of British cultural studies (Marchart 2008; Winter 2001), anthropological-interpretive conceptualisations of culture as webs of meaning (Geertz 1973b), semiotic theory (Bakhtin 1993 [1965]; Lotman/Uspenskij 1986; Voloshinov 1973; Eisch 1996) and sociological theories of practice (Bourdieu 1984; De Certeau 1984). Scholars of culture across disciplines discussed pioneering works of post-structuralism such as Roland Barthes' mythologies (1973), or Foucault's analysis of the microstructures of power (1980; 1991 [1977]). The broad notion of culture took shape in distinction from a now outdated understanding of culture as high culture, materialised in works of art, music or literature which confined Culture with a capital C to the privileged space of artistic production and specialised knowledge produced and enjoyed by the ruling classes. It insisted on the centrality of everyday life for cultural analysis, combining Raymond William's cultural materialism whereby "culture is ordinary" and must be seen as "a whole way of life" (Williams 1958a, b); Thompsons revision of this formula which emphasised the contested nature of culture as "a whole way of struggle" (Thompson 1961); the 19th century tradition of folklore studies and the radical tradition of history from below. Thus the everyday was given particular emphasis as a site of resistance and refractory practices (Kaschuba 1986; Lüdke 1995; Warneken 2006; Winter 2001).

The broad notion of culture directed academic enquiry to analyses of popular culture, subcultures and more generally to non-hegemonic ways of life, mentalities and aesthetics (Warneken 2006), not without giving reason for qualified feminist criticism for its romantisation of male-dominated working-class culture and gender-blindness (Lipp 1993; McRobbie 1980). Micro-historical and anthropological analyses reviewed the history of early modern and industrial Europe through the lens of everyday live, popular culture and protest with an emphasis on the lower strata of society (Darnton 1984;

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[25] In the German-speaking academic landscape, 'Europäische Ethnologie' (european ethnology), 'Kulturanthropologie' (cultural anthropology), or 'Empirische Kulturwissenschaft' (empirical cultural studies) emerged as critical revisions of the discipline 'Volkskunde' (folklore studies). This discipline developed in the 19th century out of a romanticising, often nationalist interest in the mores and lores of ordinary, mostly rural people. In the 20th century, it was deeply entangled in the Nazi ideological apparatus. Related to the 1968 students' revolt, it re-invented itself as empirically and qualitatively oriented cultural analysis.

Düding/Friedemann/Münch 1988; Dülmen/Schindler 1984; Ginzburg 1980; Hobsbawm 1971 [1959]; Kienitz 1989; Lipp 1986; Sewell 1980; Warneken 1991; Zemon Davis 1973, 1975). Particular attention was given to the politics of the body in protest events (Lipp/Kienitz/Binder 1986; Kaschuba 1991; Warneken 1986a, 1986b;). Social uprisings from the time of the reformation to the revolutionary movements of 1848 were presented as social movements (Kaschuba/Lipp 1979; Scribner 1987). Working class culture and particularly culture within the organised labour movement received particular attention (Warneken 2006:135-155; Kaschuba 1990:66-72; Kaschuba 1990:120-128; Kramer 1987; Langewiesche 1987; Schönberger 1995).

With regard to contemporary cultures of resistance, the research interest in nonhegemonic and potentially resistant/oppositional expressions of culture was expressed in a focus on marginalised or subaltern actors and potentially subversive, rebellious, critical or evasive practices as well as hegemonic ways to control them. This included migrant and diaspora cultures, youth subcultures, fandom and popular style (music, fashion, drugs, motorbikes), and possible oppositional readings of popular culture, entertainment and consumption (Fiske 1987, 1989; Hall 1980; Hall/Hobson/Lowe/Willis 1980; Hebdige 1979; Maase 1992). British cultural studies placed mass media in a cultural concept which refined Gramsci's theory of hegemony. The functioning of mass media was first analysed through discourse analysis (Hall et al. 1978; Screen group), then, in acknowledgement of audiences' active practices of meaningmaking, through ethnographic audience studies (Morley 1980; Gray 1987). With a view to the present tendency within cultural analysis towards practices and performance, audience studies were a pioneering theoretical and empirical innovation with important implications for cultural analyses of digital social media, where the boundary between media producer and media consumer has been dissolved by the medium itself.

On an empirical level, the strength of the broad notion of culture resides in it's ability to grasp historical discontinuities and disjunctures in the formation of an antagonistic historical subject. Philosopher Ernst Bloch, in distinction to a dogmatic interpretation of the Marxist philosophy of history, conceptualised these disjunctures as the "Gleichzeitigkeit des Ungleichzeitigen", translated as the "simultaneity of the anachronistic / the non-simultaneous" (Albrecht 2005) present in every socio-historical formation (Bloch 1985 [1935]). This concept was applied to analyse the emergence of the traditional labour movement. It is helpful to understand the emergence of contemporary so-

cial movements as an aspect that is under-researched in CSMT. The emergence of the labour movement was analysed as a complex, contradictory and non-linear process where ordinary people put world-views, moral economies, organised and social practices of resistance and everyday cultures originating both from the feudal and the capitalist era into interaction. This is the process that E.P. Thompson described as the making of the English working class (Thompson 1980 [1963]). "The working class", he passionately exclaimed in the first sentence of his preface, "did not rise like the sun at an appointed time. It was present at its own making" (Thompson 1980:8). By taking the simultaneity of the non-simultaneous into account, the binary opposition between old and new, change and tradition, structure and agency was resolved by conceptualising these oppositions as relational, recently expressed by the formula persistence and re-combination for the cultural analysis of social change (Schönberger 2005, 2006a, 2006b). This approach allows analysing practices of resistance and protest such as the re-coding and appropriation of dominant cultural forms. Cultural analyses of traditional, pre-industrial protest formats which continued well into the 19th century, such as the charivaris (Bausinger 1985) or the insistence on a pre-industrial moral economy (Thompson 1971) are analysed as a complex interplay between defensive, backwards-oriented elements and the emergence of new forms of collective action pointing to the formation of the working class as a historical agent of change. Other examples for such non-simultaneously simultaneous practices are turning funeral processions into demonstrations (Lüdke 1991); the transformation of the pre-industrial protest format of the bread riot into a seed of modern social movement demonstration, and not least incorporating popular mayday festivities and political rallies to form Mayday as the international day of workers struggles. Mayday evolved as a non-simultaneous, disjunctive process, where elements of popular culture and bourgois folklorism were appropriated (Friedemann 1991; Korff 1984, 1986; 1990; Lerch 1988). This annual ritual was contentious collective action, public performance, major symbol of the growing labour movement and the invention of a cultural form of political expression simultaneously. The inception of *Euromayday parades of the precarious* as a post-Fordist upgrade of this ritual continues this process.

The broad notion of culture encourages cultural analysis focussing on contextualisation and interpretation rather than compartmentalisation and causality. In relation to social movements, rather than identifying one movement, taking it as given, drawing a

boundary around it and analysing its activities, goals, failures and successes to develop a causal argument or to answer questions such as is it or isn't it a movement (critically: Jasper 2007), or is it a new or an old social movement, a broad notion of culture directs attention to the process through which practices, objectivations, performances, power-relations, cultural repertoires are actively transformed in collective action (Fantasia 1995:45). Because culture permeates all levels and aspects of society, cultural analysis at its best mediates between the micro-, meso- and macro-levels. Culture operates as a long-lasting structure, but is also a locus of agency (Jeggle/Korff/Scharfe/Warneken 1986a) As it encompasses both longue-duree and immediate action, a broad notion of culture offers ways to bridge the gap between structure and agency (Guigni 1998).

A focus on interpretation and contextualisation, a refusal to compartmentalise culture and especially in the German language strand, a decidedly inductive approach to empirical research are at the same time strengths and weaknesses of this approach. Swidler commented about "global approaches to the study of culture" such as those proposed by Bourdieu and Foucault that these could be "difficult to grasp firmly, either theoretically or empirically" (Swidler 1995:31). Zhao (2010) insisted on the need to establish "conceptual categorizations of some related entities" before examining how they relate to each other, as "differentiation and categorization are the beginning of a scientific inquiry." He warned that the adoption of a broader cultural definition would lead to a conceptualisation of "all social phenomena as cultural phenomena", and feared that social sciences would be subsumed under "'cultural studies' in its British sense".

The research agenda pursued by proponents of the broad notion of culture in cultural studies, German-language versions of cultural anthropology, historical anthropology and post-Marxist historiography generated important concepts such as the active audience, encoding/decoding, contingency of culture, appropriations and reinterpretations (Aneignungen und Umdeutungen), culture as 'Lebensweise', whole way of life and struggle, patterns of action and communication (Handlungs- und Kommunikationsmuster), and non-synchronities and disjunctures. Such concepts can fertilise the analysis of the cultural politics of social movements, their emergence, mobilisation and organisation, and their practices of meaning-making (Kurzman 2008), repertoires of action and their broader cultural outcomes.

However, these concepts were rarely adopted in studies of social movements (Martin 2002; Cox 1999) Conspicuously, published work suggests that the epistemic communi-

ties around the broad notion of culture placed contemporary and new social movements rather low on their research agendas. Non-hegemonic forms of organising everyday life, work and entertainment, ruses of everyday micro-subversion, and oppositional tactics of distinction were extensively analysed, while contemporary social movements as an organised form of struggle tended to be taken up in student's projects rather than long-term research undertakings. The relation between culture and contemporary social movements was of no major concern (Eyerman/Jamison 1995:465), although especially the anti-racist and feminist movements provided major theoretical inspiration (Barker Cox 2002:7). This may have theoretical reasons, but it may also be explained through a specific arrangement of the relation between the field of academia and the field of social movements. A large proportion of both students and lecturers were actively involved in social movements and radical/ left politics of their times. Many scholars of UK cultural studies participated in the New Left, the CND and later in the numerous expressions of identity politics around gender, sexuality and race. Their German-speaking counterparts in the revised folklore studies participated in anti-fascist, alternative, anti-nuclear, feminist movements as well as in a number of local struggles. Proponents of both of these academic environments were involved in the history workshop movement. Many emphasize how they perceived theory production as part of movement building, while street-level activism and movement organising fertilised theory production (Johnston 1987; Morley/Chen 1996; Massey 2007). It appears that in some periods, the relation between the field of academia and the field of social movements was not predominantly expressed as a relation between researcher and researched, but rather as a shared political project. Reflexive activist scholarship as an emerging approach on the fringes of social movement theory may indicate that the present is such a period.

In the 1980s and 1990s, when the broad notion of culture as the other side of the social was most prolific, culture provided a fresh research focus and allowed to link social, cultural and political dimensions in innovative ways. A recent revival of cultural perspectives can be found in theories of practice (Hörning 2004; Reckwitz 2006, 2008). Theories of practice were first introduced by sociologists such as Pierre Bourdieu and Michel de Certeau and worked through from relevant disciplinary perspectives such as media studies, sociology of culture, science and technology studies, cultural anthropology and social movement theory (Bohmann 1997; Couldry 2000, 2004; Crossley 2002; 2003; Hörning 2001; Ortner 2004; Postill 2008; 2010). Theories of practice were pre-

sented as a way to straddle the „constraints of structure and the power of audience agency" (Ortner 1984). Theories of practice circumscribe culture as a double-sided repertoire. On one hand, it encompasses repertoires of cultural knowledge and meaning, which are stored in multiple forms such as symbols, rituals, models, codes, texts, artefacts, patterns of interpretation or technologies. On the other hand, culture contains repertoires of practical knowledge and interpretive skills, which are necessary to activate and produce cultural knowledge and meaning in practice (Hörning 2004:146). This double-sided concept links cultural system and social practice in a complex relation and thereby connects two elements which have largely been regarded as incompatible. Similar to Geertz' public rituals and Swidler's public performances, theories of practice take the doing, the processual completion, the performance as a starting point for analysis, while asking for implicit norms and patterns and seeking for the latent meanings of practice (Hörning 2004:147). To study contemporary social movements with their orientated towards direct action, public performance and intervention and mediated forms of contention, interaction and communication, the combination of a broad notion of culture with theories of practice is particularly valuable.

II. Reflexive Scholarship, Ethnography and the Cultural Politics of Knowledge Production

In the introductory go-around during a workshop with Euromayday activists from Spain, Belgium and Germany on the premises of one of Hamburg's numerous office collectives[26], I presented myself: My name is Marion, and I am researching the Euromayday Network. With succinct briefness, the next participant in the round continued: My name is Matthias[27], and I am being researched. With this remark, he had placed my statement in the complex negotiations about research with, in, for or about social movements. He put my position and its implications for activists on the table in a matter-of-fact manner, articulating both an acceptance of my presence and a certain awkwardness. Both our statements marked a difference between researcher and researched. We acknowledged that I was 'studying the movement' rather than closely 'working with the movement'. However, the context brought our positions on opposite sides of the researcher-researched scale closer. We were both participating in a workshop on activist social media, and both linked to other participants or their political groups through political collaboration in past and present campaigns, as well as through personal ties established through mutual hospitality or the friend-of-a-friend protocol. In this situation, I strongly sensed that I was situated in a space in-between: physically present and actively participating in the familiar setting of an activist workshop, while pursuing an academic research project to analyse this kind of settings. Learning to recognise this space between the fields of academia and activism, taking, shaping and extending it into a place from where I could study, speak and theorise was hard work accompanied by feelings of paralysis, anger, gratefulness, embarrassment, irritation, pride, and relief. It involved a rehaul of my subject position as an activist and at the same time learning to inhabit a position as a critical scholar.

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[26] Office collectives, or 'Bürokollektive' are groups of people who share the rent of an office space. Mostly, they work as knowledge- or cultural workers, often in highly precarious constellations. Often, people in office collectives also share political affiliations close to the radical subculture of the city.

[27] Name changed.

This episode from my research journey in the Euromayday network illustrates how students of social movements move between two intertwined fields: the field of academia and the field of activism. The proliferation of qualitative social research in the social sciences in general (Hirschauer 2008:177) and in the area of social movement studies in particular enhances interaction between both fields, as qualitative methods entail interaction between researcher and researched. Depending on research design, methodological choices, and political and social positioning of the researchers, this interaction can be treated as a possible distortion of research data, or deliberately cultivated as an asset providing insights that could not be gained otherwise. Over the last decade, a trend towards politically engaged, reflexive study of social movements requiring direct engagement can be observed (Bevington/Dixon 2005; Yang 2009). Such *reflexive activist scholarship* is marked by careful reflection of the position of the researcher in relation to the field of activism both in political and methodological terms. This reflexive intellectual practice in combination with methods such as participant observation and open-ended interview techniques relates to the methodological framework of ethnography.

In this chapter, I argue that critical dialogue and mutual transgression between the field of activism and the field of academia holds rich potential on the twin levels of political practice and political theory. However, the potential of reflexive interactive knowledge production is lost in conventional research praxis where the subjective component of interactive knowledge production is neutralised by strategies aiming to eliminate the bias of interactivity. A more productive approach is to embrace the subjective side of research interaction. This allows to simultaneously include intimate participant knowledge about social movements in formal theorising and to widen the space where movements reflect upon themselves. Ethnography offers methodological instruments which are well suited to disentangle methodological, political and moral/ethical concerns about interactive research raised by activists and activist scholars, while also satisfying the need for rigorous methodological reflection in interactive knowledge production expressed by conventional social researchers.

I discuss how interaction between the field of academia and the field of activism is being constructed by the people who engage in it, including myself. I outline the entanglements between the field of activism and the field of academia and the ambiguous space of interactive knowledge production that stretches between them. I describe this conceptual space as processual and ambiguous and shaped by alliances across the fields of academia and

activism as well as the cultural politics of knowledge production in conventional social science, activism and activist scholarship. Drawing on a notion from E.P. Thompson, I analyse the boundaries between the field of activism and the field of academia by exploring the moral economy of the field of activism as a cultural grammar which shapes activist evaluations of researchers and research results within the field of activism and organises access to collectively produced knowledge. I deliminate reflexive activist scholarship against conventional social research and activist investigation using Gramscian and Foucauldian notions of the intellectual and types of knowledge produced. I draw on a body of empirical studies, my own fieldwork and recent debates amongst politically engaged students of social movements to establish reflexive activist scholarship as an emerging approach to study social movements operating in the *third space of critical engagement* which stretches between the fields of activism and academia (Routledge 1996).

I assess the complex positioning of activist scholars studying social movements, including my own (Autonomous Geographies Collective 2010; Barker/Cox 2002; Bevington/Dixon 2005; Cox/Nilsen 2007; Flesher/Cox 2009; Juris 2007; Routledge 1996), and identify three research strategies in the ambiguous field of interactive knowledge production: Eliminating the bias, ruses of disambiguation and reflexive hybridisation of activist scholarship. I offer an ethnographic interpretation of the complications encountered by activist scholars inhabiting the ambiguous space between the fields of academia and activism. I present recurring sticking points of ethnographic research strategies which I deem useful for reflexive activist scholarship. These are the classic insider/outsider position of the ethnographer, her visibility as a hybrid figure as a methodological tool, the need to develop a distancing gaze of strangeness ('fremder Blick') onto all-to-familiar settings, and a methodological interpretation of the problem of give and take.

I conclude with an account of my own research journey to show how my positioning between activism and academia evolved. Initial attempts to perform a disambiguation of my hybrid role into an activist on one hand, and a researcher on the other were abandoned in favour of reflexive hybridisation which allowed me to move towards a position as an activist scholar inhabiting the third space of critical engagement. Drawing on my fieldwork, I offer a methodological interpretation of research delays and inertia frequently encountered by ethnographers through the notion of the researcher's angst of the field.

II.1.   The Ambiguous Space between Activism and Academia

During the phase of data-gathering or ethnographic fieldwork, scholars of social move-ments are often situated in the field of activism. In the ensuing phase of writing up and publishing, they tend to return to the field of academia. De Certeau analysed the contrast between both constellations as a gap between the "time of solidarity" and the "time of writing" (De Certeau 1984:24f; Juris 2007:171; Routledge 1996:402). The former is marked by docility and gratefulness towards research participants, that is, one's hosts in the field of activism. The latter reveals institutional affiliations and the intellectual, profes-sional and financial profit gained on the basis of the hospitality received during the time of solidarity (De Certeau 1984:24f). However, the boundaries between the field of activism and the field of academia are not quite as clear-cut (Autonomous Geographies Collective 2010:249). Neither field can be understood as a pure, authentic space, because both "con-stitute fluid fields of social action that are interwoven with other activity spaces" (Routledge 1996:400). Between both fields stretches a somehow ambiguous space.

II.1.1 Entanglements

In the alterglobalisation movement (AGM) including its preceding and outcoming mi-lieux, movements, scenes and networks and its researchers, this ambiguous in-between space is shaped by institutional alliances, the social base of the movement, political affilia-tions of both activists and researchers, and negotiations about the logic of academic knowledge production in relation to a moral economy prevalent in the field of activism.

The social base of the AGM contains a considerable proportion of academically edu-cated activists. As students, lecturers, researchers and professors, they reflect about the movement in academic as well as movement-specific formats along with other activist theorising. Such cross-over publishing is a constitutive element of the ambiguous space of interactive knowledge production between the field of academia and the field of activ-ism.[28] As activists, many scholars are involved in profane activities such as planning and carrying out actions and assemblies, cleaning toilets, working with alternative and mass media, DJ-ing, squatting, translating, facilitating, cooking and so on (Graeber 2009; Maeckelbergh 2009; Routledge 1996).

Institutional overlaps between the field of activism and the field of academia are mani-fold. Numerous gatherings and semi-institutional structures such as the Lancaster Knowl-

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[28]   Radical publishers are an important vehicle of cross-over publication. An example is the anthology ‚Constituent Imagination' by the anarchist publisher AK Press.

edgelab (UK), Edufactory (Italy) or Universidad Nomada (Spain) aim at a crossover between activists and sympathetic scholars. MA courses dedicated to activism and social change are established, for instance at the Geography departments at the Universities of Leicester and Leeds (Hodkinson 2009; Salusbury 2007). Activists are invited to teach seminars in courses relating to globalisation, politics or media. Universities also provide venues for activist events: The decision to hold *Euromayday parades of the precarious* all over Europe was taken on the premises of Middlesex University (see Chapter 3), and since 2007, the annual London Anarchist bookfair takes place at Queen Mary's College of the University of London. In turn, movements sometimes host gatherings of radical academics in their own "free spaces" (Fantasia/Hirsch 1995; Polletta 1997, 1999). For instance, the radical academics of the *Squatting Europe* network (Sqek) held their 2010 Europe-wide meeting at the self-managed London Activist Resource Centre (LARC) (S_216, S_219).

From an academic-institutional perspective, the AGM as an innovative political actor constitutes a rich field to study issues relevant to current science policy such as democratic deliberation, the emergence of a transnational public sphere (Fraser 2007; Splichal 2006), political use of information- and communication technologies, sustainable lifestyes or new forms of community formation. The European Union as well as individual states are funding a considerable number of movement-related research projects[29]. Many of these projects combine methodologies of qualitative social research with large scale, quantitative surveys. This requires collaboration of movement actors as research participants and yields interaction between researchers and activists (Cox/Flesher 2009:6). However, this interaction is complicated by different and often contradicting systems to regulate knowledge production operating in the fields of activism and academia, which collide in the ambiguous space between both fields.

II.1.2 Regulating Knowledge: Research Strategies and the Moral Economy of Activism

Despite the multiple entanglements between academia and activism, interactive research cooperation can be complicated. Students of social movements report difficulties in gaining access to the field of activism: Movement actors evade or protract participation in in-

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[29] Examples for such funding can be found in the UK ESCR Non-Governmental Public Action Programme (Website: http://www2.lse.ac.uk/internationalDevelopment/research/NGPA/Home.aspx , accessed 19.2.2011; see Spicer 2007) or at the European Commission, which funded the 4 year project *Democracy in Europe and the Mobilisation of Society* (DEMOS) (Haug/Teune 2008).

terviews despite prior statements of willingness (Milberry 2003:6-10) or only produce „strangely cold responses. No interest, very bland, quick answers" (Stringer 2006:205). They refuse to participate in standardised surveys (Andretta u.a. 2003:39), prove reluctant to provide resources for a research project and question its usefulness and legitimacy (Jones/Martin 2007); demand that researchers actively participate in their projects (Jones/Martin 2007; Autonomous Geographies 2010); and bristle on their own alternative online platforms against the unreciprocated exploitation of their unpaid political activism for the benefit of financially lucrative careers of ambitious and privileged academics (Autonomous Geographies Collective 2010:251f). Such interactions reveal considerable reservations from the part of social movement actors vis a vis academic research. Maeckelbergh resumes: "Despite the open nature of the alterglobalisation movement, there remains a great deal of distrust for the 'police, media and anthropologists' who have been declared officially unwelcome" (Maeckelbergh 2009:24).

One explanation for activists' reluctance to participate in formal research projects and their limited interest in the result of social movement research is that they can hope for little new insights about their activities (Bevington/Dixon 2005:193). Activists rarely subscribe to the general assumption that academic research has a value in itself. The knowledge produced in social movement theory *about* social movements may be innovative in the field of academia, but bears little new insights to the field of activism as knowledge *for* social movements (Cox/Nilsen 2007; Flesher/Cox 2009). What studies on social movements present as conclusions often "represent the empirical starting point of activist thinking" (Cox/Nilsen 2007:6). However, in my research process, the granting of research relationships was not tied to the condition that I would produce useful results. Rather, decisions about my researching participation were made on the basis of a moral economy operating in the field of activism.

A Moral Economy in the Field of Activism

On the cultural level, academic research interests frequently collide with elementary patterns of action and behaviour in the field of activism. Such collusions give important clues to the moral economy of the field of activism[30]. Amongst other things, this moral economy

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[30] E.P. Thompson developed this concept in his study about *The moral economy of the English crowd in the eighteenth century* (1971). He contested interpretations of the widespread bread riots as irrational crowds determined by economic stimuli by reconstructing the complex value system of the English workers. He found that the bread riots were disciplined forms of popular direct action aiming at clearly defined goals on the basis on a popular consensus on social norms and roles within the community.

regulates access to the knowledge produced by and about the movement and its transformation into symbolic and economic capital. Knowledge is an important resource in post-Fordist societies. Its production is at the centre of the economic process. Knowledge production occurs not only in the workplace, but increasingly takes the form of biopolitical production. Life itself - creativity, subjectivity, experience, affectivity, relationships – is drawn into the economic process and turned into marketable products (Pieper 2007). Social movements with their incessant production of prefigurative social concepts claim control over the knowledge they produce and the cultural forms they develop.

Against this backdrop, the reluctance of many movement actors to contribute to research projects they perceive – rightly or not – as conventional appears not as exaggerated secretiveness or ignorance, but as an actualisation of a specific moral economy. Research projects which comply with this moral economy in attitude, research interest and design are more likely to meet activist support than those who don't. Four dimensions of the moral economy operating in the field of activism affect the relationship between activists and researchers in the ambiguous space between activism and academia.

A first political and ethical dimension of the moral economy consists in the rejection of hierarchies and a commitment to *horizontal forms of organising and decision-making*. This is enacted in complex practices amounting to a "radical democratic alternative based on a decentralised network and principles of horizontality and diversity" (Maeckelbergh 2009:225). The methodologies of standard social movement theory are not geared towards horizontal, collaborative theorising on a par with activists (Beverington/Dixon 2005; Cox/Nilsen 2007). Thus it comes at no surprise that the power relations between researchers and researched are questioned, subverted or at least acknowledged. Activists criticise the transformation of collectively produced knowledge into academic results assigned to an individual and question the practice of extracting movement knowledge for academic purposes without acknowledgement.

Horizontality is realised in emphatically participatory and collaborative models of organising and knowledge production (Stringer 2006:98f). In the politics of DIY culture (McKay 1998a) enacted throughout the movement, everyone is called to participate, independent of prior specialised knowledge. This *mode of doing* is a second, practically enacted dimension of the moral economy. Access to the convergences, free spaces and activities of this movement is negotiated through active participation in assemblies, organising processes, protest events and informal gatherings. Researchers relying on interaction with

movement actors are thus advised to shift their methodologies towards active participation and develop engaged modes of research (Maeckhelberg 2009:24f; Juris 2008a:6).

A third dimension of the moral economy affecting the space between academia and activism is the *mode of paranoia*. The paranoia in question is not an irrational delusion, but a paranoia within reason (Marcus 1999; Stringer 2006:163-191). Attempts to protect movements' internal spaces against hostile intrusions from state authorities or journalists are justifiable in radical communities which often experience political repression. Paranoia is a rationality that operates as a cultural discourse within the movements. This rationality negotiates between radical participatory openness and a need for protection from surveillance enacted in a "security culture" (Stringer 2006:179). Due to the mode of paranoia, very few representations of the movements prefigurative democratic alternative ever reach the public. Although journalists, radical film-makers and researchers have shown interest to document and study convergences and spokescouncils, such occasions are, despite their openness, generally regarded as internal and only partially public (Graeber 2009:17). Not unlike undercover agents or journalists, researchers tend to ask many questions without actively participating. Thus while any researcher is free to participate in movements events, the intensity of the research relationship depends on the degree to which activists trust the researcher to handle the information they are given responsibly.

A fourth dimension is the *mode of circulation* with its emphasis on open access to the commons of knowledge. This is an indispensable element in the cultural logic of networking developed in the AGM (Juris 2004, 2005, 2008a, 2008b). Networking requires and enables circulation of ideas, concepts, people, and, not least, knowledge. Circulation is facilitated through cultural practices such as the use of open, publicly archived mailing-lists, open publishing, or open meeting formats. Activists embraced the free software mode of production, where circulation of software is ensured through a specific licence encouraging further experimentation, distribution and improvements (Juris/Caruso/Mosca 2008). Licences like the Gnu free documentation licence, Copyleft or Creative Commons extended this model to types of intellectual property other than software. The mode of circulation collides with the bounded system of academic knowledge production, where expensive conferences and publications and specialised journals are nearly inaccessible to those outside the field of academia.

In the UK direct action scene, it is not uncommon to regard academic researchers as profiteers. The not unfunded assumption is that profiteers use the public visibility of a

movement to distinguish themselves as journalists, artists, or researchers.[31] „Making a career on the back of the movement" means that individuals transform the voluntary, time-consuming and un-prestigious work of activists into cultural or financial capital for individual gain. Thus profiteers pose a threat to the moral economy of a horizontally organised movement, which accepts neither leaders nor spokespeople and operates in the logic of a DiY ethic in the mode of doing. However, the reservations against researchers as profiteers are softened in such scenes as Euromayday, where many activists work and study in the field of academia, and write books, articles and academic papers besides leaflets and other mobilisation materials.

From an activist perspective, there are few incentives to assign resources to participation in pre-designed research projects about social movements. To the contrary, research practices collide in many ways with the moral economy operating in the field of activism. Researchers from all levels of the academic hierarchy are posting questionnaires or requests for interviews on groups' mailing lists or other online platforms, often without offering concise information about their respective research projects. At the workshops and seminars of social forums, at demonstrations or in the charged atmosphere of transnational mobilisations such as the G8 protests in Genoa or Heiligendamm, questionnaires are being distributed. In local activist scenes, it is not unusual that an assumed new entrant at the open meeting of a political collective turns out to be present not because they have the intention to participate in the activities of the respective group, but by research interest, i.e. because he or she is collecting material for a smaller or larger study. Activists often perceive such extensive research interest as inappropriate, intrusive, compromising, risky or disruptive.

In some respects, the moral economy in the field of activism hardens a boundary between the field of activism and the field of academia. By placing the figure of the researcher close to the threatening figures of the spy, the undercover agent, the journalist, the profiteer or the snitch, it can impede potentially fruitful overlaps between academic and activist knowledge production. However, these impediments can be overcome by sensitivity, honesty and respect for the moral economy in the field of activism on the part of re-

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[31] A variation of the profiteer is the figure of the police snitch or undercover agent. He takes advantage of the interest of state agencies in social movements considered as extreme, violent or otherwise dangerous. Undercover agents put the movement at risk not only by disclosing information. They also threaten their moral economy, where openness, transparency and trust are important values. One of many examples for movement-internal debates on undercover agents can be found on Indymedia UK following the disclosure of several undercover agents (21.10.2010, online:http://www.Indymedia.org.uk/en/2010/10/466477.html)

searchers. Reflexive ethnography embraces researchers' interaction within their chosen field of research. Elaborate methodological tools ensure that research methods respect the cultural logic of the field, while keeping the distance necessary to pursue an analytical research agenda. Thus ethnography is well equipped to widen the ambiguous space between activism and academia.

Research Strategy: Eliminating the Bias

Contrary to ethnographic research strategies, studies complying to the standards of conventional social research often regard the interactive and subjective components of qualitative social research as confounds which potentially impede data collection or corrupt the empirical data (Davies 1999:7). Articulations of linkages between the field of activism and the field of academia such as actors' reservations to participate in research studies, the subjectivity of the researcher and interaction between researchers and activists are seen as potentially distorting or even obstructing the research. Following a tradition in conventional social research, such interactions are taken into account with the instrumental intention to control them (Kriesi 1992). Interaction between researcher and researched is reduced to a methodological problem of data-gathering and solved through elaborate methodological operations (Lindner 1981:51). This positivist strategy to limit the potential damage inherent in interactive modes of knowledge production can be described as *eliminating the bias*. Three examples from social movement theory shall illustrate this research strategy.

Under the title "No global – new global", a research team from Italy presented one of the first large-scale, survey-based studies on the mobilisations of the AGM.[32] The sample was structured by social movement organisations and presented as representative for the quantitative composition of the various movement sectors (Andretta/ della Porta/ Mosca/Reiter 2003:36-43). In the statistical tables, anarchist, social centre and other grassroots participation ranks surprisingly low. The authors concede that the "anarchist component" of the movement does not appear in their statistics. They explain this by the "well-known distrust of the more radical sectors of the movement against instruments of empirical social research". They allude to a tendency amongst anarchists "not to feel part of an

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[32] Two questionnaire-based surveys were conducted at the protests against the G8 summit in Genoa 2001 (800 questionnaires) and the European Social Forum in Florence 2002 (2384 questionnaires). The surveys were complemented by an evaluation of movement websites and mass media reports (Andretta/ della Porta/ Mosca/ Reiter 2003:36-43). I am quoting from the German translation of the study, the terms in single quotation marks are my translations.

organisation and to understand militant activism as individual responsibility". Anarchists and others whose involvement in the protest was based on loose, horizontal, subcultural radical networks, and who formed tactical alliances with social movement organisations were subsumed under the latter. Thus the contribution of these actors is statistically under-represented for methodological purposes.

However, the authors note that "at least one dozen professed anarchists" had returned the standardised questionnaire without indicating their organisations (Andretta/della Porta/Mosca/Reiter 2003:39). This remark shows that the authors commanded qualitative knowledge about the composition of the movement exceeding the statistically represented results, where the anarchist component had disappeared. Despite these insights, it was not deemed necessary to revise the standardised research design.

The Europe-wide comparative research project "Democracy in Europe and the Mobilization of Society" (DEMOS) explored processes of deliberation in social movement assemblies (Haug/Teune 2008). A „semi-standardised form of participant observation" (Haug/Teune 2008:2) was preferred over qualitative interviews or the evaluation of minutes composed by movement actors, because the latter were seen as bearing a bias due to the active involvement of interviewees or minute-takers. A methodologically controlled version of participant observation was expected to generate more objective data. Several strategies to minimise the "random interpretations" (Haug/Teune 2008:9) on the part of observers were considered. Deployment of several observers would allow calibrating their data and render them objective. Otherwise, a single observers' „limited capacities"(Haug/Teune 2008:9) could be compensated for by generating video- or audio recordings. Both strategies were not practicable due to scepticism on the part of activists, as it would be difficult to find a group which would accept recordings or the presence of several observers. Moreover, the crucial but time-consuming process of establishing trust would be multiplied by deployment of several observers. Finally, a highly standardised version of participant observation was deleveloped to minimise distortions. This included a pre-set coding scheme to eliminate "miscodings" (Haug/Teune 2008:22). Interestingly, the authors emphasise that observers needed „a basic knowledge of local habits and customs plus the political context" (Haug/Teune 2008:20) to adequately understand discursive practices. It seems that the biased subjectivities of observers can be selectively appreciated when it benefits the research remit.

The Wissenschaftszentrum Berlin conducted a survey amongst participants in the high-

profile civic mass protests against *Stuttgart 21*, a major urban planning project (Rucht/ Baumgarten/Teune/Stuppert 2010). 1500 questionnaires were distributed on the basis of "random sampling". Several participants copied the questionnaires and passed them on to other protesters. This was noted as an indication for protesters' high motivation to express their views. However, the passed-on questionnaires were not included in the analysis as they would have distorted the principle of random sampling.

In these examples, qualitative methods were implemented as techniques of data gathering, and informal interaction with activists provided additional information. The strategy of eliminating the bias allows for interactive research while complying with the positivist imperative of objectivity. This is criticised by proponents of a more reflexive version of qualitative social research. Hirschauer (2008) ascribes the focus on methodology within qualitative social research to the unitary model of science inherited from philosophy of science, which is backed up by methods providing operational standards applicable to all cases of the same kind (Hirschauer 2008:178-180). Methods are systems of rules serving to validate and rig statements as scientific speech acts. Especially in survey-based studies like the ones discussed above, where non-academic staff is deployed for data gathering, methodological systems of rules serve as an instrument to ensure scientific professionalism. As an ironic side-blow against the primacy of rationality and objectivity, Hirschauer adds that for some researchers, correct use of qualitative methodology is the equivalent to a magic healing charm (Hirschauer 2008:178).

Conventional versions of qualitative social research on social movements are by definition firmly situated in the field of academia. Potential transgressions into the field of activism may occur through the frequent biographic-political involvement of researchers in their sites of study (Beverington/Dixon 2005), or simply through researcher-activist interaction necessitated by qualitative research methods. To balance and regulate these transgressions, the research process is controlled by a standardised methodological apparatus. A willingness of activists to collaborate or participate in pre-defined and tendentially alienating research is presupposed. In this situation, activists' distrust or scepticism as well as active contributions to the research are objectified as an obstacle which stands between researchers and the data or an interactive confound which must be overcome.

Proponents of standard CSMT rarely problematise the conflictual dynamics in the ambiguous space between the field of activism and the field of academia. It is not customary or even frowned upon to reflect in published studies on the complications raised by the

necessarily interactive research process of qualitative methodologies (Flesher/Cox 2009:6; Cox 1998:9). Nevertheless, social movement theorists are aware of the dynamics of inter-action with the field of activism. Kriesi discusses the "rebellion of the research objects" as a reaction to social scientists' efforts in gaining direct access to the field of activism. He juxtaposes the "right not to be studied" against the "right to study" and discusses activists' distrust as an impediment to be overcome through concessions to participants regarding the details of the research design (Kriesi 1992).

As was shown, in activism as well as academia, mechanisms are in place to regulate ac-cess to knowledge and promote accepted forms of knowledge production. In the ambigu-ous space in-between, these different systems of knowledge regulation interact in conflic-tuous and potentially productive ways. Despite multiple overlaps, a flexible boundary separates both fields. It is hardened from both sides through systems of knowledge regula-tion: The moral economy of activism on one side and a research strategy aiming to elimi-nate the perceived bias or interactive confound on the other. These regulation systems are matched by different modes of knowledge production. The next section outlines modes of knowledge production performed by activists, academics and those who occupy a hybrid position between both fields.

II.1.3 Academic and Activist Modes of Knowledge Production

Different modes of knowledge production traverse the complex constellation in the am-biguous space between the fields of academia and activism. In the field of activism, knowledge about the socio-political use of new technologies, the design of protest events, practices of networking, dealing with mass media and the state and so on is being pro-duced in the day-to-day process of doing activism. Collectively produced knowledge is permanently reflected upon, put in practice, textualised, mediatised, embodied and re-configured (Marchart/Hamm/Adolphs 2010; Sturgeon 1995). As experience, it becomes part of the action repertoire of social movements. As movement relevant knowledge, it inspires social theory such as the works of Manuel Castells, Michael Hardt and Toni Negri or Saskia Sassen. As empirical material, it appears in academic publications.

At first glance, academic and activist modes of knowledge production can be nicely separated through conceptualisations of the intellectual. Drawing on Gramsci's organic

intellectual[33], the notion of the movement intellectual in distinction to the established (Ey-erman/Jamison 1991) or academic intellectual (Barker/Cox 2002) was proposed. Eyer-man/Jamison's movement intellectuals define a social movement, bring identities into be-ing and define the antagonism around which the struggles are forming. They may hold academic posts and thus also occupy a position as established intellectuals, but in terms of their role in the movement, only their practice as movement intellectuals is of interest. From a Marxist perspective, academic intellectuals theorise movements and activism in the interest of the ruling class. Their practice is compliant with the requirements of the educa-tion system, which pays their salaries. In contrast, movement intellectuals theorise for the movement from a position within a movement antagonistic to the hegemonic class (Barker/Cox 2002). Both concepts acknowledge the field of activism as a site of cognitive knowledge production or radical theory production respectively. According to these ty-pologies of knowledge production, most of current social movement theory is firmly situ-ated in the field of academia, and most activist knowledge production in the field of activ-ism. However, they cannot explain the emergent praxis of activist scholars as inhabitants of the ambiguous space between both fields.

To grasp the praxis of activist scholars, Foucault's notion of the "specific intellectual" is more useful (Foucault/Gordon 1980). As specific intellectuals, activist scholars are experts in the social sciences and humanities as specific sectors of knowledge production. They can occupy a political position as critical, political intellectuals by questioning the mecha-nisms of knowledge production in their areas of expertise on the basis of their situated knowledge. In their reflexive mode of interactive knowledge production, they seek partici-patory and collaborative methods and place these in the academic discourse. Thus activist scholars shift widely acknowledged standards of conventional social science. These stan-dards require a clear-cut separation of researcher and object of research to ban the triple risk of influencing the field of research, of distortion through interactive modes of knowl-edge production and confounding data through the subjectivity of the researcher. Activist scholars' field of action is not restricted to the institution, as it is precisely their simultane-

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[33] According to Gramsci, organic intellectuals articulate the interests, feelings and experiences of their class in the language of culture. They operate as organisers, administrators, publicists, teachers or opinion leaders. The figure of the organic intellectual of the working class played an important role in creating a counter-hegemonic working class culture. Other than organic intellectuals, traditional intellectuals (professors, vicars, writers) seemingly operate independent from social struggles. They act in the interest of the hegemonic classes along the lines of the hegemonic discourse. Due to their intellectual activities, they are assigned an important function in society. Contrary to this ideological definition of the traditional intellectual, Gramsci regards them as organic intellectuals of the ruling class (Kebir 2009).

ous engagement in the field of activism and the practice of writing about it within the bounds of academia which allows them to make political interventions as specific intellectuals (Routledge 1996:403). The cultural politics of academics' working situation in the neoliberal university is subject to much debate amongst critical intellectuals across Europe (De Angelis/Harvie 2006; Dyer-Witheford 2005, 2006; Harvie 2004; Levidow 2002; Robinson/Tormey 2003).

Concepts which align modes of knowledge production with typologies of intellectuals based on their class position or affinity to social movements are limited in explaining the current research practices in the ambiguous space between academia and activism. Juris reckons that the traditional function of the organic intellectual – providing strategic analysis and political direction – is undermined in a movement, where almost everyone participates in a process of theorising, publicising and disseminating knowledge through global networks of communication (Juris 2007:172; see also Cobarrubias 2009:60). The participatory mode of knowledge production is matched by a rejection of intellectual and organisational leaders. Other than in the organisations of the traditional labour movement Gramsci had in mind, knowledge production in the AGM is distributed and micro-political. It evolves in small groupings, accompanied by extensive, mediated and often trans-urban processes of reflection and communication, until the slogan is enunciated, the image visualised, the action imagined and the mobilisation sets in.

Based on her fieldwork at the Independent Media Centre during the World Social Forum in Porto Allegre (2003), anthropologist Tish Stringer presents a more ostensive, situated and practice-based classification of different modes of knowledge production about social movements. She describes three people "doing research" in the media centre and contrasts their habitus, their attitude towards the field of activism, the frameworks of research they were committed to and the density of the data they collected (Stringer 2006:200-2002). These figures are an activist film maker, a sociology professor, and herself as an engaged anthropologist. All three are aware of their social and political situatedness as researchers, the interaction between researcher and researched, and the implications of both factors on research process and research results. Yet they differ sharply in their assessment of these factors and the research strategies they develop in relation to them.

The first mode of knowledge production, conventional social research, is symbolised by the sociology professor. His position as a researcher in the field of academia is marked by a clipboard and a pile of questionnaires. His interaction with the field of activism is limited

to the purpose of data gathering. His research remit is pre-defined and leaves little room to accommodate additional issues raised by his interlocutors. The figure of the sociology professor relates to the traditional, established or academic intellectual.

The second mode of knowledge production, reflexive activist scholarship, is symbolised by the "hybrid anthropologist". It stretches across both fields, using methodological tools such as engaged anthropology (Maeckelbergh 2009:23f), direct engagement (Beverington/Dixon 2005), or participatory action research (Malo de Molina 2007). The closest match to position the activist scholar in the typology of intellectuals is Foucault's figure of the specific intellectual.

Activist investigation as the third mode of knowledge production is symbolised by Stringer's film maker. He is clearly situated in the field of activism. Activist knowledge production is enacted by methodologies such as militant investigations, self-investigation, co-research, or alternative media projects (Biddle/Shukaitis/Graeber 2007; Colectivo Situaciones 2007; Malo de Molina 2006, 2007). It relates to the figure of the organic/movement intellectual. Following the operaist tradition of militant research, involvement, interaction and participation are seen as a resource, even a crucial aim of the knowledge production project. Institutional ties to the field of academia are minimal, although links may be established through education and networks of participants. Results are often published in alternative or broker media, printed on the back of mobilisation posters, distributed as maps, leaflets or brochures. Knowledge produced in activist investigations frequently skips the detour of being moulded into a coherent and formalised theoretical model and is immediately transformed into action – a mode of organising, a protest format, a campaign. Many of the slogans used in the Hamburg Euromayday parades were produced in the course of mobilising investigations or self-investigations. An outstanding example of activist knowledge production is the work of the Madrid-based feminist group Precarias a la Deriva. From their praxis as precarious working women and activists engaging in a feminist socio-cultural centre, they developed the methodology of *precarious derives* to reflect on their everyday lives. This investigative, interventionist and creative methodology of knowledge production animated numerous other groups to develop their own versions. Based on this situated methodology, Precarias a la Deriva developed critical theoretical concepts to analyse the condition of precarity in the current social formation (Precarias a la Deriva 2004, 2006, 2007).

These different modes of interactive knowledge production are negotiated in the am-

biguous space between the fields of academia and activism. In my research process in the Euromayday network, I found it difficult to combine the knowledge production required for an institutionalised research project and a PhD thesis with the mode of activist investigation. The standards set by a highly specialised academic discourse and the requirement for individual authorship in a PhD thesis collided with the collaborative and open-ended process of activist knowledge production. Taking a conventional social science approach, where the researcher is clearly situated in the field of academia while gathering data in the field of activism was not an option for me due to my political affinity and biographical involvement with the field of activism. On a methodological level, such a research practice would have hampered the interaction with activists my study relied on. In my search for ways to respect the moral economy in the field of activism as well as complying to academic standards of knowledge production, social movement theory provided little advice. In the next section, I will present a body of work by activists who studied social movements they were involved in within an academic setting. Although produced in different disciplinary contexts including critical geography, sociology and anthropology, these studies share an approach I will call reflexive activist scholarship.

II.2.   Reflexive Activist Scholarship in Social Movements

The ambiguous space between the field of activism and the field of academia is not only a source of conflict and mutual frustration. It holds the potential to become a space for the development of interactive modes of movement-relevant knowledge production (Flacks 2004) and the development of critical scholarship. Reflexive activist scholars inhabit the ambiguous space between the field of activism and the field of academia in a proactive and intervening way. Employing *strategies of reflexive hybridisation*, activist scholars consciously seek to inhabit both fields and thereby widen the ambiguous space between them.

II.2.1 Research Strategy: Reflexive Hybridisation

Over the past decade, ethnographically oriented studies exploring various aspects of the alterglobalisation movement, its forerunners, differentiations and milieus, were brought forward in the disciplines of sociology, anthropology, geography and media studies. Written by authors regarding themselves as scholars and activists simultaneously, these studies share a reflexive attitude towards the ambiguous space between the field of activism and the field of academia (Autonomous Geographies Collective 2010; Cobarrubias 2009; Cox 1999; Crudden 2010; Graeber 2009; Juris 2008b; Lopes 2005; Maeckelbergh 2009; Picker-

ill 2003; Plows 2002; Stringer 2006). Although these studies vary in theoretical approach and disciplinary framework, their approach to the movements they study justifies subsuming them under the notion of *reflexive activist scholarship*.[34] The term activist marks a practical-bodily involvement in the field of social movements, which is not restricted to intellectual activities. This involvement often predates formal academic study. The term scholarship emphasises practices of institutionally grounded scholarliness. Activist scholars have an investment in the institutional field of academia, share a general political-cultural affinity with the movements they study, actively participate in movement activities and respect the moral economy of activism. They circumscribe their profile with concepts such as engaged, militant or practice-based ethnography (Maeckelbergh 2009; Juris 2007; Stringer 2006), activist-scholar (Autonomous Geographies Collective 2010), activist-research or participatory action research (Lopes 2005, Uzelman 2001).

Activist scholars' research strategy within the ambiguous space of interactive knowledge production can be described as *reflexive hybridisation*. They venture a departure towards engaged dialogue between the field of activism and the field of academia. They acknowledge fellow activists as fellow knowledge producers rather than objectifying them as data providers. Academia is not seen as the exclusive locus of knowledge production. As a consequence, activist scholars regard their work not as expert assistance to the struggles of others who would otherwise have to do without intellectual/theoretical knowledge, but as a contribution to a wider field of radical knowledge production (Autonomous Geographies Collective 2010:250). In their research practice, activist scholars assume both activist and academic roles such as facilitators, film-makers, demonstrators, trusted interlocutors, networkers, intellectuals, partisan theorists, engaged researchers, or activist conspirators.

They respect the moral economy of the field of activism while challenging projections onto their hybrid position such as snitch, spy, informant, or profiteer. Stringer describes her hybrid position as an activist scholar as an „intercultural translator moving between worlds, speaking from more than one perspective to more than one community" (Stringer 2006:219). Similarly, Cobarrubias sees his role as "akin to that which Latour (1999) describes as a translator, sorter, relayer; and to what Haraway (1991a) evokes as a connector among situated knowledges, relating this specific productions to other intellectual trajectories" (Cobarrubias 2009:64). Similarly, I regard my study on the Euromayday network as an attempt to translate existing knowledge and movement methodologies into the frame-

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[34] I borrow the term 'activist scholarship' from the Autonomous Geographies Collective (2010).

work of cultural analysis.

Hybrid positioning is also acted out in the field of academia, for instance by reflecting upon innovative, participatory and reflexive methodologies in academic publications.

In activist scholarship, reflexivity is necessary for political and methodological reasons. Politically, the requirements of academia and activism constantly need to be gauged to make decisions about research designs, publication strategies, and priorities of engagement. Methodologically, reflexivity is a way to disentangle the complexity of the different roles activist scholars take on and are assigned to in both fields. As an ethnographically informed research strategy, reflexive activist scholarship turns mutual projections and counter-projections into a fertile ground for analysing the cultural politics underlying the field of activism. Rather than eliminating the bias inherent in interactive knowledge production, activist scholars embrace and integrate it through reflexivity into their analytical operations. Reflexive hybridisation allowed activist scholars to make their intimate knowledge of social movements theoretically productive in studies on processes of collective identity and "biodegradable networks" (Plows 2002), sub- and counter-cultures (Cox 1999; Lopes 2005), cultural logics of networking and visualisation in local and global sites (Juris 2008b, Cobarrubias 2009), collaborative modes of radical media making and cyber-activism (Crudden 2010; Pickerill 2003; Stringer 2006), direct action as a protest repertoire and a political philosophy (Graeber 2009), and decentralised network democracy (Mackelbergh 2009). A brief outline of ten examples of English-language activist scholarship illustrates the diversity of fields and topics where this engaged, interpretive and reflexive approach was put into practice.

Laurence Cox's (1999) PhD thesis on radical praxis of social movement milieux explores the building of counter culture based on in-depth ethnographic interviews. His interlocutors are actors in a local Dublin movement milieu, in which the author is a long-term participant. These interviews are carefully contextualised first through a critical evaluation of social movement theory and more generally studies on social movements, second through careful reflection of his participation in this and comparable movement mileux. The interviews are "located" by his own participation (Cox 1999:149). Thus he uses reflection of his own positioning not as anecdotes to spice up his thesis, but as a methodological tool.

Alex Plows (2002) was part of the *Donga Tribe*, which made important contributions to the action repertoire of the direct action oriented ecological movement in 1990s Britain,

which became an important and proactive actor within the AGM by the late 1990s. Her PhD thesis titled "Praxis and Practice: The 'What, How and Why' of the UK Environmental Direct Action (EDA) Movement in the 1990's" is an ethnography-oriented study on practices and processes of collective identity in this movement and its "biodegradable networks". Plows combines semi-structured qualitative interviews, participant observation, auto- and online-ethnography, grounded theory, and quantitative data analyis using SPSS. She reflects extensively on the pros and cons of "partisan" scholarship.

Jenny Pickerill (2003) published the first study on the use of digital information and communication technologies in a wide spectrum of groups within the UK environmental movement. Her study is based on a rich assortment of qualitative data. She curtly mentions that her research activity led to practical involvement in environmental activism and emphasises that without her active involvement, interviews with those activists who were explicitly disinterested in speaking to academics would not have been conducted. Her outsider-turned-insider position led to reflections on the politics of integration in UK eco-activism (Pickerill 2003:7). Pickerill attaches great importance on careful re-distribution of her research outcomes to the field.

Tish Stringer (2006) took her involvement as a media activist in the Texas Indymedia collective as a starting point for her PhD thesis (Move! Guerrilla Media, Collaborative Modes and the Tactics of Radical Media Making). Her action-based, multi-sited ethnography along the trajectories of the AGM was shaped by a focus on collaborative modes and tactics of radical media making. Throughout her research, she remained an active Indymedia volunteer. She describes her role as a hybrid containing the positions of anthropologist, activist and video maker.

In his PhD thesis in the department of film studies, Eamonn Crudden (2010) adopted an auto-ethnographic perspective to reflect on movements' self-reflexive, self-documenting film production within the AGM (Mob Films / Hybrid Spaces: Autodocumentary Film and the Anti-Globalization Movement). Like Stringer, he was involved in the global online platform Indymedia specialising on video activism.

In a further PhD thesis, Ana Lopes (2005) used the methodological framework of ethnographically informed participatory action research to explore the possibilities for political self-organisation of sex workers. Working in this field herself, she found in her pilot study that her interlocutors were not interested in an academic study, but that they needed a way to articulate their political interests. With Lopes' hands-on support as a colleague and an

experienced activist, the ‚International Sex Workers Union' was founded, which also became the focus of her PhD thesis.

David Graeber (2009) was part of the New York hub of the Direct Action Network (DAN), which took a conflictuous yet crucial organising role in the protests against the world trade organisation in Seattle 1999. Ten years later, he published a comprehensive ethnography on direct action as a protest format and a political philosophy. Based on his fieldnotes, his study focusses on the protests around the Free Trade Area of the Americas pact in Quebec City, 2001.

Jeffrey Juris (2008) had participated in the Seattle protests as a participant. Between 2001 and 2002, he conducted ethnographic fieldwork as part of the Catalan network MRG. Starting in a distinctively local field of research, he conducted a multi-sited ethnography which took him to several trans-national mobilisations. The emerging "cultural logic of networking" between local and global sites became the structuring topic of his PhD published under the title "Networking futures".

Marianne Maeckelbergh (2009) contributed to several social forums and protest events as a highly networked, multilingual activist and an engaged anthropologist focussing on the complex processes of consensus decision making. Her ethnography is based on case studies on the ESF in London 2004 and the protests against the 2005 G8 summit in Scotland as well as her participation in the Paris ESF (2003), the 2003 anti-G8 protests in Geneva and other mobilisations. She structured her multi-sited research field along the dynamics of meetings. In her published PhD thesis, she analyses "how the alterglobalisation movement is changing the face of democracy" through the notion of "decentralised network democracy".

Sebastian Cobarrubias (2009) analysed the practice of activist cartography. Based in Madrid as a place where several mapping projects were located, he followed this practice along the trajectories of an emerging network throughout Europe and extending to the US, where his PhD was institutionally based. Throughout his research period, he was actively involved in several cartography projects, including the precarity-map which was affiliated to Euromayday. Drawing on George Marcus' concept of writing machines, he raises the question how to distinguish between the intellectual activity of a researcher and the groups whose practices he studies, if those groups are themselves theorising their own activities. For Cobarrubias, the boundaries between academia and activism perhaps do not disappear, but in his research practice, he found no rigid demarcation line between them.

These authors negotiate the demarcation between the academic and activist field, partly by explicitly drawing on ethnography, partly referring to the feminist demand for the production of situated knowledge or the post-colonial notion of displacement, and not least in interaction with the moral economy of the movements they study (Juris 2007:165; Routledge 1996; Autonomous Geographies Collective 2010). Reflexive hybridisation requires a relational and situated conceptualisation of the ambiguous space between activism and academia. Such a conceptualisation challenges both the moral economy of activism and the standards of conventional social research on social movements, which still require that researchers position themselves as seemingly objective observers of the field of activism.

II.2.2   Third Space of Critical Engagement

Routledge (1996) conceptualises the space between activism and academia as "third space of critical engagement". Based on Deleuzian poststructuralist feminist theory, he emphasises the ambiguity and thereby the permeability of the boundaries between the fields of activism and academia. In his representation of positioning, role and function of a critically engaged social scientist, he clearly rejects the determination of a fixed boundary between both fields. Instead, he concentrates on the possibilities for the academic researcher to subvert such boundaries: "My decision to conduct research on activities in which I was participating [...] stemmed from my concern with crossing between the locations of academia and activism" (Routledge 1996:399). Thus he entered a third space of critical engagement, where disregard for both activist and academic conventions made room for new practices, modes of sociability and tactical subversion. An example for such tactics is the "perruque of writing" described by De Certeau (1984:28; 25f)). Just like fordist workers used the bosses' machines to make, say, a present for the god-child during working hours, a post-Fordist knowledge worker can subvert the gap between the time of writing and the time of solidarity by producing texts which are not geared to intellectual recognition, promotion or other rewards (Routledge 1996:402). In the third space of critical engagement, theory is lived as a succession of experimental, experience-based and creative practices. To position himself as a critical academic, Routledge takes inspiration from radical feminists, who refuse to be fixed to a single subject position and claim the right to speak as hybrid subjects from a position which is at the same time privileged and discriminated, scholarly and emotional, concrete and abstract (Haraway 1992). He seeks

practices which articulate "the refusal to be appropriated, a politics of diffraction and inter-ference in which boundaries are never fixed – a refusal to know one's place" (Routledge 1996:403).

During his participation in a political campaign, Routledge experienced a "politics of af-finity" as a concept and a practice where social relations are grounded on difference. These cultural politics require continuous negotiation between various levels and types of differ-ence such as gender, 'race', class, age, sexuality, or ethnicity. Drawing on Homi Bhabba's post-colonial theory, he finds that the common-ness emerging from these negotiations is a common-ness of multiplicity based on "affiliative solidarities" (Bhabba 1994). In this way of relating, "dialogic encounters" (Butler 1990) are being initiated, where differential iden-tities are articulated within the framework of an emerging coalition. Such affinity-based coalitions depart from the unity-based "civic grammar" (McDonald 2001) of the traditional labour movement. Rather, they are constituted by "overlapping unities" (Maeckelbergh 2009). In their fluidity and openness, the politics of affinity accommodate multiple roles, for instance activists, anthropologists, geographers.

As part of his appropriation of the third space of critical engagement, Routledge claims a language which, according to Braidotti (1994), stands „in a position of resistance to the paralyzing strictures of academic style". He regards such strategies of textualisation as a challenge to academia, which suppresses the personal through standards of style and tone. On the other hand, he rejects a romantisation of resistance which he sees at work in the assumption that "activists know all there is to know" (Routledge 1996:413). This position would allow the intellectual to lean back and restrict his/her activities to support movement actors to take their right to speak. For Routledge, "the third space is a place of the third voice, an amalgam of subject positions, of academic and activist voices blended so that one cannot distinguish which voice dominates the work" (Routledge 1996:413).

However, building and inhabiting this hybrid and partisan third space is hard work. Routledge notes problems to find enough time to pursue both his academic and activist commitments. He found the continuous shifting between two completely different ways of being emotionally straining. The shifting between the perspectives of a participant, an ob-server and an analyst provides the methodological starting point of an ethnographic re-search process.

II.2.3 Ethnography in the Field of Activism

Reflexive activist scholarship is marked by a need for reflexivity due to the acknowledgement of the hybrid position of the researcher in the space between academia and activism. Ethnography offers methodological tools to disentangle some complications that arise from the twin commitment to academic knowledge production and the moral economy of activism. A crucial difference between ethnographic fieldwork and the piecemeal inclusion of qualitative methods in a research design fulfilling the standards of conventional social research is the attitude of the fieldworker, which is characterised by the twin operations of immersion and distancing reflexivity. Ethnographic fieldwork is a research technique where the researcher exposes herself, her body, personality and social situation to the unforeseeable influences arising from entering a field where people negotiate their social or work situations, their ethnic position or any other social relation (Goffman 1996:263). Ethnographic fieldwork is a „form of inquiry in which one is immersed personally in the ongoing social activities of some individual or group for the purposes of research" (Wolcott 2005:58). Participant observation as the main method in ethnography demands a "long-term personal involvement with those being studied to the extent that the researcher comes to understand the culture as an insider" (Davies 1999:71). The ethnographer is expected to establish sustained personal relationships in the field (Wolcott 2005:57-67). The actual research instrument is the person of the ethnographer with her perceptions, irritations and the ability to reflect upon them (Hammersley/Atkinson 1995:19). Ethnographers "must seek to develop forms of research that fully acknowledge and utilize subjective experience as an intrinsic part of research" (Davies 1999:5). The preferred method to turn experience into ethnography is a highly reflexive attitude. Reflexivity should not be understood as "self-indulgent solipsism" (Herzfeld 2001:45), but as an attitude providing methodological tools to establish distance to prevent ethnographers from getting absorbed in the field while being entangled in it. Thus the oscillating between participation and observation is a defining characteristic of ethnographic research. This is echoed by the position between different worlds emphasized by many activist scholars. Other than actors in the field, the ethnographer occupies a scientific role besides his/her social role as a fellow activist by documenting, interpreting and analysing her observations focussing on a flexible and evolving research question. S/he is positioned both inside and outside the field. While her social role as a participant requires involvement, her scientific role requires distance.

As an observer, the ethnographer needs to obtain what fieldworkers have called "der

fremde Blick", the *distancing gaze of strangeness* (Amann/Hirschauer 1997:11-16). Although involved in the field, s/he needs to recognise habitualised practices that insiders (including the ethnographer/ activist scholar) perceive as obvious and normal as symbolically charged and meaningful. This allows her to produce thick descriptions (Geertz 1973d), which goes beyond mere description and amounts to cultural analyses based on social scientific findings (Reed/Alexander 2009:37).

Distance is produced, embodied and acted out through reflexive methodological techniques such as keeping a subjective yet disciplined field diary geared towards the emerging research question. Maeckelbergh, who studied decision-making practices in the AGM as an involved participant, notes that she often had to take a step away from the field in a continuous effort to remain 'objective' despite her engagement and to be able to "render visible some of the aspects of movement culture that I would otherwise have taken for granted as an insider" (Maeckelbergh 2010:27). Besides other techniques, such phases of retirement from the field help to perform the distancing gaze of strangeness as a methodological operation.

Participant observation as a mode of interaction generates an asymmetry in the relationship between ethnographer/activist scholar and other activists. The ethnographer/activist scholar's interactions as a participant are usually accompanied by an underlying, commenting and analysing subtext, in which s/he plans her next move and tries to make sense of the interaction she engages in. Ethnographers frequently experience an ethical concern about instrumentalising their social role as an insider for research purposes (Lindner 1981:56), leading to doubts about the authenticity of their social role. Similarly, activist scholars are sometimes concerned about the authenticity of their social role as a fellow activist, if their interactions are partly motivated by the expectation to use this experience academically, for instance in an upcoming publication.

The Autonomous Geographies Collective expressed this concern in a telling analysis of their efforts to carve out a third space between the fields of activism and academia in the context of an ESRC funded project into self-managed social centres, tenants resisting housing privatisation and Low Impact Development. Self-critically, they noted that despite their intention to work closer with the social movements they were part of and to take a double-role as critical academics and citizens, they reproduced the boundary between the fields of academia and activism. They saw this boundary cropping up in their debates and reflections for instance through the underlying sub-text enunciated by the voice of the ob-

serving researcher as an invocation originating in the field of academia:

> *"We could never get away from the fact that this [active engagement in activist projects] was our ‚job' and not ‚our immediate struggle'. We always had one eye on the publications, on gathering the data, and on re-telling the stories that were unfolding (Autonomous Geographies Collective 2010:261).*

The analysing subtext accompanying their involvement caused the researchers to doubt the authenticity of their activist actions. In their article, it almost appears as if they perceived their participating research practice as some kind of fraud, a breach of the moral economy of activism. However, as the I-am-a-researcher/I-am-being-researched exchange noted above illustrates, such underlying subtexts can be made transparent by researchers or by those who are being researched.

To operationalise the different degrees of ethnographic involvement in the field, the literature provides a sliding scale ranging from the "complete observer" via the "marginal member" (Hammersley/Atkinson 1995:87) or "marginal native" to the "complete participant" (Hammersley/Atkinson:104). Analytical auto-ethnography additionally contributes the role of the "complete member researcher" (Anderson 2006:378). Due to their social, biographical and political links to the field of activism, most activist scholars take a role on the complete participant/member end of the scale. The instrument of auto-ethnography enables them to analyse their activist subjectivities gained as a complete participant from the position of the ethnographic observer in a methodologically sound way (Anderson 2006; Bochner/Ellis 2006; Snow/Morill/Anderson 2003; see also Plows 2002; Crudden 2010).

Complete participation/membership as practiced by many activist scholars has methodological advantages (Maeckelbergh 2009:25). In the field of activism with its specific moral economy, complete membership constitutes in some instances a necessary precondition for access. For instance, some interlocutors are unwilling to give interviews to academics without involvement in activism (Pickerill 2003:7), and researchers without a role as participants may be unwelcome in meetings or not even be informed about more informal gatherings.

For activist scholars with prior involvement in the movements they study, access to the field is relatively easy. Textbooks on ethnographic methods extensively discuss matters of "impression management", i.e. to which extent the ethnographer should adapt to the field of research field in clothing, attitude, language and generally habitus. Political and habitual

embeddedness in the field of research makes a refined impression management redundant (Hammersley/Atkinson 1995:83ff). However, what one wears remains a conscious decision. When I participated in Euromayday parades during my fieldwork, I usually wore a pink scarf. Deliberately marking the festive character of sometimes confrontational demonstrations through pink body accessories developed as a personal and expressive ritual after "Pink and Silver" was introduced as a protest format at the protests against the International Monetary Fund in Prague 2000 (Amann 2005b; Chesters/Welsh 2004; Evans 2003; Vila/Expósito 2007). During my research, I continued this ritual.

Familiarity with movement-specific cultural patterns can smooth the interactive process. Contacts with gatekeepers and other potential interlocutors are frequently already established. A trusted relationship established prior to the research project can mitigate suspicion many ethnographers – not only in the field of activism – are faced with, when they are assigned the role of a spy (Lindner 1981; Stringer 2006:202-216). As Plows notes, trust towards the ethnographer as a fellow-activist allows interlocutors to express feelings and thoughts in an unfiltered way "rather than them feeling that they needed to be giving a certain 'line' or not" (Plows 2002:97).[35]

From an ethnographic perspective, the position of the ethnographer as complete member/participant also bears disadvantages that require reflection. Alignment with one particular part of the field facilitates intensive research relationships in one sector, but it might lead to the exclusion from other sectors. Thus complete membership can restrict the social mobility of the ethnographer and thereby limit the width of data that can be gathered (Hammersley/Atkinson 1995:106; 111). In her research during the ESF 2004, Maeckelbergh positioned herself within the *horizontal* strand of the movement through her active participation, which led to her exclusion from other, more traditionally organised strands. She balanced this limitation by reflecting upon which groups denied her access due to her politics, and for what reasons (Maeckelbergh 2009:26).

The advantages enjoyed by activist scholars as complete or partial members depend to a large extent on their recognisability and visibility both as researchers and as activists.

To be recognisable as an activist, this role must be performatively acted out. Maeckhel-

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[35] ‚Speaking in an unfiltered way' points to a further advantage for complete-participation ethnographies from a more objectivist perspective: As the ethnographer merges into the background, potential distortion of the field through his or her presence can be minimised. However, I would argue that any ethnographer intervenes into the field merely by being present, and analysis of these interactions is one of the strengths of ethnography. Plow's position as an experienced activist is likely to have enhanced certain lines while marginalising others.

berg emphasises that being an activist is marked by taking action:

> *"Despite being an anthropologist, I am able to gain access to these movement spaces, quite simply because I am already a part of these movement spaces – because I am also an 'activist'. Being an activist is about taking action, not only in the streets, but also in meetings, in offices, at home, in the pub – everywhere"* (Maeckelbergh 2009: 24).

Being an activist is not so much about signing up to certain politics on the level of abstract values. Rather, it is shaped by the mode of doing as part of the moral economy of the field. Access to movement spaces of assembly and convergence is negotiated through active participation in assemblies, media projects, informal gatherings, actions or protest events. Thus the ethnographic role as an engaged participant who 'does things' rather than 'just sitting there taking notes' corresponds to an important mode of the moral economy in the field of activism.

While recognisability as an activist is an important factor in accessing the field of activism and gaining trust, recognisability as a researcher also is an important element of productive research communication. Activist scholars can mark their position as a researcher through practices (Wolcott 2005:143). In my case, it was the habit to suddenly pull out paper and pen and start scribbling in rather unlikely situations such as a Euromayday parade, a relaxed post-action dinner, an informal lunch or a birthday party. I did this not only for pragmatic, but also for symbolic reasons. Producing paper and pen were a way to ask permission to record things, and a distancing strategy to remind participants and myself that I was not only a fellow activist or friend, but also a researcher, someone from the field of academia gathering material. Pen and paper were also a useful way to initiate ethnographic conversations in public situations, as these objects often triggered the question why I was taking notes and for which purpose. The recognisability as a researcher is sometimes marked by activists, for instance when they sometimes interject a conversation with the remark: „This is off the record" (Stringer 2006:11).

In the practice of activist scholars, the visibility as a researcher can shift to the background in favour of the visibility as an activist. This poses methodological problems as well as it complicates the cultural politics of interactive knowledge production.

At the beginning of the research project conducted by the Autonomous Geographies Collective, the group was harshly criticised by activists. They were seen as exploitative, unaccountable, managerialist, and compromised by academic status (Autonomous Geographies Collective 2010:251) and thereby placed strictly in the field of academia. As their

engaged fieldwork unfolded, the group increasingly inhabited and was assigned the role of movement intellectuals, as they took on organising, publicising and strategic tasks. As part of their fieldwork for a case-study on self-managed social centres, they participated in the organisation of a UK-wide gathering of social centres. In this context, they reflected on their reluctance to make their researcher role visible to their activist peers – and to acknowledge it as part of their own subjectivities:

> *"Although we provided much impetus for this event, we felt uncomfortable explicitly connecting it with the research project (...) The more we tried to connect with the movement, the more we became unclear about what exactly we, as university researchers, could offer. (...) Our intentions were poorly conveyed, mainly due to our hesitancy of coming out as university researchers, when in fact we felt more like activists within our own movement. (...) [We wanted] to be seen as useful activists as well as useful researchers in front of our activist peers" (Autonomous Geographies Collective 2010:254f).*

During their fieldwork in time of solidarity, the Autonomous Geographies collective was largely incorporated in the field of activism. The group found it difficult to obtain a hybrid position. Rather than adding the role of the hybrid activist scholar to the affiliative solidarities in their chosen field of activism, they performed a tactical disambiguation which made them visible as useful activists, while their simultaneous activity and role as researchers was rendered invisible. This double-role was emotionally straining and in some ways unsatisfying. Rather than widening the space of critical engagement, the disambiguation of roles affirmed the separation between activists and researchers. As their role as researchers remained in the background, they were not able to fully exhaust their specific potential as hybrids crossing the border between the field of activism and the field of academia, and their ability to reflect and analyse the movement both from the position of an insider and an outsider. However, by reflecting about their research process in a published article, the Autonomous Geographies Collective made an intervention in the field of academia which adds to the further development of reflexive activist scholarship.

Next to the question of positioning as a researcher in the field of activism, another important debate in the field of activism revolves around the issue of *giving back*. Does the field of activism benefit from academic research and how? What do researchers have to offer?

Many arguments can be made for the benefit of critical research on social movements, ranging from the elaboration of radical theory inspiring and interpreting activist strategies and tactics to the public positioning of social movements as important social actors

through the powerful discourse of academia. However, in an interactive research process, the question poses itself in a much more direct manner. As a researcher, I have been given hours of activist time in interviews, informal conversations, emails, walks through the radical geographies of several cities, shared meals – all this without contributing to the day-to-day work of the respective Euromayday groups. Grand plans to transform these experiences into meaningful texts on a regular basis withered away as I transcribed interviews, wrote research reports, conceptualised my PhD and engaged in the everyday tasks of academic work.

From an ethnographic perspective, Wolcott gives an unambiguous answer to the question of giving back. Research "best serves those of us who conduct it (…) [and] those who present it (…) in papers and publications" (Wolcott 2005:127). He states that "it is the researcher whose career benefits (…), who gets the recognition, and (…) who draws the salary and related perks" (Wolcott 2005:129). Wolcott's view is backed by explicit warnings from a methodological perspective to buy access to the field with promises about the expected usefulness of a research project for the field that is being researched. Such an exchange model is outright criticised as "imposture", because the researcher has nothing to offer to the field (Wolff 2000:348). A less uncompromising view is given by Hammersley and Atkinson, who asses the pros and cons of practical support given by fieldworkers to the communities they study. While such support can prevent that interlocutors regard researchers as exploitative invaders, they advise not to "offer too much", as this could enhance an unwished role assignment and generate a dependency of actors from the ethnographer's skills or position (Hammersley/Atkinson 1995:88).[36] The main contribution of ethnographic fieldwork to the field is seen as providing actors with opportunities for sociabilitiy, reflection and new perspectives (Lindner 1981; Wolcott 2005:128; Davies 1999:100). Similarly, activist scholars regard reflexive micro-spaces as an important potential of reflexive research on social movements:

> *"The real contribution of reflexive research is to open up this space to movement participants. From this point of view, then, reflexivity is not simply a methodological choice to be defended on grounds of its academic value; it is also an ethical choice that is of value to the movements we research"* (Cox 1999:143).

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[36] The medical doctors Paul Parin, Goldi Parin-Matthey and Fritz Morgenthaler went the opposite direction: Their ethnographic research interest developed from practical support given to Yugoslavian partisans at the end of World War II. They observed a specific type of epilepsy spreading amongst partisans and sought to explain it as a mental/cultural phenomenon. Based on these experiences and reflections, they became founders of the methodology of ethnopsychoanalysis (Parin 1991).

Juris confirms this assessment by pointing out that militant ethnography provides tools for activist (self-) reflection and decision-making processes by generating critically engaged and theoretically thought out analysis within collective processes (Juris 2007:172).

Thus the main contribution of interactive research to the field of activism is to provide spaces for reflection. The social role of a hybrid activist scholar as well as an ethnographer positions the researcher inside enough to be a trusted and competent partner in conversation. At the same time, as a partial outsider, this role encourages unconventional interpretations and perspectives which might not be raised within the communication spaces of the movement. In their research practice, the Autonomous Geographies Collective answered the question about their contribution to the movement with an impressive series of practical support initiatives, which were praised by the sponsoring research institution as successful „project dissemination".[37] However, they also noted that the skills they provided were not specific to their position as researchers, that their fellow activists either commanded the skills and resources to carry out the very same tasks, or that the support they offered was not needed. In fact, offers by well-meaning academics to support the groups they wish to study by making available their intellectual capacities, their expected research outcomes or financial or labour resources in exchange for access can be perceived as an underestimation of the resources of the movements or even as downright paternalistic offense.[38]

Activist scholars negotiate the moral economy in the field of activism and academic research interests, which often do not feed into immediate needs in the field of activism. The ethnographic methodology reveals that major problems of activist scholarship such as the oscillating between different roles, resulting ethical concerns about authenticity and symmetry and the question of giving back are not exclusive to research in the field of activism,

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[37] These included the organisation of gatherings, the production of mobilisation materials, investigations into the unfavourable policies of a local council, and publication of several brochures.

[38] An example for such interaction is documented in the 2004 archives of the Indymedia-uk-process mailing list and in an article published in the ‚Making Our Media' Volume 1 (Jones/Martin 2009). These two sources present opposite versions of the same interaction. The version emerging from the documentation on the activist mailing list goes as follows: Two media-researchers approached the Indymedia UK collective with the suggestion to launch a survey prominently placed on the UK Indymedia website. Their aim was to study the attitude of young people towards democracy and their voting behaviour. Asked for reasons why the collective should support such a project, they argued that Indymedia would profit by better knowledge of their user base. This argument was rejected. The Indymedia collective held the view that a non-commercial, participatory platform did not rely on market research. Indymedia, they argued, was its own 'audience' and therefore had enough information., They were not interested in a study exploring the acceptance of representative democracy. The version presented by the researchers is available in Jones/Martin 2009.

but general problems of interactive research. Ethnography provides methodological instruments to exhaust the epistemological potential of a research position that oscillates between closeness and distance.

II.3.   Seeking the Third Space: Between Disambiguation and Hybridisation

In my research process in the Euromayday network and in the research project *Protest as a Medium – Media of Protest*, the boundary between the fields of activism and academia cut straight through my own subjectivity. Reflexive hybridisation of my position aimed at situating myself in the space of critical engagement proved to be an ongoing process. Since 1999, I had been actively involved in the alterglobalisation movement through the UK node of the global Indymedia network and the European noborder network. As a media activist, I participated in the protests against the G8 summits in Genoa, Evian, Scotland and Heiligendamm and several other protests and convergences either on the streets or glued to keyboard and computer screen. The political motivation for this engagement was combined with a breathless curiosity, trying to understand how people spread out across vast geographic distances were able to join forces in unprecendented, geographically distributed mass mobilisations, and how digital communication technologies were appropriated and culturally shaped for radical purposes. In practice, it was clear that the combination of online communication and street protest was important, but why exactly, and how it could be improved where questions that preoccupied me. To learn and understand what we were doing, to digest what I was experiencing and in my contributions to the groups I was involved in, I drew on my academic background and ethnographic experience, mainly on the format of thick description as an analytical device (Hamm 2004, 2005, 2006a, 2006b). Political engagement, learning, critical analysis and knowledge production seemed to be one and the same. I was clearly situated in the field of activism and had little concern for the institutional field of academia.

In 2006, I decided to formalise my intellectual practices by writing a PhD and started to work in the research project *Protest as a medium – Media of protest* at Lucerne University in Switzerland. This involved a major shift in my positioning and the mode of knowledge production I engaged in. I was now situated in the field of academia as a paid researcher and a PhD student, while maintaining my commitment to the field of activism and its moral economy. Developing techniques to reconcile activist and research practices re-

quired a reflexive process of positioning.

II.3.1 Tactical Ruses of Disambiguation

In the early stages of the research process, I regarded activism and academia as two clearly separate fields, and attempted to clarify my hybrid position through *tactical ruses of disambiguation*. I sought to comply with the moral economy of the field of activism while pursuing an academic career by writing about the field of activism, without overtly challenging the boundaries between activism and academia. Depending on context, I tried to place my actions on either side of the imagined demarcation line. Ruses of disambiguation are not unusual amongst activist scholars. In the discipline of geography, it was observed that most scholars engaging in the field of activism "seek to maintain a scholarly ,distance' between their activism and their teaching, research and publishing activities, and do not incorporate such activist concerns into their 'disciplinary' life" (Kitchin/Hubbard 1999:193). One of the academics amongst the activists in the Euromayday network explained that he consciously avoided incorporating his activist involvement in his academic publications, as he did not wish to exploit activism for the purpose of augmenting his cultural capital.

Drawing on two exemplary cases from my research practice, I will outline how political and methodological considerations intermingled with psychological processes in my attempts to perform tactical disambiguation of my hybrid position, and why I had to abandon this positioning in order to continue my research.

My early readings of social movement theory posed a threat to my activist subjectivity. In retrospect, I noted:

> "My early encounters with social movement theory were tinged with irritation. The messily interconnected, fluid grassroots groups and scenes I am part of became virtually invisible behind the definitions and categorisations of SMs, SMOs, TSMOs and RSMs[39],, the rational actors purposefully preparing for contentious collective action, the assessments of how they mobilised resources, seized political opportunities and cast their grievances in reasonable frames. Without formal organisations, bounded campaigns and identifiable leaders, these movements simply did not seem to be part of the picture. Even where the network character of contemporary social movements and their congruence with internet technologies was emphasized, I did not recognise my past experience as an Indymedia activist – the excitement when a media centre at a big protest came together against all odds, the pleasure when I learned my first html-tags to update an activist website, the evenings spent

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[39] These acronyms stand for Social Movements, Social Movement Organisations, Transnational Social Movement Organisations, and Radical Social Movements

in chatrooms plotting with other activists from next door or on the other side of the globe, the frustration when the FBI seized an Indymedia server just before the opening of the European Social Forum and the satisfaction when most data were recovered within a few hours, the manic activity before and during mobilisations and the burnt-out feeling afterwards, the phases where many of us put our lives on hold.(...) Instead of accounts of the exciting, innovative, chaotic and creative hands-on appropriation of all sorts of digital hard- and software ranging from the cutting-edge applications to DIY-techno-punk, I found hyperlink or content analyses of relatively static websites. It seemed absurd that providing a contact email address was regarded as interactivity, while no trace was left of the convergence of political organising, mobilisation, protest events and dynamic online communications."

An epistemological critique of the exclusion of important movement-specific phenomena due to predefined analytical and methodological research designs would be perfectly justified, and disagreement about scientific concepts is part of the academic business. However, I found it difficult to cast my irritation in a well-argued critique of social movement theory. In retrospect, I interpret the mixed feelings of outrage and impotent anger as part of the complex process of positioning myself in the ambiguous space between activism and academia. My anxiety marked a hard boundary between 'us', the activists, and 'them', the researchers. Through my emotional rejection, I positioned myself resolutely on the activist side of boundary.

By activating the hard boundary between both fields, and vehemently distancing myself from social movement literature, I protected my subjectivity as an activist. In my outrage about the objectifying ductus of the research literature, I also reacted to a real power-relation between activist and academic knowledge production. In a widely accepted discursive hierarchy of knowledge, scientific specialised discourses are ascribed a higher degree of representativeness and credibility than the situated knowledge of movement actors. At the same time, as a movement researcher, I felt compelled to engage with this literature on the terrain of academia. My attempts at disambiguation of the hybrid position towards an undoubtedly activist subjectivity had produced a double-bind situation which delayed the research process.[40]

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[40] From a psychological perspective, the ruses of disambiguation can be interpreted in Melanie Klein's object relations theory. This is based on developmental positions which are established in early childhood but continue to shape the psychology of the adult. Disambiguation relates to the paranoid-schizoid position. Paranoid anxiety results from a fear of invasive malevolence perceived as invading the subject from outside. The subject deals with this anxiety by splitting off bad feelings and projecting them out. Splitting refers to the separation of the good object from the bad object. Establishing and defending a clear boundary between the fields of activism and academia is akin to splitting the good object from the bad object, where either field can be construed as the good or bad object.

I interpret my intense reaction to social movement literature as an expression of fear of exclusion based on experience with the moral economy of activism. I anticipated that my work as a movement researcher might catapult me out of the field of activism and possibly transform me into a profiteer, spy or traitor.

Even though I was not actively involved in any campaigns during my research process, I did not intend to give up my subjectivity as an activist. However, in interaction with the Euromayday network as my field of research, I found it dishonest to position myself as an activist. As my notion of hybrid positioning did only develop over time, initially, I performed a disambiguation again, this time by placing myself firmly in the field of academia.

For February 2008, a transnational meeting of the Euromayday network was announced. Date, agenda and participation were planned on the open mailing list of the network. I wanted to announce my intention to participate in the meeting, but composing the email took a long time. I decided to announce my wish to participate in the meeting as a researcher in an institutionally based research project. I presented my research project in a rather formal style, and outlined its potential usefulness and limitations. I did not mention my prior activist engagement, as I did not intend to take the role of an activist within the Euromayday network. With this email, I hoped to avoid several breaches of the moral economy of the field such as overestimating the usefulness of the expected research results, self-proclaiming myself as an activist (one of us), and concealing the power structures in research relationships.

The reply arrived soon. One of the hosts of the meeting sent a mail which can be summarised with the sentence 'we'd rather not'. The hosting group had already made experiences with social movement researchers, who came to several meetings, took notes and never got in touch again. Thus they would prefer to hold the meeting without a researcher. In reaction to this mail, several activists who knew me from earlier mobilisations sent mails advocating my presence on the grounds of my previous engagement, where they had known me as trustworthy. These references where not based on assumptions that my research would be better or more useful than that of other social movement researchers, but on the trust assigned to my activist self. My attempt at disambiguation had caused unnecessary confusion.

By eliminating any reference to my activist affiliations in my initial email, I had positioned myself clearly in the field of academia and erased any clues that would have made my participation favourable. Thanks to the intervention of activists who knew about my

previous involvement, I was granted access to this meeting based on an existing social capital within the movement. What was important was my credibility and trustworthiness as a person, my formal position as an institutionalised researcher was secondary. Activists in the Euromayday network positioned and accepted me in a way that I had not been able to initiate myself, that is, as a hybrid moving between the spaces of activism and academia.

In my research process, attempts at disambiguation proved counterproductive. Tactical ruses of disambiguation, i.e. attempts to clarify the hybrid position of activist scholars by way of their double affiliation to activism and academia tended to harden the boundaries between the field of activism and the field of academia rather than strengthening the hybrid practice of engaged scholarship and widening the third space of critical engagement.

II.3.2 The Researcher's Angst of the Field

Fieldworkers often experience delays, doubts, irritations, or physical reactions before they enter their chosen research fields. Sociologist and ethnologist Rolf Lindner coined the term „Die Angst des Forschers vor dem Felde", translatable as *the researcher's angst of the field* to analyse these dynamics (Lindner 1981). Lindner interprets this angst as expression of the picture the researcher gets of the picture the designated research objects are getting of the researcher (54). Thus the researcher anticipates what actors in the field might think about her. According to Lindner, the angst is based in an unacknowledged asymmetry between researcher and researched. The researcher obtains a social role in the field as fellow activist, friend or colleague on an equal basis. However, this equal, symmetric relationship is a pretence insofar as the researcher imagines and handles the situation as asymmetric. The real asymmetry of the research relationship is expressed in the fear that the pretence might be uncovered. My attempts at disambiguation during my research journey indicate that my concerns about a politically acceptable positioning were also expressions of researcher's angst. I also protracted conducting interviews. I justified this through methodological arguments as well as arguments taken from the moral economy of the field of activism: Don't waste activists' time. Only ask for interviews when sufficient trust has been built, when an appropriate situation occurs, when I have evaluated all other sources, when I know exactly what I need to ask. The fear these considerations were meant to rationalise was that I was afraid to instrumentalise the social relations to activists, expose myself as a profiteer, risk exclusion from the field of activism, all of which I perceived as threats to my activist subjectivity. I dreaded the situation where I, as an 'objective' re-

searcher, would analyse the 'not-objective' statements of my interlocutors.

Interviews symbolised a threatening exclusion from the field of activism. In the initial phase of my research process, my collegue in the research project and I had arranged an informal meeting with two actors from the Euromayday movement, who had been recommended by several people. We met in their shared office space, grouped around desks and surrounded by bookshelves whose contents resembled our own. One of our hosts repeatedly demanded that we should ask questions, otherwise s/he would not be able to give us information. I perceived this as deeply irritating. Repressing the asymmetry of the research relationship, I had envisaged an informal chat amongst political peers to suss out potential co-operations. The admonition of our host to 'ask questions' placed me in the role as an external researcher rather than a political peer. As I regarded the fields of academia and activism as separate, and the roles of researcher (symbolised by interviews) and the role as political peer as mutually exclusive, in my perception this amounted to a symbolic exclusion from the field of activism.

By delaying to conduct interviews, I fended off the necessary reflection about my positioning at the price of a temporary stalling of my research process. It gained momentum when actors in the Euromayday network explicitly pushed me to conduct interviews. This time, due to a gradual process of reflexive hybridisation, I perceived this prompt not as an affront, but as support.

II.3.3 Inhabiting a Hybrid Position

During my research in the trans-urban Euromayday network, my role can be described as a temporary engaged native member participant. I was native in that I had prior social and political ties which located me in ways other than that of a professional researcher and had substantial cultural knowledge of my field of research prior to the research process. However, I found the concept of native anthropology not unproblematic (Davies 1999:34f). My involvement in the AGM was located in the UK with its specific radical memory and political traditions, and in the Indymedia network with its focus on appropriation of digital communication channels. I can only partially claim 'native' knowledge of the field of Euromayday network, as my prior experience was situated in specific networks of the AGM and did not necessarily relate to the Euromayday network. For instance, based on the lively trans-urban and intercontinental online communication within the Indymedia network, I planned to conduct fieldwork in the Euromayday network through participation

in online communication and had to learn that trans-urban communication within Euromayday only rarely occurs in pre-defined digital communication spaces.

I was not a complete member in the Euromayday network, as I did not continuously participate in the day to day work of a local collective. This was largely due to geographical reasons – there was no collective near my workplace. Neither did a defined, continuously used digital communication space for participants from the entire network exist, which would have allowed me to find a role as a virtual complete member.

During the time of solidarity, i.e. my frequent, short, multi-sited fieldwork phases, I behaved and was welcomed as a participant. My contributions to Euromayday parades and meetings were largely taken from my repertoire as a woman and media activist – minute-writing, reporting and documenting. Additionally, I believe that the interviews I was given by activists and the ethnographic conversations occurring in-between other engagements opened up micro-spaces of interactive reflection and knowledge production situated in a certain distance from the requirements of activist everyday life. Thus I hold that the production of reflexive micro-spaces is a quality of engaged qualitative research which is worth extending.

During the time of writing, I noticed that whenever I approached activists for help, asking additional questions, facts, sources and advice, I received support. Thus the data of my empirical study are very much a cooperative product (Davies 1999:9). I interpret the supportive attitude from the part of activists as an active openness for the strategy of reflexive hybridisation and the project of turning the ambiguous space of interactive knowledge production between the fields of activism and academia into a third space of critical engagement.

As described above, my research process was punctuated by phases of inertia caused by double-bind situations emerging from my double commitment to the fields of academia and activism. In seeking a place to speak from, the articulation of activist methodologies and feminist theory was of great importance. An important visualisation of precarity circulating in the Euromayday network is the figure of the precarious superhero: a set of double-faced figures who transform their subversive ruses in everyday life into superpowers (Vanni 2007; Hamm/Adolphs 2009). These figures were originally conceived as part of the mobilisation process and designed to be used at Euromayday parades. However, they also operated as a technique of knowledge production and proved important tools in the production of political subjectivities relating to precarisation. Producing superhero figures

amounted to a technologogy of the self. Activists taught themselves to develop a refractory gaze onto the subversive tactics of everyday life in precarious conditions, turning them into subversive super-powers. The subjectivation methodology evolving around the super-hero figures echoes a theoretical operation developed by feminist theorists: Feminist figurations. Feminist figurations such as the womanist (Walker 1984), the lesbian (Wittig 1992), the cyborg (Haraway 1991), the inappropriate(d) other (Minh-Ha 1989), the eccentric subject (De Lauretis 1990), the mestiza (Anzaldua 1987), the nomadic feminist (Braidotti 1994) and the angel (Irigaray 1993) were conceptual personae aiming at redesigning feminist subjectivity. As relational images, they expressed accountability for one's locations and acted as the spotlight that illuminated aspects of one's practice which were blind spots before (Braidotti 1994). Feminist figurations were seen not as "flights of fancy imagined to distract us from the day to day but carefully considered trajectories that send us headlong into the complexity of living realities" (St. Pierre 1997). Feminist figurations were embodied and visualised theoretical operations designed to allow feminists to speak from positions that were both marginal and central, powerful and subordinate, inside and outside. For me as a woman academic and part-time activist, a mature PhD student and precarious subject, the concept to build a place to speak from rather than trying to find an existing one was liberating and attractive. Feminist figurations combined highly theoretical considerations with embodied, expressive, almost visual concepts. This attitude to knowledge production allowed me to preserve my empathy and biographical experience in activism while pursuing a formal academic research project.

As a visual reminder of this attitude relating to my own, situated experience, I adopted my own, personal superhero figure, which I found in the fictional Marvel Universe of comic characters. Her name is Inertia. As a comic character, she is a lesbian superhero with the ability to transfer inertia / momentum from one person or object to another. For my purposes, her name echoed the disposition to remain inactive which I experienced in phases of my research process. The term inertia is taken from Newton's first law of motion. An object at rest will tend to remain at rest while an object in motion will tend to remain in motion unless acted on by an external force. The external force on the object will change the speed of object, the direction of the object, or both. The resistance from the object to change its state of motion is known as inertia. Inertia is the imagined force that explains the experience we make in carousels, whirligigs or merry-go-rounds. If we watch others playing on a merry-go-round, we are in an inertial frame of reference, that is, we see

their movement in relation to the ground, the 'real world'. What we see moving is the appliance, not the grounded world around us. In contrast, if we are on the merry-go-round ourselves, we are in a non-inertial frame of reference. We perceive our movement in relation to the moving appliance and not in relation to the fixed ground. In our perception, it is not us who are moving, but the world around us. The physics model of inertia provided a visualisation for my outside-in-relationship to both academia and activism. Often, I perceived myself in a non-inertial frame of reference, situated on the merry-go-round of movement processes. What I perceived was not an objective truth firmly located in existing ways to explain the world, a truth that was independent from context. Rather, I aimed to analyse cultural meaning-making and practices from inside the moving context. My findings would always be relational and nonrepresentational (Cadman 2009; Crossley 2011; Geertz 1973; De Certeau 1984; Thrift 1998, 2006, 2010; Hörning 2004; Hörning/Reuter 2004).

The articulation of methodologies from the field of activism and the field of academia had provided me with a practical, imaginative tool to work on reflexive hybridisation of my position, which allowed me to activate my resources in both fields and engage with the field of activism in a more pro-active, research-focussed manner.

Supported by activists in the Euromayday network, I gradually learned to inhabit this space as a hybrid moving between activism and academia. In this process, my researcher's angst diminished, and the entangled position disentangled. As it was known and accepted in the field of activism that I was conducting formal research towards a PhD thesis, I had no reason to fear exclusion or loss of my activist subjectivity. Even though I was not actively involved in the day-to-day tasks of social movements, my political affiliations were known. I learned to act within the moral economy of the field, neither as an activist, not as an outside researcher, but as an activist scholar. In some situations, for instance a relaxed weekend on the country after the exciting but strenuous Euromayday parade or a birthday dinner, asking for an interview or even a discussion about movement issues would have been inappropriate. However, I knew that I would be able to ask the questions that preoccupied me at other occasions. It was my responsibility, to decide which information was meant for use in my research, and which ones could not even be noted in my personal fieldnotes. When in doubt, I could always ask. Using the examples of my reading experience, my email to the Euromayday network and my delay in conducting interviews, I showed that although boundaries between the field of activism and the field of academia

exist, the ambiguous space between both fields can turn into a space of critical engagement through dialogue between activist and academic knowledge producers.

"What is your struggle?" is one of the slogans and guiding questions in the Euromayday network. Throughout my research, I have often used this question to assess my politics as a precarious knowledge worker on a very privileged level. In retrospect, I think it was and still is the struggle to inhabit the third space of critical engagement between the field of activism and academia – and by appropriating it, to contribute to its formation as a cultural politics. I have not found the perfect way to merge practical tasks of activism – organising, engaging, producing – to the practices of academic knowledge production in an institutional environment. However, I have great hopes that this space of collective, interactive, practice-based and theoretically informed knowledge will take clearer shape and extend in the future.

III.   Euromayday as a Trans-Urban, Networked Space

"EuroMayday remains a reflection of precarious conditions of life in all their fragmentation. We remain in search and continue to swarm. Global in knowing that the world is bigger than the local micro cosmos and that only those who sniff the air can feel the wind. Local, because only the sisyphos work of the everyday lets us fathom what lies behind. With quite limited resources, but knowing that all the different trajectories are necessary"[41] (Euromayday Hanau 2008, S_176).

The thing called Euromayday fits many descriptions. To name only a few: social movement, protest format, repertoire of contention, ritual, medium, experiment, assembly of the precarious, project, experiment, formation of the multitude, political campaign, process. In the introductory statement, Euromayday Hanau emphasizes the interconnected realms of local and global social movement activity. This chapter hooks on to this statement. It conceptualises the Euromayday network as an interaction between historically situated, place-bound political realities and the cultural logic of networking enhanced by affective solidarity (Melucci 1985:800). It explores the relations between cities where Euromeayday nodes were situated, and the spatial and media practices facilitating connections between them.

III.1.   Spatial and Mediated Practices

When activists decided to hold *Euromayday parades of the precarious* all over Europe in 2005, they called for a "transeuropean network":

"We agree to shape a transeuropean network of movements and collectives (...) We have decided to prepare for a common EURO MAYDAY 2005, to be held on May 1st in all of Europe's major cities, calling for angry temps, disgruntled parttimers, frustrated unemployed, raging immigrants and labor activists to mobilize against precarity and inequality, in order to reclaim flexibility from managers and executives: we demand flexicurity against flexploitation" (S_48).

The simultaneous Mayday Parades of the precarious all over Europe became the most

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[41] German Original (S_176): „EuroMayday bleibt ein Abbild prekärer Lebensverhältnisse in all ihrer Zersplitterung. Wir bleiben auf der Suche und schwärmen weiter aus. Global im Wissen, dass die Welt größer ist als der lokale Mikrokosmos und den Wind nur die spüren, die die Nase hochhalten. Lokal weil sich an der Sisyphos-Arbeit des alltäglichen erst messen lässt, was dahinter steckt. Mit durchaus begrenzten Ressourcen, aber mit dem Wissen, dass es die verschiedenen Schienen braucht."

prominent actualisations of the rapidly expanding Euromayday network. Since the transnationalisation of the project in 2004, Euromayday circulated largely through the grassroots, direct-action oriented, horizontally organised and participatory strands of the alterglobalisation movement (Chesters/Welsh 2005:187). They formed a trans-urban "network within the network" (della Porta/Andretta/Mosca/Reiter 2006:31).

The Euromayday project was highly successful in diffusing the precarity frame and the protest format of the Euromayday parade on local, national and trans-national scales. Although the participating cities varied, the number of parades remained relatively stable around roughly 20 locations every year, ranging from 22 in 2006 to 16 in 2010 (see table 1a). The diffusion of the Euromayday parades came to a halt in some cities, while in others it remained integrated in the activist calendar for several years. Several cities adopted the format only once or twice. In Amsterdam, Barcelona, London, Paris, Sevilla, and Stockholm, Euromayday parades were held in the first two years after the establishment of the Euromayday Network, while Ghent, Gornia Radgona, Lisbon, Madrid, Malaga, Thessaloniki and Tübingen joined with their own parades or events in 2007. Some actors deemed the format of the Euromayday parade with its accompanying mediated practices of knowledge production and subjectivation a useful tool to further their struggles, while others abandoned it. In some locations the precarity frame was articulated with sections of the AGM networks and related local movements, scenes or affinity groups, while in others merely the protest format of the Euromayday parade or some elements of its action repertoire were adopted. To some local actors, the project to establish a European space of struggle around the precarity frame remained attractive over several years; others abandoned it after a phase of experimentation. Hence a temporal unevenness can be observed in the dynamics of the diffusion of the Euromayday project.

This chapter shows how Euromayday evolved in an uneven, place-bound and historically situated process through relations between the cities where its individual nodes were situated. The concept of precarisation of work and life, both as a condition and a struggle provided internal coherence. At the same time, its openness and fluidarity (McDonald 2002) enabled activists and organisers in cities across Europe to shape it according to their specific, situated needs and experiences.

III.1.1 Recomposition: Structure, Emergence and Practices

Toni Negri emphasized that "May Day is much more than a simultaneous series of pa-

rades, it is a process of recomposition, constituent of a new post-Fordist proletariat" (Negri [2006] 2008:215). If the contemporary struggles around the dismantling of the welfare state, migration, climate change, free circulation of knowledge, and democratisation really point to the formation of a new radical subject, then Euromayday prefigures this formation on the basis of the wider network of the alterglobalisation movement (AGM) through a reconfiguration of existing groups and projects. Most of the groups and collectives actively engaging in the Euromayday process had participated in the large mobilisations against institutions of global governance in previous years. In an autonomous process, Euromayday rearticulated campaigns against the European border regime and for freedom of movement, interventions for the free circulation of goods and knowledge, and projects appropriating urban and digital spaces through squatting and media activism. With its focus on the production of radical subjectivities on the basis of everyday experience, Euromayday was open to the cultural critique around gender, sexualities and race enacted by many movements in the AGM and connected it to the concept of precarisation of work and life. Besides building on existing networks of movements, Euromayday enhanced discursive interaction between the struggles of the AGM with those pursued by organisations of the traditional labour movement. Both had formed strong tactical alliances in previous protests on global, national and local levels. By calling for a global day of action on Mayday 2000, the AGM had symbolically articulated the tradition of the labour movement, although few trade-unions officially participated in this day of action. Euromayday enhanced this articulation through the experience-based theoretical concept of precarisation of work and life, which conceptually transformed the class-based formation of the social held by the labour movement into a version of class formation that corresponded to the post-Fordist condition.

The concept of precarisation of work and life situated precarious realities at the centre of an ongoing social change relating to the post-Fordist organisation of the global economy and its tangible effects on people's everyday lives: The increasing demand of the labour market for a flexible, mobile, creatively engaged workforce to perform immaterial labour in flexible, temporary and part-time jobs. Drawing on Michael Hardt and Toni Negri's metaphor of the multitude, Euromayday addressed a generation who experienced precarity as a normality in their working lives rather than an exception. It called on activists not only as politically engaged subjects, but also invoked their subject positions as people who experience precarity as workers and/or migrants in post-Fordist societies.

The Euromayday network was not envisaged as a homogenising organisation bound by one single, coherent identity or as a fixed coalition of traditional and/or networked social movement organisations campaigning for one precise goal. Rather, it was imagined as a concatenation of singularities in precarious subject positions targeting the post-Fordist social formation in its entirety (Raunig 2007, 2008; Cobarrubias 2009:255). The open protest format of the Euromayday parades encouraged a new formation of the precarious subject and furthered a trans-European assemblage of the emerging multitude. This was expressed in the Euromayday repertoire of contention and influenced its way of organising. The connections between individual nodes of the network were not established by a strong, formal, identitarian or organisational structure, but evolved through a shared conceptual effort.

Several transnational, trans-urban and city-based working groups produced theoretical concepts about precarisation of work and life as a dynamic condition and developed strategies and tactics to form a European movement of the precarious. The Milanese *Chainworkers* collective developed the concept of 'media sociali'. Through the circulation of 'new imageries', social media produce new social relations and spaces of sociability in a post-Fordist society (Chainworkers 2006, Marchart/Adolphs/Hamm 2010). The Hamburg collective *Nine to Five* devised mediated tools to produce situated knowledge about precarious struggles and conditions. The trans-European working group *Precarity Map* charted the European landscape of precarity on the basis of biopolitical fields (Cobarrubias 2009:268-289). Across the network, the conceptual productivity was rendered visible in conceptual *imageries of precarity* such as precarious superheroes who cunningly deal with live in precarity and saints who take care for the precarious in unforeseen ways. These visualised "performative representations" (Hamm/Adolphs 2009) of precarious realities and struggles were performed in the context of the annual Euromayday parades and circulated across the network. They were created, adopted, adapted, embodied, re-invented or rejected according to the situated realities in the respective cities (Adolphs/Hamm 2008; Cobarrubias 2009:248-251; Hamm/Adolphs 2009; Vanni 2007; Mattoni 2008b).

With such practices of "embodied theory" (Marchart/Hamm/Adolphs 2010:77-80), Euromayday developed a broad notion of precarisation. This encompasses the central position of precarious people in the economic process, the dissolution of the boundary between the spheres of work and life, and the paradigm of a cognitive capitalism and immaterial labour, affective labour and social communication as productive force. The Euromayday

network successfully introduced this broad notion of precarisation first in activist circuits, then also in the dominant discourse, most prominently in Italy and Germany.

Loosely connected local Euromayday parades continue to be held in European cities every year. Nevertheless, activists diagnosed a crisis of Euromayday as early as 2006, for instance at the 2006 meeting of the precarity-map project. They found that the Euromayday parades were taking on an identitarian character rather than that of a loose assemblage of singularities (Cobarrubias 2009:256). At the 2008 network meeting in Berlin, conflicts arose about the question of shared demands.[42] Broad and open demands such as those for global social rights would allow local nodes to customise them according to their situated realities, but would not provide a shared and achievable goal. A specific, winneable demand addressed at one identifiable company or governmental agency would concentrate the resources in one shared campaign along the lines of the participatory, research-based organizing concept developed by US-based trade-unions (Bremme/Fürniß/Meinecke 2007; Hauer/Wissmeier 2005; Panagiotidis 2006). However, such a de-localised campaign would not necessarily be adopted by all nodes, who decide their priorities autonomously. A third position held that demands should be abandoned along with shared calls as an outdated format. Abandoning this format would open up a space for new types of socio-political formation. In the end, no specific campaign was established, and the conflict about the shared calls was resolved in a compromise well suited for "overlapping unities" (Maeckhelberg 2009) which tend to seek consensus between competing conditions rather than solving conflicts by majority decisions: In 2008, the plurivocality of the network was emphasized by issuing two combined, but distinctively different calls. Euromayday only articulated some of the struggles that the concept of precarisation of work and live addressed (Birkner/Mennel 2006). For instance, in 2006/2007, striking retail workers in Germany only partially responded to the invocation directed at precarious subjects. Despite tendentially pessimistic evaluations on the part of some activists, the Euromayday project created radical practices to conceptualise new conflicts in a contested, trans-urban European space. The cultural politics and the enactment of the concept of precarisation of work and life took shape across the network in an uneven, place-bound and historically situated process. The Euromayday project was actualised in different ways across the network, leading to different types of parades and actions, and variations in reach and organisation.

In congruence with social theories placing networks at the core of the information soci-

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[42]   Fieldnotes on the Euromayday network meeting in Berlin, 21.2.08-23.2.08.

ety (Castells 1996, 1997), social movement theorists and practitioners in the fields of activism and academia regard flexible network infrastructures as a central organising mode in contemporary social movements (Della Porta/Andretta/Mosca/Reiter 2006; Diani/Eyerman 1992, Diani 2000a, 200b; Diani 2011; Juris 2009; Keck/Sikkink 1998; Melucci 1985; Routledge/Cumbers 2009; Tarrow 2005). Research on the role of networks in protest event dynamics and protest cycles has generated important insights on the emergence of social movements through processes of identity construction, understood as "meaning attribution" and "recognition of commonalities" (Diani 2003:12). The term network is applied to a strategic movement entity connecting formal social movement organisations with looser, informally constituted groups. Social movement theorists tend to take a largely synchronous approach to social movements and focus on the mode of organising within fully-fledged entities at a given movement in time. Event-based studies on the AGM tend to prioritise the more formally organised end of the spectrum.

The benefits of relational approaches for the study of social movement networks were emphasized (Diani 2002; Diani 2003; McAdam 2003; Baldassarri/Diani 2007), and a shift from classic quantitative approaches in favour of qualitative observation was advocated (Diani 2011). While network analyses in social movement theory focus on those ties which are actualised and empirically traceable, relational sociology suggests that networks as patterns of connections organising social worlds involve not only ties, but also absences of ties (Crossley 2011:40). Absent, invisible or submerged ties yield important insights for the study into the diffusion of social movements in general and into the growth and contracting of the Euromayday network in particular.

The networks of the AGM and its derivatives are culturally organised through the "cultural logic of networking" (Juris 2004; 2007; 2008a; 2008b). This logic involves a set of social and cultural dispositions enhancing

> "(1) building horizontal ties and connections among diverse, autonomous elements; (2) the free and
> open circulation of information; (3) collaboration through decentralized coordination and directly
> democratic decision-making; and (4) self-directed or self-managed networking" (Juris 2004:342).

The cultural logic of networking is unevenly distributed and always exists in dynamic tension with other competing logics (Juris 2004:342). Models such as frame-bridging and master-framing provide approximations into the cultural politics of networked social movements (Della Porta/Andretta/Mosca/Reiter 2006:62; Diani 2003:2-5; Tarrow 2005). However, they are not designed to account for the wider cultural settings in which net-

works and their individual nodes operate, and from where they draw inspiration and discursive resources. The extensive appropriations and detournements of popular culture, subcultures, and products of the cultural industry in the Euromayday movements exceed the model of action frame analysis.

To grasp how the cultural logic of networking operates in the Euromayday network, my investigation combines a synchronic and a diachronic axis. I ask what this network is 'doing', i.e. what circulates along their trajectories and which practices facilitate this circulation. I analyse how the network organises the flow of information, cultural codes, practices and counter-discourses across geographic distances; facilitates the diffusion of modular repertoires of contention; allows for shared mobilisations and the organisation of trans-urban and trans-nationally synchronised protest events; and facilitates cross-network mobility of activists.

Along the synchronic axis, I explore the spatial and organisational structure of the Euromayday network, how it is being imagined as a whole, and how different nodes are inter-related. Euromayday connects several local, regional, national and transnational movement networks, which are mainly formed by loosely coordinated affinity groups and interpersonal networks (DellaPorta/Diani 2006 [1999]:94; de Sario 2007). I analyse how Euromayday itself is nested in the convergence spaces of the AGM such as the self-proclaimed (dis-)organisation *People's Global Action*, the *European Social Forums*, the *European noborder network* and its follow-up incarnations, the "permanent campaigns" against institutions of global governance (Bennet 2004), the *European Counter Network* (ECN), or the global online platform *Indymedia*.

While the synchronic perspective focuses on the overall structure of the network, the diachronic perspective adds the dimension of process, agency and emergence. It allows analysing how network structures are produced, reproduced and transformed over time within particular social, cultural and political contexts in a situated, historical process. Fluid, flexible networks of transnational contemporary social movements are in a continuous process of transformation. A diachronic, historical perspective both on the network as a whole and on its individual nodes accounts for the contingent dynamics of networked social movements and cycles of struggle. Taking a diachronic perspective directs attention to the uneven diffusion of movements, frames, action repertoires and repertoires of contention along network trajectories (Della Porta / Andretta / Mosca / Reiter 2006:45). From this perspective, the absence of certain potentially plausible ties within the network is an im-

portant phenomenon. It directs attention not only to successful frame-bridging and network extension, but also to those instances where local movement actors make attempts to connect to a wider, networked struggle, albeit without accomplishing to instigate a local node in their city. A diachronic perspective comprises the historical development of networks and their different, place-specific nodes. This historical process impacts onto the present through different forms of collective memory (Assman 1999, Assmann 1992; Halbwachs 1992; Olick/Robbins 1998). It takes into account the power of "submerged networks", where social movements continue to exist after their period of high visibility. In submerged networks, radical collective memories from past cycles of struggle are contained, and potentially connected to emerging ones (Melucci 1989, 1985). The process of collective memory can constrain or advance the constitution of networked social movements. In any case, it impacts on the formation of group identities and the framing of contentious issues (Chesters/Welsh 2005:204, 207; Della Porta/Diani 2006:108, 154; Harris 2006; Johnston 2009a; Pickerill/Chatterton 2006:743; Polletta 1999a; Polletta 1999b; Polletta/Jasper 2001:299; Routledge 2004:4).

III.1.2 Imageries of Precarity: Performative Representations in Relational Space

Visual representations of movement organisations and networks follow certain conventions. Formal social movement organisations, for instance trade unions or NGOs such as Greenpeace tend to visualise their structure through the management format of organisational charts or organigrams. In social movement studies, the convention encompasses the formalisation of movement networks and their dissemination in chronological tables of protest events (Juris 2009:48-51; Graeber 2009:xiii-xvi), or statistical tables outlining the composition of movement networks in terms of political affiliation, age, country of origin, or social position (Andretta/della Porta/Mosca/Reiter 2003:39, 41, 54). Overlaps between movement sectors within a network are often visualised through Venn diagrams (Andretta/della Porta/Mosca/Reiter 2003:49; della Porta/Andretta/Mosca/Reiter 2006:32). Spider diagrams, social network diagrams and mental maps visualise strong and weak, direct and indirect ties between nodes of a network. These are a preferred format to represent hyperlink networks amongst activist websites (Niesyto 2010:291; Van Aelst/Walgraeve 2002:485). Such visualisation strategies represent empirical data about the composition of a network, but they omit the practices and repertoires of contention through which the

network evolved over time. Subject positions and political convictions are mostly subsumed under political affiliation, without accounting for the varying meanings attached to a movement organisation or project in specific contexts.

The Euromayday network took a different approach. Numerous visualisations related the network to the European space. Activists visualised the Euromayday network in several maps published online. In 2005, the Euromayday web-portal euromayday.org displayed a plain map of Europe indicating the cities where Euromayday parades took place (S_49). In 2007, a more sophisticated version was published, where seven of the 14 participating cities indicated were hyperlinked to the websites of the respective local Euromayday initiatives (S_50). In 2010, an embedded Google-map provided links to the web-presences of local initiatives. The dedicated mapping initiative Precarity-Map published an interactive map in 2006 (Cobarrubias 2009:268-289). Within the contours of a map of Europe, it provided detailed information about collectives, networks, unions, social spaces, media initiatives, and militant research groups based on a survey which circulated on the networks' transnational mailing list (S_52).

The most expressive map was published in April 2005 on Indymedia Estrecho as part of the Euromayday preparations in Sevilla by activist graphic designers from the Andalucia-based initiative Hackitectura.net, which has much experience in combining mapping, media practices and spatial interventions (Fadaiat 2006; Cobarrubias 2009:116-151). In this map, activists conceptually imagined space, shape and practices of the Euromayday network (S_13, S_81). They significantly departed from conventions of analytical network representation and the underlying concepts. The Hackitectura map indicates how networked social movements re-configure space through the cultural logic of networking. It visualises the Euromayday network as a historically situated, relational space (Massey 2005) comprising a detourned version of the European geography, the locations where Euromayday parades were held and the flow of concepts, imageries and knowledge through mediated visual practices.

The Hackitectura map situates the Europmayday network in the geographical space of Europe. The European space is prefigured as a de- and reterritorialised space of struggles around precarity. The European territory is represented in a heavily pixelled map in bright green colour. The visualisation of Europe differs from conventional maps, where external boundaries and national borders are clearly fixed without ambiguity and the Mediterranean marks a clear boundary between the European, Middle Eastern and African landmasses. In

the Hackitectura map, the normalised boundaries structuring the European territory are rendered fuzzy and flexible through visual strategies. The boundaries between the European landmass and Mediterranean, Atlantic Ocean, Baltic Sea and North Sea appear blurred. This echoes a concept brought forward by historians of mentalities and proponents of radical history, who conceptualised the Mediterranean or the Atlantic as connections rather than boundaries (Braudel 1995; Rediker/Linebaugh 2000). In the map, lightly coloured, concentric broadcasting waves are spreading across the European landmass, reaching out to the North of Africa in the South, Eastern Europe/Asia in the North and East, and the Atlantic in the West. This indicates that digital information and communication technologies are seen as an important tool to establish network connections. The inclusion of broadcasting waves in a map links these technologies to spatial practices.

The relationality of the imagined space inhabited and created by the Euromayday network is further enhanced by transparent, overlapping coronas in lighter shades of green engirding each participating city. Their size varies according to strength and continuity of the Euromayday movement in each city. Thus national borders as a geopolitical ordering device are visually dissolved in favour of relations between cities. This suggests a trans-urban rather than a trans-national network formation. The coronas around the cities are depicted in such a way that they appear to be floating like bubbles in the air. The fluid, dynamic visualisation indicates that the Euromayday network is imagined as a dynamic and evolving entity. Depending on growth or shrinking of the Euromayday project in a specific city, its corona expands or contracts, which increases or decreases overlap with other coronae. Rather than imagining the connections within the Euromayday network through quantifiable and one-dimensional strong or weak ties, the Hackitectura map suggests a relational, spatial concept of overlapping, dynamic zones of engagement.

Black-and-white photographs of satellite dishes adorning the edges of the otherwise brightly coloured map are further highlighting the use of digital communication channels and the appropriation of respective technologies. Besides enhancing networking practices, digital technologies facilitate free circulation of knowledge. The inclusion of visual signifiers of digital technology in the Hackitectura map affirms not only the instrumental usage of digital communication technologies. It also affirms a much-stated affinity between the cultural logic of networking and the values and practices associated with free and open source software development and a broader hacker ethic, which is rooted in the values of free information, decentralized coordination, collaborative learning, peer recognition, and

social service (Juris 2004:342).

The map alludes to further mediated practices which helped establishing the network. Through inlayed photos and graphics, it indicates that the 'things' which circulate along the trajectories of the network are not so much specific political demands or enlightening information, but rather methodologies of struggle, prefigurative practices of resistance, practices of networking and oppositional discourses. The multi-faceted concept of precarisation of work and life as a way of struggle and an oppositional reading of the hegemonic discourse on work and unemployment, rights and responsibilities, self-inflicted exclusion and poverty is visualised through several inlayed graphics. As *imageries of precarity*, they point to feminisation and subjectivation of labour, instability, mobility and migration, free circulation of knowledge, virtuosity and creativity. They appropriate repertoires of popular culture such as popular Catholicism, literature, circus, products of the music industry. In the practice of Euromayday, these imageries of precarity as methodologies of activist practice are not only depicted, but also enacted.

One of these imageries of precarity shown in the map is *Nuestra Senora de la precariedad*. A female, Spanish counterpart of *San Precario*, the invented saint who first emerged in 2004 in Milan (Tarì/Vanni 2005), Our Lady of Precarity is depicted in a posture typical for Spanish saint sculptures and thus maintains a symbolic connection to the powerful symbolism of popular Catholicism. However, the figure is symbolically co-opted into the Euromayday movement by attire and accessories. She wears the apron of a domestic worker or housewife and carries the sturdy, red-and-blue patterned plastic bag, which has come to signify the autonomy of migration in European activist circles. Such detourned saint figures were integrated in numerous performances and public interventions in Italy, Spain and to a lesser extent in Germany (S_40, S_41) and Austria (S_15) (Vanni 2007; Mattoni 2008b; Hamm/Adolphs 2009).

A further imagery was taken from the nomadic world of circus, situated on the fringes of mainstream society but providing popular entertainment to its inhabitants. An acrobat does a handstand on a wheel carrying the copyleft sign: literally a highly precarious bodily posture. This imagery combines signifiers of precarity with initiatives aiming at free circulation of knowledge by regulations other than copyright laws. The figure of the circus acrobat performing in precarious bodily posture also appeared as a contortionist on the 2004 Euromayday mobilisation poster and as an acrobat in drafts for the Hamburg 2005 poster. In addition to printed or digital visualisations, acrobatic performances in urban space were

performed, for instance on the evening before the Malaga Mayday Sur Parade in 2007 during an open-air 'precarious cabaret' titled after a popular figure of speech 'No llego a Fin de Mes' (I won't make it til the end of the month). Artists and theatre groups illustrated the difficulties to make the money last until the end of the month in breathtaking acrobatic performances (S_269). From the part of the British government, the circus metaphor was used to depreciate the AGM as an "anarchist travelling circus" (S_229).

The names of the cities indicated on the map are repeated in a circular graphic element taken from the 2005 Milan mobilisation poster, which was adapted at least in Barcelona and Vienna. It includes the rabbit of precarity, a reference to the rabbit in the highly popular 19th century novel Alice in Wonderland who, like today's precarious people, is always in a hurry, always late. Four colour-coded stars indicate political configurations and subject positions: red for traditional labour struggles, black for anarchism and direct action, green for ecology and pink for gender/feminism and queerness.

Such mediated imageries weave a layer of oppositional meanings and radical practices on top of the existing political geography of Europe. Mediated imageries of precarity such as the Hackitectura map, the rabbit of precarity, or the saints of the precarious are not merely representations of an already existing network. They are themselves performative, productive elements in the formation of the network, as activists across its nodes strive to cast the multiplicity of contentious practices into spot-on models, visualisations and performances. As *wandering imageries*, they circulate along the trajectories of the relational space of the Euromayday network (Hamm/Adolphs 2009). Disseminated via email or printed out and given away, applied to the wall of an office, bedroom, kitchen-door or toilet, stored on a bookshelf, reproduced in a collage, website or video, carried in a purse, applied to a banner and taken to a demonstration or enacted in bodily performances, such imageries are treading the trajectories of the network and thus turn abstract, dominant space into appropriated space (Lefevre 2007).

Within the cultural politics of the Euromayday project, such practices of mediated visualisation have several interconnected functions. They are pre-figurative acts, whereby actors reflect upon their struggles, their modes of organising and the repertoires of contention they put into practice. They represent and perform the Euromayday network and its nodes as well as its claim for the good life as opposed to precarity and inequality to a wider public, often in formats which invite participation. As performative representations, mediated, embodied imageries of precarity mark and facilitate the circulation of struggles around

precarity across the relational space of the Euromayday network.

Mediated, performative imageries of precarity encourage both makers and spectators to look onto the practices of precarious everyday lives with a *refractory gaze*[43]. Along with references to a radical Europe (Cobarrubias 2009:75-115) evoked on calls, posters and leaflets and numerous other networking practices, these imageries encouraged a refractory gaze not only onto the geopolitical European territory, but also on the condition of precarity. They helped to produce the radical European space Euromayday campaigns for.

This gaze does not suppress the daily toil and insecurity of flexible and temporary working conditions or the pressures of unclear status of residence. However, the refractory gaze makes the unruly, intractable, disobedient, noncompliant, stubborn, headstrong ruses of the everyday visible as tactics of resistance (De Certeau 1984). In seeking to transform these ruses into collectively pursued, purposive cultural politics, the refractory gaze is prefigurative: It encourages to see the world not only as it is, but also as it should be, thus encouraging the production of radical political subjectivites. While mediated imageries of precarity take different shapes and appearances depending on the local groups which adapt them, this methodology of meaning-making can be observed in the practices and materials of most local hubs of the Euromayday network.

III.1.3 Euromayday as a Multi-Scalar Network

As a multi-scalar network comprising a variety of place-based actors, Euromayday simultaneously operates on all levels from the distinctively local to the regional, national, and European level. The initial Mayday Parades in Milan and later Barcelona attracted guests not only from Italy and Spain, but from across the European networks of activists. The concept of the Mayday parades of the precarious even travelled beyond the bounds of Europe. In 2009, the Euromayday web-portal announcing the Euromayday parades included a special section for "Euromayday around the world", which listed Toronto in Canada and seven locations in Japan, where the *Freeters Union* of precarious workers had taken up the Euromayday repertoire (S_186).

Euromayday parades were held in global cities such as London and Milan; national capitals such as Berlin, Helsinki, Stockholm, Lisbon, Madrid or Vienna and cities of interna-

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[43] Activists from Euromayday Hanau introduced me to the notion of the refractory gaze ("widerständiger Blick") as a methodology to produce radical political subjectivities through the production of mediated imageries (Int 23). The refractory gaze is also a source of radical theory production (Papadopoulos/Stevenson/Tsianos 2009:229f).

tional governance such as Brussels or Geneva. Euromayday hubs were also established in middle range cities such as Malaga, Maribor, Torino, Lugano or Liege, and small cities in metropolitan areas such as Terrassa near Barcelona in Spain, Hanau near Frankfurt, or Tübingen in the wealthy, high-tech industrial southern-German federal state of Baden Württemberg.

By 2005, activists organising around precarity in Italy and Spain had developed the Euromayday parades as an evolving, modular and flexible repertoire of contention (Tarrow 1993:70, 1998). This format was adapted, enacted and enhanced in a variety of urban settings and national contexts in different ways and for different purposes. A recurrent spatial practice during the Euromayday parades is the mapping of the city with a focus on spaces of struggles around and resistance against precarity. The routes of the parades are carefully designed on the basis of profound local knowledge about historical, recent or potential conflicts. They often start in alternative sites resulting from previous struggles, such as the Hafenstrasse area in Hamburg (Borgstede 2010) and the social centre Ateneu Candela in Terrassa; or in alternative neighbourhoods such as Lavapies in Madrid or Porta Ticinese in Milan. Supermarkets and chainstores, job-centres, part-time agencies, telecommunication companies, cinemas, cathedrals, agencies of the European border regime such as detention centres, fast-food outlets, trendy cafes in gentrified neighbourhoods, contested signifiers of gentrifying urban planning such as the Elbphilharmony in Hamburg, are re-coded as sites of multi-scalar struggles against precarity. Thus the abstract analysis of precarisation of work and life as an overarching condition affecting people's everyday lives on all levels of society is made tangible and related to the urban fabric.

In some cities, once started, Euromayday parades were held continuously every year (Milan, Hamburg, Lisboa, Tübingen, Gornia Radgona). In others, the format was tried out and discarded (Amsterdam, London, Paris, Madrid, Stockholm). Others again interrupted the annual ritual for a year or two with the option to continue when the local situation seemed more favourable (Vienna, Berlin, Geneva).

For some groups, coordinating the Euromayday parade is the annual, work-intensive peak of ongoing reflections and interventions around precarity throughout the year, and the focal point of their constitution as a political group. Others organise the Euromayday parade in addition to many other projects they are involved in (Tübingen, Berlin, Hanau, Mayday Sur in Andalucia and Terrassa in Catalonia). In any case, the preparation of the Euromayday parade as an annual expression of precarity struggles allows a wide variety of

projects and groups to interpret their concerns and struggles within the precarity frame.

The Euromayday parades differ in size. Activists in the small German town of Hanau pride themselves to hold the "allerkleinste Euromayday Parade", the very smallest Euromayday parade, with less than 100 participants (S_177, S_178, S_176, S_174). In some cities, the parade was transformed into other small formats such as a public party, music event, video screening or a series of small, public interventions (Maribor S_298, Gornia Radgona, L'Aquila). The largest Euromayday parades are held annually in Milan, where the format was inaugurated in 2001 and since then continuously refined. Although Euromayday events are also held in other Italian cities, the Milan Euromayday parades attract well over 100 000 participants from all over Italy since 2004. They articulate a variety of national struggles and initiatives to form a country-wide convergence of precarity-related activism (Mattoni 2006:9), held together by shared web-spaces[44], meetings, interventions and issue-specific networks. One of these networks was composed of the *Punti San Precario*, alternative advice centres to provide support in self-organisation for those affected by precarity. A similar network exists in Spain with the *Oficinas de los Derechos Sociales*. These offices and info-points are located in squatted or legalised social centres, community centres or trade union locations. They are run throughout the year by their users and by people related to the radical, direct-action oriented grassroots scene. Not only in Italy, the Euromayday parades served as public expressions of larger, regional or national networks engaging with struggles around precarity.

In Andalucia in the South of Spain, *Mayday Sur* was held as an annual regional convergence of precarity- and migration related initiatives between 2005 and 2009. These convergences were intimately connected to struggles for free spaces such as the squatted cultural centre *Casa Invisible* in Malaga, and with projects relating to the free circulation of knowledge and information such as the open publishing online platform Indymedia Estrecho[45] and the alternative social network platform *n-1*. Activists regarded Mayday Sur as a tool to facilitate convergence and produce public visibility for groups and projects in the region of Andalucia. They used the precarity frame and the Euromayday parades as useful

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[44]   The most eminent shared webspace dedicated to precarity is currently the platform www.precaria.org.
[45]   Indymedia Estrecho was conceptualised as a mediated expression of the connections between the struggles in the North of Africa and the South of Europe. The name 'Estrecho', meaning 'strait', was chosen with reference to the nearby Straits of Gibraltar which separate or connect the continents of Europe and Africa. As part of the global Indymedia network, it serves the Andalucian region in the south of Spain (Sevilla, Grenada, Cordoba, Malaga, Huelva and Almeria); andincludes a section for 'Magreb', the region stretching across Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, Libya, and Mauritania.

common signifiers. Due to their involvement with the politics of migration and media initiatives on the African side of the Straits of Gibraltar, activists in Andalucia widened the horizon of Euromayday towards the North of Africa. Consequently, they dropped the 'Euro' from the name of the Euromayday parades and re-named the event Mayday Sur.[46]

Mobilisation for the first German Euromayday parade in Hamburg extended across northern Germany and down to Frankfurt, and was carried by a loose coalition of political groups campaigning against the European border regime and racism, and for an equal basic income for everyone. Since 2005, Euromayday parades have branched out to six other German cities.[47] Although no country-wide assembly or shared web-space for the Euromayday project in Germany was set up, informal contacts both online and offline as well as bi-lateral campaigns ensure that protest repertoires, tactics and arguments travel beyond the urban level.

The Euromayday project operates simultaneously on urban-local, regional, national and trans-national levels, depending on priorities of activist groups and the dynamics and networks they cooperate with. Political process oriented social movement theorists tend to regard the relationship between the local, the national and the global as bounded areas, where the different levels are organised in a hierarchical and fixed order. They analyse the transnationalisation of social movements as a scale-shift from the local or national to a trans-national level (McAdam/Tarrow/Tilly 2003; Tarrow 2003, 2005:120-142; critically McDonald 2006:20). This model is oriented towards political geographies, where cities are subordinated to nation-states, which in turn form transnational alliances or bodies of governance. However, the scale-shift model does not explain the diffusion of the Euromayday project with its trans-urban connections between cities in different countries, which often occur before Euromayday was established as a collective actor nationally, regionally or even locally, and where groups of urban activists act autonomously.

In contrast to the scale-shift model, human geographers, anthropologists and urban sociologists observed a reconfiguration of national, global and local space in the process of globalisation (Appadurai 1996; Castells 1996; Jessop 2001; Sassen 2008; Swyngedouw 1997; Swyngedouw 2004). This observation is reflected in the concept of multi-scalar

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[46] The 'Euro' in Euromayday was also dropped in other cities such as Tübingen, Berlin, and since 2011 Vienna. In some activist circles, the concept of a 'radical Europe' is seen as replicating the official European power-structure as constructed and defended by EU governments.

[47] These cities are Berlin (2006-2009), Tübingen (since 2007), Hanau (since 2007), Bremen (since 2009), Aachen (2008), and Mayday Ruhr in Dortmund (since 2010)

space. The intertwinedness of the local, national and global is conceptualised as a network of scales in which the local, the regional, the national and the global mutually constitute each other. In multi-scalar formations, the global is articulated in the local and vice versa. This concept was empirically affirmed in relation to the alterglobalisation movement (Routledge 2003:336; Cumbers / Routledge / Nativel 2008; Routledge/Cumbers 2009:76-102). It was found that "when place-based struggles develop, or become part of, geo-graphically flexible networks, they become embedded in different places at a variety of spatial scales" (Cumbers/Routledge 2009:43). Euromayday as a networked contemporary social movement operates on the terrain of multi-scalar space, which is constituted through practices of digital and face-to-face convergence (Feixa/Pereira/Juris 2009; Latham/Sassen 2005; Mamadouh 2004; Routledge 2009; Routledge/Cumbers 2009:42; Sassen 2005; Sassen 2008:365-377).

The alterglobalisation movement developed several formats which function in the logic of the multi-scalar formation. Multi-scalar convergences took the form of protests, prepa-ration meetings, gatherings or conferences. Through these convergences, digital and physi-cal encounters complemented each other. Digital communication channels enhanced the articulation of the local and the global. In addition to collaborative preparation of events through digital communication, manually collated reports on protest events were publi-cised on dedicated online platforms as events and confrontations unfolded, most promi-nently on Indymedia.

The AGM developed two eminent, spatial protest tactics in line with this mechanism. The first spatial tactic comprised of "globalised local actions", where numerous, spatially distributed protest events were synchronised in time and directed at local manifestations of one single opponent (Routledge 2003:346). The most prominent example for this tactic is the series of *Global Days of Action*.[48] The second spatial tactic took the form of "localised global action", where geographically dispersed social movements and resistance groups coordinated around a protest event in one particular place, for instance at the protests against the G8 summits in Prague, Genoa, Evian, Scotland or Heiligendamm.

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[48] The temporally synchronised and spatially distributed 'global days of action' started with the 1998 'global street party' which marked the G8 summit in Birmingham with actions in 37 countries (Haberman 2002:145), the 1999 'Carnival against Capital' in the world's financial centers with actions in 43 countries (Aigner 1999) and the 1999 protests against the Seattle WTO meeting with actions in 94 cities worldwide (Lichbach 2002).

III.2.   Spatial Practices as Cultural Politics

III.2.1 Physical Convergence Spaces

Actors in the emergent Euromayday network often assembled and participated in the convergence spaces of the AGM such as the European Social Forum or large-scale mobilisations. Convergence spaces "act as associations of actors and resources (…) which are put into circulation in a continual effort to make political actions durable through time and mobile across space" (Routledge/Cumbers 2009:90). Convergence spaces put local, regional, national and global exigencies into interaction and facilitate the diffusion of ideas, actions and campaigns on a multi-scalar terrain. Convergence spaces, although spatially mobile, are not expressions of non-material, deterritorialised, internetworked streams of communication.[49] They do not exist in separation from material places shaped by specific power relations, national politics, radical traditions and collective memories. As Routledge and Cumbers argue,

> *"rather than constituting a 'non-place' of resistance, grassroots globalization networks forge an associational politics that constitute a diverse, contested coalition of place-specific social movements, which prosecute conflict on a variety of multi-scalar terrains that include both material places and virtual spaces" (Routledge/ Cumbers 2009:7).*

With its declared intention to create a trans-European communication space publicly expressed in simultaneous, co-organised Euromayday parades, the Euromayday network in itself can be described as a convergence space. However, as a network nested in other networks (della Porta/Andretta/Mosca/Reiter 2006:31), it also made use of pre-existing convergence spaces. The Euromayday network was established at *Beyond ESF* on the premises of Middlesex University on the northern outskirts of London alongside the 2004 European Social Forum (ESF). Beyond ESF was one of the autonomous spaces organised by the direct action oriented, autonomist / anarchist strands of the AGM. Such autonomous spaces were deliberately situated outside the official ESF, but maintained a connection to it

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[49] Routledge and Cumbers suggest the notion of 'convergence space' as a conceptual tool to explore the politics of spatial practices in the AGM (Routledge 2003). For them, convergence spaces are not a defensive response to the network society, but a proactive form of spatial politics. They challenge Castells' dichotomy between the 'space of places' and the 'space of flows', where struggles emerging from the space of places with their cultural and economic specifity are seen as an articulation of resistance to the space of flows constituted through the networked global economy. They also criticise Hardt and Negri's claim that resistance to 'Empire' must constitute a counter-Empire which mirrors the "decentered, deterritorialising apparatus of imperial control" (Hardt / Negri 2000, XII) and envisage the space of resistance as a "non-place" (Hardt/Negri 2000:208-210) which is both everywhere and nowhere (Routledge 2003:334-336; Routledge / Cumbers 2009:6).

(Della Porta/Adretta/Mosca/Reiter 2006:31; Flesher 2007; Juris/Caruso/Mosca 2008; Juris 2005; De Angelis 2005).[50] One of the four thematic strands of Beyond ESF was precarity, culminating in the first "Assembly of the European Precariat".[51] Autonomist, syndicalist, libertarian and direct-action oriented groups and networks from France, Germany, Italy, Spain, Sweden and Scandinavia, the UK, Austria and Hungary[52] agreed to organise Euro-Mayday Parades all over Europe on Mayday 2005. This intention was publicised in the *Middlesex Declaration* (S_48) and put into practice. Thus the instigation of the Euromayday network was facilitated by the London ESF as a transnational convergence space. As hosts of the Beyond ESF event, activists from London played a crucial role in this process. It could be assumed that the presence of an important, precarity-focussed movement convergence space in London would have translated into a sustained, diverse and place-based Euromayday initiative in this city. However, as will be shown in chapter VI, this was not the case. The localisation of large movement convergences such as the ESF is limited. While they do generate support for local movements in the cities where they are being held and in some cases strengthen local cross-movement network ties, this does not always apply. It appears that such convergences add their own layer of meaning, codes, communication, practices and social relations onto the local fabric. In the 2000 AGM mobilisation for the protests against the IMF in Prague, some groups of the more traditionally socialist/Trotzkist strand of the movement used the slogan: "Turn Prague into Seattle". Although this slogan was criticised especially by the direct-action oriented strand of the AGM, it illustrates how local preferences and ways of doing politics are often superseded by the dynamics of the trans-national convergence. While large convergences are composed of

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[50] Many of the groups which converged in Beyond ESF had initially participated in the complex and conflictual preparation meetings of the official European Social Forum. As the conflict between these groups and the more traditional organisations such as trade unions, political parties and some NGOs became unresolvable, they decided to shift their focus from the official ESF to the establishment of autonomous spaces. See the contributions to the journal ephemera (2005, vol 5,2) by participants of the ESF process in London 2004.

[51] See the programme of Beyond ESF 2004, (S_241)

[52] To my knowledge, no conclusive list of participating groups was compiled. From the signatures under the Middlesex declaration as published on the websites euromayday.org and global project.org, the summary given by Cosse, who participated in the precarity assembly (Cosse 2008) and interviews with several participants, it can be assumed that the following groups were present: ACT! (Berlin, Germany), AFA Berlin (Germany), Alternativas Nómadas (globally dispersed group of precarious workers from Galizia, Spain), Chainworkers (Milan), Coordination Intermittents et Précaires (France), FelS (Berlin, Germany), Global Project (Italy), Indymedia Estrecho (Spain), Kanak Attack (Germany), Monsun, Motkraft (Sweden), NEAN (Northern Europea Anticapitalist Network), NoBorder, Precarias a la Deriva (Spain), PreCog - Precari+Cognitarie per un'europa socialmente radicale (Italy), Gesellschaft für Legalisierung (Germany), Stop précarité (France), SUF (Anarchosyndicalist Youth Federation, Sweden), Universidad Nómada (Spain), Wombles, (London, UK), YoMango (Spain) and people from groups in Austria and Hungary.

place-based movements, they also bear elements of a modular, transferrable space containing its own logic. These elements echo Hardt/ Negris "indefinite non-place" of productive forces in Empire (Hardt/Negri 2000:210) or Augé's "non-places of supermodernity" (Augé 1995). The modularity and transferability of AGM convergence practices challenges Castells' argument that social movements are operating in a seemingly authentic, bounded, territorial and traditional "space of places" and in defence against a global, deterritorialised "space of flows". Rather, these convergence spaces are constituted by the articulation of the space of places with a politicised, oppositional version of space of flows from below. Unlike conferences of the political, academic and economic global elites, European Social Forums and similar events are to an extent localised. They usually spread out into the streets for accommodation, feeding, entertainment and demonstration purposes, rather than being sealed off in a conference centre. At the same time, large movement convergences have a de-territorialising effect in that they tend to supersede specific localities with their own cultural practices.

Euromayday continued the connection with the ESF. For instance, the 2008 trans-urban gathering of the network was deliberately held in Berlin to coincide with an ESF preparation meeting, so that activists where able to participate in both meetings. They furthered the precarity theme and the Euromayday repertoire in the upcoming ESF, for instance in the migration related sessions, and took the debates from the ESF preparation meeting to the Euromayday meeting and vice versa. Not least, participants from both meetings mingled in accompanying parties, allowing for additional informal networking.

Large-scale mobilisations of the AGM provided further convergence spaces which strengthened the ties between individual nodes of the emergent Euromayday network through shared action. At the protests against the 2007 G8 summit in Heiligendamm, Germany, a block of *precarious superheroes* participated in the blockades of the G8 conference centre (S_70). The figure of the precarious superhero had circulated in the Euromayday network as an imagery of precarity since it was first conceived in Milan, 2005 (Mattoni 2008b;Vanni 2007; Hamm/Adolphs 2009; Adolphs/Hamm 2008). The catchy logic of this figure was simple: "you need superpowers to survive in precarity". Subversive, refractory ruses of the everyday from dodging the fare and manipulating the gas meter to file-sharing, applying medical and other skills outside the job, or enacting discourse-altering livestyles were culturally re-coded into superpowers. This mediated practice was further developed in Hamburg (S_120, S_125, S_119, S_124, S_126, S_128), Spain

(S_14, S_335) and Hanau (S_175) as a place-bound, situated tactic, and transferred to transnational convergence spaces. The superhero block at the G8 protests added the grievances, struggles and demands arising from precarisation of work and life as a further facet to the kaleidoscope of protest, along with queer fairies of all genders, migrant self-organisations and their supporters, the clowns army, media activists, trade unions, NGOs, eco-activists and many more.

In addition to the local Euromayday parades, activists from geographically dispersed nodes joined forces in several localised European actions. To launch the Euromayday process in Brussels, the de-facto capital of the European Union, about 100 participants activists from 9 nodes in 6 countries[53] used the *European Round Table of Industrialists* in April 2006 to give shape to a European space of contention (S_39). They drew on established repertoires of contention by holding a press conference, engaging in an appropriation action by using public transport for free, and blocking access to the round table event.

Mayday 2008 coincided with the Catholic ascension day and the award ceremony for the prestigious *Karlspreis* in Aachen, another highly symbolic European city situated at the border-triangle between Germany, Belgium and the Netherlands. German Chancellor Angela Merkel and French President Nicholas Sarkozy received the award for their efforts in the adoption of the contested Lisbon treaty, which serves as the constitutional basis of the European Union. This symbolic constellation inspired Euromayday activists to mobilise for a Euromayday parade in Aachen. About 1000 Euromayday activists from Germany, Belgium, the Netherlands, Italy, France followed the call. A Euromayday press conference was organised, and a press release was circulated on numerous mailing lists. The Aachen Euromayday parade, complete with samba-band, precarious superheroes, the clowns army, sound-trucks and a mobile kitchen complemented a demonstration against inequality, precarisation and the militarisation and securisation of Europe's borders (S_6, S_10, S_1, S_2, S_3, S_7, S_9, S_5, S_8). After several hours, the parade was dispersed by police, and several activists were arrested. Reports about Aachen Euromayday in alternative online media such as Indymedia and various Euromayday web-presences show that activists connected the Aachen demonstration to the Euromayday network by emphasising these events at their local Euromayday parades, for instance in Malaga, Berlin and Milan. Reports concluded that Euromayday Aachen marked an important step towards the crea-

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[53] A report on Indymedia Germany lists participants from Milan, Turin, Brussels, Liege, Paris, Amsterdam, Berlin, Hamburg, and Helsinki (S_38).

tion of a transnational network.[54]

In addition to European social forums and protest events, the Euromayday network also strengthened the ties between individual nodes through participation in international conferences in the field of art and net-critique, for instance the 2008 conference *Migrants / Media /* Metropolis. *New labour struggles in the global city* at the culture centre de Balie in Amsterdam and the Amsterdam 'Wintercamp' in 2009 (S_12). In both conferences, Euromayday activists were amongst the invited speakers and in the audience, and additional side-meetings were held to discuss Euromayday-specific issues.

The Euromayday network appropriated spatial practices developed in the alterglobalisation movement. It participated in localised European convergence spaces such as the European social forums or the mobilisations against the G8 summits. The annual local Euromayday parades on Mayday articulated the AGM format of simultaneous, Europeanised/globalised local action on one hand and the well-established political ritual of Mayday as the day of struggle of the labour movement on the other.

III.2.2 Digital Convergence Spaces

Most convergence spaces are not only shaped by face-to-face encounters, but also through digital communication flows traversing a variety of online formats ranging from websites and weblogs via mailing-lists, chatrooms and collaborative work-spaces such as wikis to a variety of commercial and autonomous multimedia social network platforms. Digital communication channels facilitate networking activities (Bennet 2003; De Jong/Shaw/Stammers 2005; Donk/Loader/Nixon/Rucht 2004; McCoughey 2003). However, the internets potential as an additional, interactive mobilisation resource especially for resource-weak movements to increase their presence in the mass media and its capacity for democratisation should be assessed with caution. There is no automatism whereby digital media increase democratic participation in hierarchical social movement organisations, bridge the power-gap between resource-poor and resource-rich actors, or increase mobilisation (Rucht 2005). The extent to which digital technologies strengthen social movements depends strongly on the social shaping performed by activists in their day-to-day usage of digital media.

In the early years of its existence, the Euromayday network made extensive use of digi-

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[54] However, the Euromayday Parade caused considerable conflict in the local, traditional political left, when the youth organisation of the social-democrat party considered to participate not in the 'regular' trade union mayday manifestation, but in the Euromayday Parade (S_4).

tal and analogue alternative media (Mattoni 2009). The Euromayday network maintains the online portal euromayday.org. Every year, it provides links to the web-presences announcing the Euromayday parades taking place in the current year. Interactive semi-public online communication traversing the network as a whole, most prominently on the transnational mailing list of the Euromayday Network, decreased after the initial years. The most vivid semi-public online communication occurs in local, regional and in some instances national hubs, and is supported by bi-lateral trans-urban communication amongst individuals or small, dedicated trans-urban working groups such as the project precarity-map.

Several individual nodes in the Euromayday network conceptualise digital communication tools as a central element of the Euromayday project both organisationally and politically (Milan, Andalucia, Catalonia). For instance, the Euromayday process in the small city of Terrassa in Catalonia is supported by a strong component of media activism including the running of an alternative radio as well as participation in several free software projects. These activities are accompanied by a strong commitment to democratic media activism, circulation of knowledge and the values of the free software movement (Carroll/ Hackett 2006). In the 2008 Euromayday parade, an oversized silver-coloured CD was carried along, expressing the demand for free sharing of data, knowledge and information.

However, the network as a whole takes a pragmatic, matter-of-fact rather than an overly enthusiastic attitude to digital information and communication technologies. Most local, regional and national hubs use one or several dedicated mailing lists to communicate, organise and plan for the annual Euromayday parades, in some cities complemented by wikis, chatrooms, Facebook networks and autonomous social network platforms.[55] In some cases, the social shaping of these online tools amongst users occurred only gradually. Although the Euromayday circle in Hamburg had set up a wiki early on (S_167), they developed ways to use it only when the need for online collaboration platforms emerged in the prominent campaign *I've had enough – NOT* in 2007/2008. This campaign was co-produced with Euromayday Berlin and aimed at precarious cultural workers in the high-profile *documenta* art event in Kassel and the film festival *Berlinale* in Berlin (Euromayday Hamburg 2007, 2008; S_72). The geographically distributed character of the campaign

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[55] Since the rise of commercial platforms such as myspace and facebook in the mid-2000s, media activists have been trying to emulate these formats. A prominent example is provided by the US-based autonomous service provider riseup.net, which, besides email addresses, mailing lists and web-hosting provides the social network platform we.riseup.net. Another autonomous social network project is growing in Spain under the name 'n-1'.

made the use of interactive online collaboration tools plausible and provided an incentive for activists to familiarise themselves with them.

For public representation, the overwhelming majority of Euromayday nodes set up their own online presences. Most announce place and time of the upcoming EuroMayday Parades in the respective cities as well as date and location of upcoming preparation meetings, provide contact details (mostly an email address or a mailing list) and frequently link to the online portal of the Euromayday network and to the web-presences of related projects they collaborate with. Some report about precarity-related issues throughout the year.

In their aesthetics and layout, these web-presences are far from being streamlined to convey a unified, homogenous identity of the Euromayday network. None of the imageries produced in the network became a unifying logo. Rather, local groups chose from the graphics, slogans and imageries circulating within the network and adapted them to their respective local conditions. Thus the masthead of the EuroMayday weblog for Tübingen in the South of Germany displayed a large banner applied to the front of a truck bearing the slogan: "Älles für Älle" – a translation of the well-known autonomous-anarchist slogan "Everything for Everybody" in local dialect. On most web-presences, local space is given preference over the convergence space of the trans-urban network, although some provide links to other Euromayday parades. Only few web-presences include contributions in more than one language, which would allow reports, concepts and descriptions to circulate within the multi-lingual trans-urban network. Although not through direct, digital, multi-lingual interaction across the network, the websites are an important site of frame alignment. In calls, events, public debates and interventions, the concept of precarisation of work and life both as an imposed condition and a site of purposive, collective struggle is fleshed out in relation to specific local conflicts.

Not only in relation to aesthetics and contents, but also in terms of hosting and software, the online presences of Euromayday hubs follow the cultural logic of networking, as they are decentralised and self-managed by the respective groups. Some parades were announced on simple html-coded pages under a sub-domain of the euromayday.org web-portal (for instance Liege, Helsinki, Milan and Jyväskylä 2005). Other groups used regional alternative online magazines (for instance Hanau on the web-platform linksnavigator.de) or national alternative online plattforms (for instance Helsinki on valtamedia.net). Increasingly, Euromayday groups started their own dedicated Mayday websites. From the beginning, Hamburg used an open publishing website run on Mir, a free software package

developed in the Indymedia network and hosted by autonomous internet service provider Nadir. In 2005 and 2006, Mayday France set up its website on the free software content management system SPIP, using the layout of Pajol.eu.org, a platform dedicated to the struggles of the Sans Papiers. As the popularity of weblogs grew, some groups started to use blogging software, hosted either on large corporate platforms as for instance Blogspot, which is offered by the Google-owned company Blogger, or on more alternatively inclined platforms like blogsport.de. As social network platforms became more popular, some groups chose to mobilise for their Euromayday parades on myspace (Palermo 2009) or Facebook (Milan 2009, Hamburg 2009, Ruhr/Dortmund 2010, Geneva 2010). Thus even without taking into account contents and aesthetics of Euromayday online presences, it is apparent that groups participating in the network do not share one single, ideological approach to using the internet. While some are strictly working with free software hosted by autonomous server collectives, others do not hesitate to enter the corporate internet through commercial weblogs and social network platforms. This can also be observed in the reporting of the parades. On one hand, videos, audio[56] and photos are published on dedicated Euromayday websites and alternative online platforms such as vimeo or Indymedia. In cities or countries with active Indymedia platforms, these are used not only for mobilisation, but even more extensively for multi-media documentation of local parades and their affiliation to the Euromayday project. Documentation of parades is also uploaded on corporate platforms such as Youtube and Flickr, where dedicated Euromayday pools were established (S_168, S_331, S_131, S_127).

Compared to the extensive interactive digital activities preceding large trans-national mobilisations, and compared to the vivid, habitual and structured use of online communication channels amongst the moderators of the global alternative Indymedia platform, interactive, semi-public trans-urban online-interaction within the Euromayday network as a whole is relatively sparse. The trans-urban, English-language mailing list of the network was set up immediately after the inaugurating meeting in 2004 (Mattoni 2008). The mailing list was open, so that everyone could join without prior vetting, and initially publicly archived, until members felt uncomfortable about the searcheability of internal debates. Consequently, it was decided to turn the public archive into a private one. As it was designed as an internal movement space rather than a mobilisation tool, the mailing list was

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[56] Several radio programmes are archived on the alternative platforms radio.Indymedia.org or globalproject.org, as well as on local Euromayday web-presences.

not advertised on the Euromayday web-portal. Partially public, partially private, it provided a safe space for internal discussion, while at the same time, it allowed participants in new nodes to connect to the network. Initially, the trans-urban Euromayday mailing list was a place of lively trans-urban planning, debate and information exchange. As the Euromayday parades transformed into more localised events, the mailing list took on a character more akin to a newsletter or notice board, although it continues to be punctuated by increase in traffic immediately before and after Mayday and at times of major political conflict (Raunig 2008:81f).

The Euromayday web portal euromayday.org was first set up in 2004 prior to the first bi-national Euromayday parade in Milan and Barcelona. After the formation of the Euromayday network, it transformed into its most important and coherent trans-urban public online representation. Every year in March or April, the web-portal announces the upcoming Euromayday parades on an eye-catching start-page in flamboyant colours, packed with carefully designed graphic elements.

In most years, the Euromayday web portal displays a shared call in several languages to participate in "the Euromayday parade near you". This is complemented by a dedicated link to mobilisation materials providing visual elements in PDF format for posters or cards, online banners, video clips and other graphic materials. Since 2007, the site includes a "megablog" fed by blog entries from Euromayday websites across the network. As many local euromayday groups do not provide an RSS feed for their website, only few nodes are present on the megablog, leading to a predominance of contributions in Italian language.

The web-portal prominently displays a list of cities where Euromayday parades will take place. Each city name is hyperlinked to the web-presence of the respective network node, provided a web-presence is available. Every year, this list is assembled through the trans-urban mailing list. The city list has pragmatic and symbolic functions. The Euromayday web portal is the only online space which provides a considerably reliable overview of the Euromayday parades in the current year, including access to details of the individual events across Europe. As a result of the fluid character of the Euromayday network, some Euromayday parades were not announced on the web portal, simply because local collectives did not consider informing the network through the trans-urban mailing list (Lisbon, Tübingen). The expressive event of the parade in urban space took precedence over the symbolic participation in the network. On the other hand, Euromayday being a loose network rather than a tight organisation, its actors did not actively seek contact with all poten-

tial new hubs. Some alternative Mayday events in the UK ressembled the Euromayday repertoire in form, but no affiliation with the Euromayday brand was made explicit (Nottingham 2006). In Dublin, the mobilisaton for the Mayday protests against the EU-summit in 2004 borrowed from the Euromayday repertoire, and reports on Indymedia Ireland 'branded' the event accordingly (S_45). In other cases, cities were listed although no Euromayday parade was held (Malaga 2010), or although the Euromayday repertoire did not prominently feature in their public representation (Zurich 2010). Thus the cities indicated on the Euromayday portal should not be interpreted in analogy to the chapels of trade unions. Behind the unifying shorthand signifier of the city names lay different types of organisation, network and dis-organisation, each establishing different local alliances.

Following the explanatory logic of social movement theory, the question arises whether euromayday.org works as a mobilisation tool facilitating a scale shift from local, regional or national levels to the international terrain. The provision of propaganda materials, the inclusion of a shared call and a feature collecting signatures of collectives for each annual call suggest a mobilising function. However, the later feature is not embedded in a campaign aiming to collect as many signatures as possible, and only a small number of supporters have used it. In most years, the Euromayday web portal is updated in April, leaving only a few weeks for potential international visitors to any Euromayday parade to prepare for such a journey. [57] Similarly, the functionality of local Euromayday websites for local, regional and trans-urban organising and mobilising is limited. Activists from Hamburg had initially put much emphasis on their website. Several pre-parade interventions in urban space were designed to give more public visibility to the website, but quickly gained importance in their own right (see chapter VII). After four successful parades, the Hamburg Euromayday circle considered their local mailing lists, Facebook networks and word-of-mouth combined with posters, flyers and stickers in urban space more important for mobilisation than the website, although they would not like to miss it (Int_11).

The euromayday.org web-portal provides a rich archive of past calls, imageries and nodal participation across the network.[58] For the researcher, it provides a starting point to

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[57] When I prepared my field-trip to the Malaga Euromayday Parade in 2007, the details appeared on the website maydaysur.org only in late April. This suggests that the website was not meant to mobilise internationally, and that local and regional mobilisation relied on other communication channels. The channel I used was personal email to local activists, which were immediately replied to, including mobile phone numbers and a reassurance not to worry about sleeping space.

[58] In April 2010, I run a web-crawler over the page. It returned 269 internal URLs. Only a dozen of them were linked from the 2010 start-page. However, unlike the covered layers of a billboard, old pages of a

reconstruct how the Euromayday network evolved. However, as an archive, euromayday.org is not easy to navigate, nor is it neatly ordered. Euromayday.org did not evolve according to the paradigm of representation, which would require easy access to current and past information as well as a consistent history of the network. Rather, the web-portal was designed along the lines of the paradigm of the event with its focus on immediate performance during ongoing protest events (Lazzarato 2003).

Akin to a much-used billboard, euromayday.org displays only the top-layer of its contents, i.e. the announcement of the upcoming or previous mayday parades. The hidden layers constitute a digital version of collective memory. Group-based memories contribute to the formation of group preferences. Through collective memory, a group situates itself in time and space in distinction to other groups. Collective memory provides orientation for present actions and the development of perspectives for the future. The process of collective memory is not logical, harmonious or one-directional, as it is a central locus for ongoing struggles over identity (Olick/Robbins 1998:126). Aleida Assmann distinguishes between storage memory and function memory. Storage memory is a repository of unordered past events and experiences. In contrast, function memory is group-specific, selective and inhabited. It is structured and selected as to be functional for a specific collective actor (Assmann 1999:130-145). Function memory is not oriented towards the past, as it is shaped by concerns about the present (Halbwachs 1992: 51). Both types of memory relate to each other, as elements from storage memory can be activated, ordered and included in function memory when necessary.

The collection of past Euromayday materials under the surface of the euromayday.org startpage operates as storage memory. Despite its limited capacity as a straightforward mobilisation tool, the euromayday.org portal has an important symbolic function as one of very few publicly available representations of the Euromayday network as a whole. It is usually put together under time-pressure by individual activists besides other, more urgent and more local commitments. Below the top level, the euromayday.org portal contains a rich, digital storage memory of mobilisation materials since 2004. On the textual, language-based level, it displays only the most crucial current information. However, on the visual level, it is an important interface for the dissemination of imageries of precarity in

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website can be retrieved, either through search engines or through the online web-archive archive.org, which has regularly archived copies of euromayday.org since 20. May 2004.

formats such as logos, graphics, posters, web-banners and videos. The Euromayday web portal evokes a continuously emergent network refusing to be frozen into a fixed organisation structure. Instead, the Euromayday network relies on modularity, fluidiarity and openness.

III.2.3 Europeanising Local Euromayday Parades

The simultaneous mayday celebrations of the precarious in small and large European cities constituted a purposive network, because they were symbolically and organisationally connected to each other. Connections between the individual hubs where established in several overlapping ways through spatial and networking practices. Actors combined forms resembling organising formats of traditional social movement organisations and those established through the practices of the AGM in previous years. With the extensive production of mediated imageries of precarity, they added their own networking format.

The Euromayday network held several collectively agreed, internal, trans-urban organising meetings where activists from most hubs of the network were present (Cosse 2008). These dedicated gatherings became increasingly rare and sparsely attended after the initial years.[59] Despite the lack of formal meetings, the network continued to exist through other ties. Besides bi-lateral connections between people from individual hubs, Euromayday adapted the spatial politics developed in the AGM.

Local Euromayday parades were europeanised through a variety of symbolic, mediated practices. For the Euromayday parades in 2005 and 2006, the media initiative *global project* and the Hamburg Euromayday circle in collaboration with the local radio collective *Freies Sender Kollektiv* (FSK) recorded and broadcast multi-urban radio programs.[60] This radio project involved a major organising effort and strengthened the ties within the network. Participants and potential contributers across the network were traced and contacted, mobile phone numbers collected, and arrangements made. Content production was facilitated through a chatroom, where incoming information from the various Euromayday parades was gathered by the radio-makers and processed into radio broadcasts. In Hamburg, part of the radio stream was transmitted to the Euromayday parade through a sound system installed on a truck. Activists remember this mediated connection fondly, albeit with a

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[59] The last collectively agreed trans-urban Euromayday meeting with participants from most cities within the network took place in 2008. However, smaller meetings continue to the present.

[60] In 2006, the Hamburg Euromayday circle formed a radio group again and produced several shows in the run-up to Mayday (S_114, S_117). Combining the practice of radio-making with the production of imageries of precarity, the group created the radio-superhero 'Megainfarkt' (S_115).

pinch of amusement. One participant recalls a live interview with activists from Milan, which was transmitted to the Hamburg parade (Int_6). Rather than lucid political analysis, this interview was "really completely superficial". Participants on both ends were "simply blown away" by the sensation of this technically mediated communication channel and the sudden, tangible and public, mediated co-presence of fellow-activists in far away cities it evoked. While superficial in content, the conversation was emotionally charged with euphoria about the sudden tangibility of Euromayday as a network. The Hamburg partici-pant concluded her account of this communication act by pointing out that "the function of this live-experience should not be underestimated". In such performative situations, the communicative proximity evoked through mediated interaction matches face to face inter-actions in intensity (Hamm 2003).

A more basic version of live-experience consists of exchanging cross-network text mes-sages during the parades and transmitting them through sound-systems to the parade. At the localised European Mayday Parade in Aachen 2008, participants were informed that in Malaga, 2000 Mayday participants had blocked the train station; that 6000 people and nine trucks had gathered in Berlin; and that, according to the metalworkers' union, 100000 Mayday participants had assembled in Milan (S_9). In Hamburg, the most basic practice of europeanisation was the public enunciation of the names of all participating cities through the sound-system, each name being followed by applause from the crowd.

Mediated imageries of precarity also contributed to the europeanisation of local events. In 2008, activists from a social centre in Terrassa in the North of Spain produced a mobili-sation video clip for the first Euromayday parade in this city. The clip titled "Chiki-Chiki Precario" was modelled after the cheesy, 1970s-style, hip-hop inspired Spanish entry to the Eurovision song contest. It relayed main demands of the Euromayday network accompa-nied by easy-to-remember hip-hop moves: papers for all, free circulation of knowledge, affordable living space. In Aachen and Hamburg (and possibly in other cities as well), this song was broadcast during the Euromayday parades. This is only one of many occasions where the Euromayday actors extended their action repertoire by re-combining elements from popular culture in imageries of precarity and thus strengthening a sense of shared purpose amongst the different nodes of the network (S_335).

III.3. Expansion and Contraction in a Trans-urban Network

A major question preoccupying theorists and practicioners in the fields of activism and academia is what causes social movements to expand or contract. Social movement theorists approach this by analysing the diffusion of tactical forms as an expansion of social movements' repertoires of contention (Tilly 1978) Modern repertoires of contention such as the Euromayday parades and the imageries of precarity which circulate in the Euromayday network are flexible, modular and transferrable (Tarrow 1993a, b;1994).

While the concept of diffusion of social movements explains on a structural level how protest formats such as the Euromayday parade circulate, it gives less attention to the agency of actors whose network practices enable repertoires of contention to circulate through networking practices. Some theorists suggest that these repertoires are readily available not unlike a cultural toolkit (Swidler 1986). It was assumed that tactics comprised in a repertoire of contention "can readily be employed by virtually any movement actor in virtually any situation" (Soule 2004:300), and that therefore "activists in disparate locations with minimal organisation and without direct linkages are able to unite" (Soule 1997:859). Such assumptions are based on an understanding of social movements' diffusion as a reflection of "appropriateness" and "political utility" (Scalmer 2008 quoting Tarrow 1998:103). Less is known about the cultural translation work, which is necessary to successfully adopt a repertoire of contention in an environment other than that of its conception.

Thus the question of how repertoires of contention circulate through expanding trans-local, trans-regional and trans-national networks over extended periods of time must be complemented by the question what causes networks to contract or freeze. Amongst the nodes of the Euromayday network, some adopted the Euromayday repertoire of contention successfully, while others abandoned it. In the following chapters, I seek to empirically answer the question why local nodes of the Euromayday network were established in some cities and not in others. I explore why the Euromayday parades of the precarious became continuous annual celebrations of radical sociability in some locations, while they were abandoned in others, and why the Euromayday repertoire of contention enhanced and connected struggles around precarity only in some environments.

The (post-)operaist concept *circulation of struggles* links social movements to the circulation of capital (Bell/Cleaver 2002). In this view, the nodes of the Euromayday network – the knowledge workers in Hamburg, the media- and fashion workers in Milan and Barce-

lona, the migration-related activists in Hanau and Dortmund, the students in Tübingen, the anarchist squatters in London, the culture workers in Malaga, the freelance social workers in Terrassa – are at the same time nodes in the circuit of capital. As Dyer-Whitford states, "each node in the circuit of capital is a potential site of conflict where the productive subjectivities capital requires may contest its imperatives. (…) many of the breakdowns in capital's circulation occur because LP (labor-power) refuses to remain LP: it resists and re-appropriates" *(*Dyer-Witheford 2006*)*. In this vein, Euromayday activists apply skills and abilities aquired in precarious realities as well as their professional creative skills to the production of imageries of precarity and radical political subjectivities. They use their "material connections and communications" to "destroy isolation and permit people to struggle in complementary ways – both against the constraints which limit them and for the alternatives they construct, separately and together" (Cleaver 1993; see De Angelis 1993, qt. in Wright, 2000). To further the circulation of struggles in a globalised society, activists must develop ways of struggle, which account both for local specificites and global flows. As Harry Cleaver points out, this is an active, productive yet difficult process:

> *"Multinational capital organizes itself through the multinational corporation, inter-state relations and supranational state forms (e.g. the IMF). None of these are appropriate for us, but we must organize the international circulation of our struggles on a global level. Think globally and act locally is not enough; our local actions must be complementary and that does not necessarily happen automatically" (Cleaver 1993).*

The networked Euromayday parades of the precarious and the practices and methodologies to connect the local and the European level through mediated, performative imageries of precarity provide promising concepts and methodologies to further the circulation of struggles on the multi-scalar terrain of contemporary society.

An ethnographic perspective allows observing how social movement networks operate in actors' day-to-day organising processes. From this perspective, it is obvious that political tactics do not evolve automatically and are not readily available, but must be translated in a laborious process, whereby „an unfamiliar and foreign behaviour must become comprehensible by being restated in the local idiom. (...) Foreign political techniques are not simply copied – they are actually re-invented" (Scalmer 2008:243). Movement brokers, „activist hackers" (Juris 2004:12), "translators and transformers" (Roggeband 2007), or "imagineers" (Routledge/ Cumbers/ Nativel 2008:196) are needed to adapt a repertoire of

contention to a new environment.

In the AGM, this process occurred in the multi-scalar space built in the course of a cycle of large mobilisations. Research largely focussed on globalised local actions and localised convergence spaces such as the European Social Forums. Concatenations between the local and the global were observed in these new forms of protest and organisation. How these concatenations materialise in the multiple localities from whence the participants came and where they returned to is still under-researched.

I pose that the network allows people, imageries, political visions and protest format to circulate along its mediated and physical trajectories. It provides a sense of collective strength and relevance beyond local grievances. The Euromayday network is more than an instrumental, short-term coalition. It links a variety of place-bound collective memories and activist cultures to each other to form an assemblage of situated knowledges which is more than the sum of its parts. The Euromayday network generated the broad notion of precarisation of work and live, and methodologies to actualise this concept through processes of political subjectivation and differentiated, flexible repertoires of contention. However, the hands-on productivity, the actualisation of the concept and the innovation of protest formats are situated more strongly in the individual nodes of the network and their relations to other nodes.

The concept brought forward by the Hackitectura map suggests that precarity-related struggles and the repertoire of contention supporting them circulated along the trajectories of an emerging, fluid, trans-urban network constituted by relations between cities. These cities are situated within their regional and national political fields as well as in the field of European / global governance. The empirical investigation of the Euromayday network as a whole presented in this chapter has shown that the concept of precarisation of work and life, together with methodologies for its actualisation during the Euromayday parades, circulates across the network through mediated imageries of precarity. This circulation is largely facilitated by informal, bi- or tri-lateral contacts between actors from individual cities using a variety of occasions to meet and network. The Euromayday network as a whole created few dedicated spaces (online or offline) for regular, habitualised interactions between activists from different cities. Thus I conclude that the cities where Euromayday parades take place are the core locations of radical productivity. Whether activists in a city appropriate the Euromayday parade as a useful protest format and connect to the Euromayday network largely depends on local conditions, political constellations, radical

memories and activist subjectivities. To understand what makes the Euromayday network expand or contract on the local level, the next three chapters zoom into three different Euromayday cities. Expanding on the visual language of the Hackitectura map, these chapters explore the expansion and contraction of three city coronas through activists' performative media practices, their cultural politics of spatialisation and time-ordering, their production of radical collective memories and subjectivities and local/regional networking processes. The cities chosen as (media-)ethnographic case studies are Milan, London and Hamburg. They are comparable in that they are global cities with high levels of precarisation and participated in the formation of the Euromayday network since 2004. However, they differ considerably in their formation as nodes of the Euromayday network.

IV. "The Social Precariat Rebels!" Inventing the MayDay Parades in Milan

When the *Euromayday parade of the precarious* was held simultaneously in 19 European cities in 2005, the format of "a demo that looks like a street parade" had already taken shape in Milan over the previous four years (Int_20, Int_5). Activists had developed an analysis of precarity as a double-faced condition, simultaneously an imposition and a promise. Initiated by the media collective *Chainworkers* Crew, the hackers and media activists converging in the social centre *Deposito-Bulk* (S_327) and the radical trade union *CUB*, the first Milan Mayday parade took place in 2001 with 5000 participants. It spread to the wider region the following year. Supported by activist groups from other Italian cities, the event extended onto the national level in 2003, when the numbers of participants increased tenfold and many guests from abroad were welcomed. In 2004, a second parade was simultaneously held in Barcelona: Mayday had transformed into Euromayday. In 2005, Euromayday parades took place all over Europe and the Milan parade reached a record participation of 120000 (Mattoni 2006). Since then, the numbers remained constant at around 100000. Young people working in the media, culture and communication industries or in the service sector, young parents raising children, groups and individuals involved in alternative healthcare, queer politics, ecologism, hacktivism, programming and file sharing, studying and knowledge sharing, vegan lifestyle and alternative agriculture began to regard themselves as "precarious" and engaged in a search for subversive and powerful strategies to deal with precarious conditions of life and work.[61] They identified key characteristics of precarious lives which echoed the literature on post-Fordism: the impossibility to make long-term plans, the need to juggle several jobs, to multi-task, to constantly improve one's market value by acquiring new skills and actively building networks, to engage in immaterial and affective labour.

The call 'Mayday! Mayday! Mayday!' was first enunciated in Milan and refined in

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[61] This characterisation can be deduced from materials of the movement, including the 'Imbattibili', a series of 19 figures, each produced by a group or individual connected to the Milan Mayday Parade.

ensuing years, Seen in the context of international wokers' day, , it was a reminder of workers' power. However, activists in Milan connected it to an additional meaning: 'May Day', pronounced three times in a row is also the international shipping emergency call. As an interpellation directed at precarious people, it constituted a performative speech act (Vanni 2007). However, in order to be performative, speech acts must be expressed by a credible speaker in an appropriate manner to an attentive audience at a pertinent time and place. This chapter asks how the Mayday initiative was established as a credible speaker in Milan as a global city in Italy with a specific, historically shaped radical political culture. It explores how cultural patterns of place, time and political tradition in Milan formed the basis for Euromayday as a trans-urban repertoire of contention. It argues that three interrelated cultural patterns specific to activist practice in Milan were factored into Euromayday: A focus on forms of sociability, an awareness of production relations and an affinity to alternative media. Three interrelated types of media activism involving different interrelated sets of practices are analysed. Hacktivists deal predominantly with the social construction and technical appropriation of technical transmission media. Communication guerilla, cultural jamming or reality-hacking involve practices related to semiotic communication media and processes of meaning production through mediated forms of visualisation, intervention and public performance. The Mayday parades themselves are analysed as perception media, which make use of space, time and sensual experience. The chapter describes how actors combined these types of media activism in their endeavour to shape a new social imagination through performative acts on the basis of a well-reflected awareness of their position in place and time.

IV.1.   Cultural Patterns and Politics in a Global City

From the outset, the groups who initiated the Mayday parades had envisaged a Europe-wide movement of the precarious (S_306; Fernández 2005). However, their critical social analysis of precarity and the protest repertoire of the Mayday parades were consciously fine-tuned with the specific situation in Milan. Euromayday emerged in close interaction with Milan's economic structure, its political traditions and the current socio-political practices in the network of self-managed social centres. Vincenzo Ruggiero, a sociologist and social movement theorist who participated in the Italian movements of the 1970s and 1980s, stresses the continuity between older political discourses and newer groups and organisations in Italy (2000:111f). In this section, I will sketch the cultural fabric where

collective memory of past realities was not only preserved, but also re-worked into the new protest repertoire which is most visible in the Euromayday parades of the precarious.

IV.1.1 Milan – a Global City

The structural composition of Milan as a major global city with a population of about 1.300.000 in the city proper (Instituto Nazionale di Statistica 2009b) and over 4 million in the urban area (Demographia 2009)[62] suggests a certain susceptibility to the issue of precarisation. After the reduction of large industrial companies in the last decades and the ensuing weakening of the traditional trade unions, its economy is predominated by a strong financial sector, the service sector and the cultural industries including fashion, media/advertising, design, communication and publishing. Sociologists are regarding the latter sectors as paradigmatic for the increase of immaterial labour and its ensuing, double-faced precarious conditions experienced by many of the white collar workers concentrated in the city of Milan. Combined with five universities, the cultural sectors of the local economy made Milan an attractive destination for visitors, students and young professionals from western countries (European Commission 1998). An industrial centre, Milan was marked by a need for labour, which attracted Italian workers from the South throughout the past decades. Following the heavy criminalisation of the 1970 movements in Italy, many militants of these movements found refuge in the Milanese metropolitan area. More recently, immigration from abroad set in. Today, migrants, including those from North Africa, the former USSR and the Far East amount to 14% of the population (Instituto Nazionale di Statistica 2009a). These statistics do not include undocumented immigrants, although their presence is mentioned as a source of social tension. Thus the Mayday project evolved in a metropolitan setting encompassing industries of the new economy, a varied influx of migrants and a strong, historically grounded political culture.

IV.1.2 Italy – a Laboratory of Political Thought and Practice

Italy, and mainly the northern industrial-turned-service area around Milan, has frequently been described as a laboratory for experimentation with new forms of political thought and practices. In Italian radical politics, like in a laboratory, the production of theory is inextricably linked to practices of experimentation. As Michael Hardt and Paolo Virno remark: "The theorising, in fact, has ridden the wave of the movements over the last thirty years and has emerged as a collective practice" (Hardt/Virno 1996:1-9). In the 1960s

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[62] Demographia is a conservative think tank publishing extensive statistics online.

and 1970s, an original reading of Marx inspired by contemporary radical workers' struggles culminated in the development of operaism as a theoretical approach and a political practice. New socio-theoretical concepts such as technical and political class composition, the mass worker, and the refusal of work were invented. For operaists, the seeds for revolutionary politics were to be found at the centre of the production process. Operating under a Fordist regime, they identified the factory as the epicentre of both capitalist production and resistance. Militant investigation or co-research was developed as a new political methodology, which combined the collaborative production of knowledge, the creation of interaction amongst workers and eventually the ability to develop new forms of industrial action.

Operaist concepts and methodology deeply influenced the political culture and social movements of the 1960s and 1970s in Italy (Mezzadra 2009; Wright 2002). They gave rise to a varied and mixed archipelago of factory- and social collectives operating in inner cities across Italy. The main strands were the more conventionally organised Autonomia Operaia (with capital letters) and the loose, culturally oriented network autonomia (Bologna 1980). Alternative and participatory media, especially free radio stations and printed alternative media played an important role in binding the A/autonomia archipelago together, through broadcasts and publications, participatory formats and festivities in urban public space. By dissolving the boundaries between media producers and consumers, initiatives like the famous Radio Alice in 1970s Bologna identified the subject of struggle with the subject of information (Downing 2001:278). The far-reaching autonomist movements posed a serious challenge to the Italian state. After relentless persecution, the Italian state succeeded to destroy a/Autonomia by the 1980s. Many militants were sent to prison after series of mass arrests. Some went into voluntary exile abroad. Others found refuge in alternative urban cultures, where constituent parts of the autonomia archipelago continued to exist as a submerged network (Membretti 2003; Ruggiero 2000). They began to establish a distinct social formation localised in squatted centri sociali. Many settled in the Milanese neighbourhood Porta Ticinese.

A collective memory of this period in radical history continues to resonate in the practices of contemporary social movements in Milan. Evidence for the vibrancy of this collective memory at the time when the Mayday parades were conceptualised can be found in numerous examples. In 2004, the collective Wu Ming addressed evoked Radio Alice in a gripping movie titled *Lavorare Con Lentezza*, working slowly. The film attracted large

audiences across Europe, pointing to a wider need for commemoration. In a narrative interview focussing on their political experiences in 1990s Italy, two activists vividly remembered the presence of militants from the autonomia archipelago, who had chosen to stay in Italy rather than going into voluntary exile abroad. They mentioned, for instance, a bar in the Milanese neighbourhood Porta Ticinese "run by an activist from the 1970s", and the bookshop Calusca, founded in the mid-70s by Primo Moroni, one of the central figures of the Autonomia archipelago (Int_23).[63] The *Libreria Calusca* was one of the places where different generations of activists converged (Ruggiero 2001:112). Since the 1990s, this emblematic library, bookshop and archive was situated in the long-standing centro sociale Cox18.[64] The significance of this place as a link between past and present movements and their media practices was emphasized again in January 2009. Both centro sociale and bookshop faced and resisted eviction, which led to passionate outcries amongst the activist scene. An email on the nettime mailing list highlights the importance ascribed to this location for its "treasure of memory":

> "At 7am on january the 22nd around 100 policemen entered the squatt COX18, which include in its premises the social center created more than 33 years ago, the Calusca City Light bookstore, founded in 1971, and the Primo Moroni Archive. The importance of this archive is stunning: it is, without any doubt, the most important treasure of memory, books, videos, registrations and a considerable portion of counterculture in Milan and in Italy. At the present moment the squatt is sealed and under seizure with all the materials inside, the books and the magazines of the bookstore and the archive included. The damage is unbelievable!!!" (S_316)

The report explains that Cox18 was also an important place for socialising:

> "COX18 was a place where one could encounter people and ideas, where prices were accessible for all and where discrimination never took place. A place for concerts, workshops, screenings, presentations, meetings, art installations, crossing from different art-forms, many of those related to electronic and digital culture" (S_316).

These examples demonstrate that operaist theory and practice was part of a living collective memory in the Milanese political scene, where the Euromayday project was developed. With its concatenation of radical sociability, alternative media and production relations, it shaped the political and cultural environment where the Mayday parade as a protest format and political project was conceived.

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[63] The interviewees were politically involved in different wings of the Autonomia movement from the 1980s to the 1990s, one in Radio Sherwood in Padoa, the other in a centro sociale in a small town in the North of Italy. Both left Italy in the late 1990s, but keep in touch with social movements in this country.
[64] At the time of writing, Cox 18 was still up and running: http://cox18.noblogs.org

IV.1.3 Centri Sociali – Sites of Living Collective Memory

A collective memory of Milan's radical history is embodied in the practices within the network of self-managed social centres social centres, where constituent parts of the autonomia archipelago continued to exist as a submerged network (Membretti 2003). Some of the motives and practices inspiring the centri sociali in the late 1990s and until the present can be regarded as a re-elaborated and re-contextualised legacy of the Italian 1970s (Ruggiero 2000:167). The scene of centri sociali provided the cultural environment where the concept for the Mayday project was fleshed out. It made available important inspirations, practices and infrastructure, and in turn granted a social space where ideas resonated. Thus I will briefly draw out the elements which advanced the creation of the Mayday repertoire of contention.

Centri Sociali are squatted, self-organised social centres run by collectives. They are mainly frequented by the younger generations. In their initial phase, most centri sociali face constant eviction. Some are eventually tolerated by local councils, others are being formally legalised. They combine (sub-)cultural and political activities, including parties, concerts, performances and exhibitions, political meetings and assemblies, presentations and discussions with often renowned radical thinkers. In most social centres, food and drinks can be prepared and served. Their infrastructure also includes workshops for a wide variety of self-organised enterprises from printing to repairing bicycles. Info-shops or bookshops display political information. Extensive use of alternative media is an important feature of the centri sociali. They provide infrastructure and knowledge needed to produce and disseminate alternative media including print, photo, radio, and film. Since the 1990s, social centres actively engaged in the appropriation of the new digital communication technologies. Today, internet access is available in most, if not all centri sociali. Centri sociali actively participate in the radical political scene. They run campaigns, organise protests and symbolic interventions in public space and develop strategies. Each social centre is characterised by a specific political or cultural profile. Participation in one or the other social centre positions a participant within a political direction, music style, or subcultural scene (Int_23). Spread across the city, the centri sociali create a spatial urban order, a navigation system for Milan's radical scene.

Based on his empirical research on centri sociali in Milan combined with self-research conducted by centri sociali collectives in the mid-1990s, Ruggiero offers an insightful analysis of the cultural pattern of the Centri Sociali (Ruggiero 2001). First, he states that

sociability, expressed in the desire to "stay together", was a central motive for participation in social centres. Those research participants who prioritised attending cultural and political events additionally expressed their need for debate and a wish to overcome isolation. Drawing on classical sociology, Ruggiero interprets the movement of the centri sociali in Milan as a collective response to the inherent "loneliness of the city", which supposedly favours self-interest and hampers the establishment of meaningful and rich social ties. Second, Ruggiero found that participants in centri sociali regard "the role and position one occupies in the productive process (…) as a crucial element for determining identity and shaping political subjectivity." In discussions and practices within centri sociali, he identified a continuous concern for aspects of production and resource distribution as well as one's position in the production process. [65] He substantiated this claim by pointing out that in the self-perceptions of centri sociali participants, a materialistic analysis was prevalent. This was paralleled by a continuous effort in centri sociali to establish alternative micro-economies. Participants experimented with ways of obtaining income while establishing alternative lifestyles through the production of music and clothes, in publishing activities, and through the provision of education (Ruggiero 2001:116-119). At the time of the Mayday Parades, other areas were added to this small-scale economy, such as an alternative youth hostel and classes in skills relating to free software, internet- and computer usage and digital media production[66] (Reload 2004b). As alternative internet service providers were set up, the publishing infrastructure was extended to include digital communication technologies. Ruggiero finds evidence for a critique of production relations amongst the centri sociali also in their forms of action. He interprets the inner-city squatting in 1970s Italy as symbolic action aimed at access to the city's riches. In the configuration of Italian cities "with their fine medieval, Renaissance and neo-classical architecture", the occupation of historical centres symbolises a demand beyond the satisfaction of primary needs. Directed at the surplus, squatting became a claim to luxury beyond the fulfilment of immediate needs. This claim was applied to some goods and services, while others were rejected. A mass picket at the renowned Scala Theatre at

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[65] Based on his empirical research in Milanese social centres, Ruggiero challenged the widespread assumption amongst social movement theorists that new social movements constitute a predominantly cultural protest. He emphasised that the movement of the centri sociali never seized the link between cultural and socio-political struggles. (Ruggiero 2000, 2001).

[66] In one case, activists used their creative media skills to set up a guerrilla-marketing agency. Some of their controversially discussed work oscillated between political prank and commodification of social movements (Bazzichelli 2006:248-252; S_180, S_181)

the opening night of the opera season in 1977 illustrates how the representative high culture of the mainstream was rejected (Ruggiero 2001:111). To obtain basic services such as electricity, telephone bills, rents, as well as leisure goods and services such as records and access to cinema, concerts and festivals, activists engaged in the practice of *autoriduzione* as a form of collective self-reduction. The practice of autoriduzione implied both a critique of consumerism and a demand for certain goods.

Finally, Ruggiero mentions the appropriation of digital technologies as an important element in the cultural pattern of the centri sociali. Media activists accentuated the socialising effect of technology and favoured anti-establishment use of technology (Ruggiero 2001:118). As early as 1996, the editorial group of the groundbreaking journal Decoder attempted to "make an exemplary transgressive and communitarian use of the new information technologies" (qt. in Ruggerio 2001:119).

This cursory overview demonstrates that cultural elements which became crucial to the Mayday concept were grounded in a living collective memory of Milan's radical history, and embodied in the scene of social centres. Practices, approaches, priorities and experiences were moulded to fit into the post-Fordist social formation. Although the Milanese Mayday actors consciously avoided reference to their predecessors in Italy's troubled, stormy but also compelling 1970s, the indirect influence of this decade is remarkable. These elements were a focus on urban sociability, an awareness of one's position in production relations and an affinity to practices of media activism coupled with a preference for interventionist forms of political practice. It is striking how seamlessly they correspond with the Mayday celebrations of the traditional labour movement with their combination of festivity and sociability on one hand, protest and strike on the other, and their immense productivity of symbolic forms. Re-arranged and adapted to a changing social formation, these elements became the core ingredients of the Euromayday parades of the precarious. They were woven into conceptual reflections and the practices involved in the creation of this new protest repertoire and affected the framing of precarisation of work and life as a contentious issue and of precariousness as a source for the creation of political subjectivities. The specific cultural patterns prevalent in the Milan social centre scene impacted on the techniques of mobilisation and reflection employed in the Mayday Parades.

IV.1.4 The Precarious Conspiracy – Media Activism in Networked Movements

The repertoire of contention which culminated in the trans-urban Euromayday parades evolved in the early 2000s. The initiating spark of the alterglobalisation movement in the streets of Seattle resonated in Milan, although many activists remained sceptical for a variety of reasons. Nevertheless, one of the social centres was entirely decorated with maps of Seattle during the protests in November 1999. In 2000, Italian activists adopted the Indymedia model of participatory media activism. Despite initial hesitation, activists from Milan played a part in the mass protests against the G8 summit in Genoa in 2001. The first Mayday Parade in 2001, amongst other reasoning, was also intended as part of the mobilisation for the G8 protests in Genoa. The state response against these protests was violent to an extent rarely seen in contemporary Europe. Criminalisation of the alterglobalisation movement increased worldwide with the 'War on Terror' triggered by the 9/11 attack against the world-trade centre in New York. The cheerful, seemingly innocent Mayday parades of the precarious were also a tactical response to a climate of repression.

Participants in the Milan social centre scene of the time remember this period as highly dynamic. In 2010, I asked Blicero, an activist who was immersed in the Mayday process, the social centre scene and media-activism in the formative years of the Euromayday project to double-check a chronological timeline about media activism in Milan I had put together (see appendix). In the section on the year 2001, he inserted in capital letters the words: "2001 IS A FATAL YEAR!"[67] In a 2008 interview, Alex Foti, one of the initiators of the Milan Mayday parade, compares and contrasts the industrial labour struggles in the 19th century with the movement around precarisation. He ends his account with the remark: "You know it was heady times. Everything was happening really fast in 2003 and 2004! Everything exploded!" (Malone/Redmond 2010).

In these turbulent years, the arrangement of production relations, radical sociability and alternative media in the Milanese social centre scene was transformed. The debates about production and reproduction found a new expression in the concept of precarity. Digital technologies vigorously entered the space of the social centres. Changes in the way of organising, socialising and communicating were articulated as the "precarious conspiracy" (S_306, Chainworkers 2006). Different forms of media activism played a constituent part

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[67] Email correspondence,16.6.2010

in this reconfiguration and coalesced in the Mayday process. Pioneered by the Luther Blisset project, techniques of communication guerrilla such as subvertising, detournement and generally culture jamming were not only used for tactical interventions, but also strategically as an integral part of a new type of social movement. Digital technologies were not only used instrumentally as an additional communication channel with its own qualities and shortcomings. Most importantly, new technologies were treated as a task to be met by collective experimentation and appropriation, which gave rise to new formats of organising and congregating. The social shaping of the new technologies occurred through a practice hacktivists called *social hacking* or *reality hacking*.

Components of this productive period of time are documented in a variety of ways. As workshops, protests, gigs and discussion events were organised, groups dissolved and re-formed, social centres were evicted and re-established, activists produced an ongoing digital archive on their websites or on the open publishing online platform Indymedia. Several groups, such as the Chainworkers collective and the reLOAd collectives, published readers to summarise their work (Reload 2004a, b; Chainworkers 2001, 2006). In her comprehensive historical account on digital activism and net-art in Italy since the 1980s, cultural analyst Tatiana Bazzichelli (2006) introduces most of the groupings and convergences involved in the Mayday process. This section offers an account of media practices which were constituent for the concept of precarious conspiracy as part of the new social imagination brought forward by the Mayday project.

The entities involved in the Mayday process were connected through a networked mode of collaboration based in the cultural environment of the social centres and increasingly enhanced by digital technologies. Many activists participated in several overlapping entities. Blicero emphasizes the networked mode of movement activity in the Milan social centre scene during these years, where hackers, social centre collectives, and issue-driven groups worked together:

> *"For at least some years (in Milan at least) there was this aura of multiple projects working toghether without the need to officially state the fact. It was a sort of fluid network where people were part of many projects and collectives and tried every time to find the connecting point of the experience instead of looking for where the dividing issue stood. So it's difficult to state there where official relationships between many of these groups. At the same time it's impossible to deny that they cooperated deeply among them" (Int_21).*

The emphasis on people who "tried every time to find the connecting point of

experience" echoes the post-operaist concept of a new social subject composed of singularities that act in common. Connected to groups in other Italian cities as well as amongst each other, these singularities produced a system of signification which became constituent for political subjectivities and communities (Tari/Vanni 2005). Besides the communication flows in social centres, on mailing lists and websites, this semiotic system encompassed imageries which circulated in digital and urban space, and were embodied in interventions in public space as well as forms of organisation.

Although most collectives specialised in one or the other approach or issue, many individuals participated in several collectives or crossed paths in various activities in the centri sociali. Thus communication was kept flowing. As they were open, fluid and informal, these collaborations are difficult to pin down. Blicero offers a compelling image of this mode of doing politics which found a collective expression in the Mayday parades of the precarious:

> *"It was as if a group of people devised a multiple head collective where other people could connect to one or all of the "heads". It was naturally issue-driven: initiative on work/precarity started from cw [chainworkers]; initiative on digital rights/copyright started from reLOAd [a collective of hackers]; initiative on media activism started from IMC [Indymedia]. And then it was all interconnected, with the people participating in all the collectives as channels of information and political debate between the different groups. It was very intense and wearing, but it made sure that everybody could participate in the things they felt best and at the same time contribute to a wider plan of redesigning of society" (Int_21)"*

The Mayday initiative was like an organism with multiple heads, each facing towards a different set of practices and talking to a different set of needs, preferences and desires. Thus it is hardly possible to pinpoint the emergence of this complex socio-theoretical activist practice to one clearly defined group. To give an impression of the different facettes of media activism involved in the Mayday project, I will briefly introduce three entitities, or 'heads' of the Mayday organism: The chainworkers collective, who worked on semiotic processes of mythopoesis around precarity and precarisation, the hacktivist collective LOA, later reLOAd, who run their own social centre for three years, and the Italian node of Indymedia.

Chainworkers Collective

In an early self-presentation, the chainworkers collective, who initiated the Mayday parade, outlined the motives of their project as follows:

"Basically what we try to do, in our weekly meetings and CW [Chainworkers] mailing list, is to merge two working generations and two strands of radicalism presently at odds with each other in Europe and elsewhere. On the one hand, we want to make the young, ununionized part-timers and temp workers get in touch with the unionists and activists of the old working class. On the other hand we want to make media activism, as symbolized by Indymedia, Adbusters, RTmark etc, interact with labor struggles and union organizing" (S_329).

The collective explicitly aimed for a conscious intensification of the connection between the Fordist and the post-Fordist generation of politically aware workers. Aware of the cleavage between labour struggles and the radical media activism in the context of the alterglobalisation movement since the late 1990s, they set out to build bridges between these different experiences. They carefully reflected their own position on the basis of their own biographical experiences as workers, consumers, citizens and activists in Milan:

"Many in the ChainCreW have this strange profile of having a recent union past and a present working in Milano's media industry. Living in a country where commercial TV brought a dumb tycoon to power, we well understand the persuasive power of pop culture and advertising lexicon. Our intent is clearly to advertise a new brand of labor activism and revolt, i.e. subvertise, by using language and graphix geared to people who have no prior political experience other than the wear and toil of their bodies and minds in the giant outlets. We try to do so by constant reporting of labor conflicts and corporate misdeeds in malls, franchises, and megastores around the world, but also commenting on aspects of contemporary life, art, music related to commercial spaces and chainworking in them" (S_329).

Immersed in Milan's media industry, open to trade-union as well as media activism and aware of the political power of corporate media as well as pop-culture and advertising, the chainworkers aimed to create a new type of labour movement. Their methods and the concept of precarity developed in a process of experimentation and reflection. Zoe Romano explains:

„We started in 1999, doing small actions in chain stores, to communicate which rights workers had in their workplace. Then we realized that was more than a job condition and the concept of social precarity arrived in our minds"[68]

The media activism pursued by the chainworkers collective encompassed activities in digital and urban space. Their initial "idea of using the web politically" (Int_10) led to the establishment of the precog mailing list and the webzine chainworkers.org, where they reported on labour conflicts and scandalised corporate practices regarding employment

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[68] Online Chat with Zoe Romano, 3.3.2008

relations. Both mailing list and webzine were hosted by autonomous internet service providers. As online communication follows its own logic, the mere use of these tools required the acquisition of practical skills and technical infrastructure. Thus the chainworkers, along with many other activist groups at the time, contributed to the social shaping of the new technologies (Wajkman/MacKenzie 1999). Drawing on inspiration from US-based groups combining art and activism, the Chainworkers engaged in forms of communication guerilla such as subvertising and detournement, acted out in public performances both online and offline. The practice of subvertising as developed by the US based group Adbusters combines advertising and subversion by visually distorting advertisements and thus change their affirmative meaning into a critical one. The Chainworkers extended the subvertising technique by applying it not only to denounce corporations or authorities, but also to enhance the visual presence of the Mayday parade.

Throughout their existence, the Chainworkers acted within the social centres. A formative experience for the collective was the eviction of a social centre in which they participated, which motivated additional activists to take part in the project and eventually led to the idea for the Mayday parades of the precarious (Int_10). The Chainworkers collective existed for roughly ten years. It started in 1999, and officially ended to run its webzine in 2010. Since 2008, it begun to transform into the 'Intelligence Precara' or 'San Precario Connection'. This wider network connected collectives, groups of workers and social centres in Northern Italy and, besides other activities, runs the online platform precaria.org (Johal 2010).

Hacktivism and Social Centres

Since the 1980s, an Italian underground hacktivist network had developed, emphasizing 'social hacking' as a networking practice. In the late 1990s, this gave rise to country-wide annual *Hackmeetings*, where collective information, knowledge and practical skills were shared with the objective to promote critical use of technological tools (Bazzichelli 2005, 2006:164, Nomada/Boix 2004). The wider appropriation of digital technologies and its inclusion in activist practice occurred in the cultural environment of the social centres.

In 1999, the second Italy-wide Hackmeeting was hosted at the Deposito/Bulk social centre in Milan, characterised by some activists as a "student social centre" (Int_21). The "nerds, activists, and curious passers-by" who participated in this meeting recognised their need for a permanent physical space equipped with hardware. They decided to establish the first Milan *Hacklab*, *LOA*. (Int_21, S_304). As Deposito/Bulk was evicted soon after

the Hackmeeting, the newly-founded LOA hacklab collective actively participated in the squatting, renovating, setting up and running of a new social centre called LSOA Bulk. The new location was near the cemetery monumentale, a cemetery dedicated to, as one of the LOA collective puts it, "great artists and lords of Milan. In the new social centre, the Hacklab was established as a place for the collective appropriation of digital technologies (Blicero/Papatheodorou/Prieur 2002):

"We set up a lab with machines to be hacked, free connection spaces and a classroom to hold courses which were one of our main activities for at least 2-3 years and attracted crowds of people. Nobody did linux sysadmin courses for free at the time, especially with a knack on security network and hacking" (Int_21).

As important as the physical space was a digital infrastructure to provide autonomous internet services for social movements (Bazzichelli 2006:163 ff). Consequently, people involved in the Hacklab initiative set up their own, independent web servers. Under the name Autistici/ Inventati, they established a technical infrastructure which was controlled by social movements rather than commercial providers. According to their website, this collective emerged in 2001

"(...) from the encounter of several individuals and collectives engaged in technology, privacy, digital rights and political activism. Our fundamental aim is to provide free communication tools on a wide scale, while favouring the choice of free rather than commercial ways to communicate. We wish to inform and train people about the need to protect their privacy and to escape the indiscriminate looting perpetrated by governments and corporations alike both on data and personalities" (S_185).

In 2011, despite heavy surveillance from the part of the Italian state, Autistic/Inventati continues to provide autonomous server infrastructure for a wide range of social movements.

In 2003, LOA left Deposito Bulk partly motivated by political differences, partly by a desire to "grow up" as an independent collective rather than a user of an existing social centre. This was followed by a nomadic phase without a physical Hacklab location. This was turned into an advantage, as it resulted in the establishment of numerous internet and digital media facilities in existing social centres and also established the LOA hacklab collective as an important actor in the social centre scene:

"We spent around 1 year doing workshops and activities spread all over the squats in Milan trying to become a sort of networked collective (...) [The LOA collective] happened to install, configure and establish tech places around many squats in Milan (Conchetta, Garibaldi, Torchiera, PRK251,

Circolo Anarchico Ponte della Ghisolfa, ecc ecc)" (Int_21).

The nomadic phase had two important outcomes. On one hand, it turned the LOA collective into a hub within the network of social centres, familiar with and personally known to many social center collectives. On the other hand, it added an ICT infrastructure to the network of the centri sociali. In 2004, the LOA collective made a fresh start. Under the new name *ReLOAd*, the group made two attempts to squat a place in the lively district Isola, now part of the Città della Moda, but were evicted (S_328; Int_21; Reload 2004a, ECN/Autistici/reload 2004). At the same time, the collective which run the social centre *Pergola Tribe* in the same area was dissolving. They invited ReLOAd to take over. The offer was accepted, and the place was re-opened under the name *Pergola Move*. ReLOAd aimed to involve many groups and collectives in the running of the place. As a result, for the next three years, activities in Pergola included *il Postello*, a self-managed youth hostel[69], a vegan restaurant, a very well known reggae disco and a second hand clothes shop both run by the old Pergola Tribe collective, a bookstore plus infoshop, a theatre, a DJ rehearsal studio, a fully featured web-radio, and the reLOAd *Mindcafe*, a place to hold workshop, seminars, and meetings, free internet access, and video screenings. Pergola became, according to one of the ReLOAd collective, a place where most of the Milan collectives found a safe haven to relate to each other and to build projects (Reload 2004b; Int_21.). One of these projects was the Mayday Parade and related activities. The ReLOAd collective described their social and interactive practices as well as political interventions with the term *reality hacking*. They transferred the hacker-ethics to social activism. In an interview with the BBC, Blicero explains the concept of reality-hacking:

> *"For us it meant basically dismantling stuff, reducing them to components, and trying to put them back together in a way that looked like something we liked more. We thought that this was perfectly parallel, perfectly integrated with the idea of people who were involved with social struggle (...) We felt that social struggle was about taking apart social reality and building it up again in a way that is socially more interesting, or socially more right for what we think" (Boyd 2004).*

After 7 years of activity, the reLOAd collective dissolved in 2006 (S_307). Contrary to the caricature of the rather autistic hacker, nerd or geek, the technological strand of media activism in Milan was embedded in a lively political sociability. By self-managing a social centre, it became a consituent part of this sociability. One activist describes the symbiotic

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[69] This idea stemmed from the 1998 social centre Metropolix. Il Postello still exists in 2010, but managed by different people in a different way (see website ilpostello.realityhacking.org).

relationship between hacktivists and social centres:

"Social centers where the necessary culture broth for hacktivism. Hacktivism would not have been possible without squats AND without nerds :) Nerds needed a place to discuss and to find other reasons to use technology. Squats needed someone to face the challenge of issues like copyright and digital rights from a non-institutional, libertarian perspective. It was the perfect symbiosis. Social centers offered the ideal protected environment where geeks and hacktivist could discuss without any limit to their debate, while offering at the same time a place where the outcome of the discussion could become public and socially shared. Of course also social centers profited from hacklab activities and the like. Their initiative contributed to making the social center the hype for countercultures and youth groups in all of Milan. They brought people, ideas, and energies" (Int_21).

In the Mayday project, the technical strand of media activism provided valuable ICT infrastructure, ran a social centre which catered for a wide variety of socio-cultural needs and deviced digital interventions such as the Euromayday Netparade in 2004. Many of those who organised predominantly in the hacker collectives also participated in numerous street interventions, picketed chainstores, and helped to invent the mythopoietical figure of San Precario. They engaged with precarity less on the level of an issue-based campaign, but as a social reality they experienced. Being hackers, they tried to "fix it" through practices of social hacking.

Indymedia Italy

The establishment of Indymedia Italy was a further important addition to the networked movements in Milan. Indymedia worked at the intersection between content production and appropriation of digital technologies. With its open publishing facility, it reshaped the classical model of counter-information through alternative media in a participatory manner. The Indymedia model was well suited to extend the networked activism of the social centres to the internet. Initially, Indymedia Italy was set up as a media website for the antiNATO mobilisation in Bologna in 2000. At this time, the platform was used tactically: By making it publicly known that "an international media network would cover the anti-Nato mobilisations and keep a close eye on what happens", tactical media activists used the notoriety of the Indymedia project to enhance mobilisation, without intending to establish the platform as a permanent project (Int_21). Unexpectedly, the project continued after the anti-NATO mobilisations, strongly supported by participants in the hacktivism scene. Within one weekend, the number of Indymedia volunteers raised from two to thirty. During the 2001 protests against the G8 in Genoa, Indymedia Italy became a crucial

resource for a movement that was heavily repressed by the government's police forces. During its first active phase between 2001 and 2005, Indymedia Italy was involved in most social movement activities, including the Milan Mayday Parades. For instance, at the 2003 Milan Mayday Parade, Indymedia volunteers set up a physical media centre in town, where people could upload reports during the parade (Int_21, S_311). In 2004, together with the hacklab collective, they connected the parade to digital space by setting up a wireless network covering its route. The idea was to "broadcast stuff from one section of the demo to the others" (Int_10).

This outline of media activism in the Milan social centre scene shows that in 2001, the emerging Mayday project had access to a wide range of resources. The social centre Pergola Move provided a vibrant and welcoming social space. Mailing lists and websites were hosted on autonomous servers. Calls and reports about the Mayday Parades circulated through the Indymedia Italy platform. Technical and physical infrastructure was provided by the LOA/reLOAd hacklab collective, Indymedia and Autistici/Inventati. The Chainworkers collective provided specialised counter-information on precarity, and perfected its skills in subvertising and more generally the production of imageries of precarity, supported by the debates on social hacking and reality hacking. Alternative media projects often take on the function to connect activist groups of a wider political spectrum, as many media activists tend to be involved in one or several issue-related campaigns in addition to their media activism (Carroll/Hackett 2006). The account of the Chainworkers, LOA/reLOAd and Indymedia collectives supports this hypothesis. Moreover, their practices gave shape to the concept of precarious conspiracy as a form of organising and mobilising which responded to the precarisation of work and life in the post-Fordist formation.

IV.2. The Mayday Parades as a Repertoire of Contention

The overarching strategy pursued in the construction of the Mayday repertoire of contention was the production of new imageries and narrations revolving around the theme of precarity. Every year during the preparations for the Mayday parade, the main plot connecting notions of precarity, precariat, precarisation, and precariousness was further refined (Fernandez 2005; Neilson 2005; Raunig 2007b). The first two parades presented "il precariato" as a condition of imposed misery and hardship which workers were subjected to and which needed to be defied. In the 2003 slogan "the social precariat rebels", precarity

had become a pugnacious, if tongue-in-cheek self-description. In 2004, in rejection of "the narrative of the looser", this confident self-representation was taken a step further (Int_20). A seductive Euromayday Netparade attracted 17000 participants from all over Europe. A poster in bright yellows, reds and oranges showed three smiling contortionists against the backdrop of a circle of sunbeams, evoking the rising sun of socialism widespread in the iconography of the historical labour movement. Precarity had shifted from a condition of plain misery to a double-faced condition, which contained in itself the means necessary to overcome it. This plot was made tangible by a multiplicity of mediated visualisations, narratives and enactments.

This section engages with the Euromayday repertoire of contention with a focus on forms of media activism. It offers a thick description of the second Milan mayday parade, presents practices of story-telling, visualisation and mythopoesis in public performances as forms of media activism, and examines how the Mayday parades inscribed themselves into the city of Milan by utilising the urban structure of time and space.

IV.2.1 A Mayday Parade Seen through a Photographer's Lens

From the beginning, the Milan Mayday Parade was documented online in multi-media formats. In the early years, the main online places for documentation were the websites of the Chainworkers collective, the radical trade union CUB and Indymedia Italy.[70] Since the proliferation of multimedia social network platforms such as Youtube, Flickr or Facebook, documentation has multiplied. Most reports, photos and videos of Mayday parades were intended for immediate viewing. As time passed, these documents were buried under an avalanche of new reports. After 11 Mayday parades in Milan, earlier parades retain a place in activist collective memory. In contrast, their digital presence is spread across many different websites. The arrangement of documents in digital space follows the logic of activist organising at the time rather than the concise logic of an archive for posterity. Conventional political organisations tend to create historical records, which allows them to claim a place in history. The loose network which organised the Milan Mayday parades showed little signs of such aspirations. However, the chainworkers collective took care to keep mediated documentation of the Milan Euromayday parades accessible. In their online

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[70] The CUB mayday photo archive comprises 10 images for 2001, 28 for 2002, 28 for 2003, 36 for 2004, 34 for 2005 (S_321). More extensive documentation for 2004 and 2005 is available on the website of the Lombardia Branch of CUB (Q94). As Indymedia Italy changed its technical set-up several times since 2001 due to internal processes as well as state repression, its early documentation of the Milan Mayday parades is difficult to access.

webzine, they kept an archive of Mayday documentation throughout several profound technical and aesthetic changes.[71] This archive provides a rich and well-arranged collection of para-ethnographic materials on Euromayday, which is even more valuable as it contextualises the Mayday Parades with related activist projects.

Only one click away from the start-page, the visitor finds images of the Mayday posters used between 2001 and 2006, including an introduction in English language and hyperlinks to further materials from each year (S_330). A report about the 2002 Mayday Parade links to a video and a photo gallery comprising 146 photos (S_301, S_300). Content, metadata and filenames suggest that the photos were taken by several people. This gallery provides visual evidence as to the route of the mayday parade, the participating groups, how they presented themselves, which slogans were used and not least how media formats were integrated in the event. The gallery also conveys hints as to the perspective of the participant-photographer. More importantly, the photos give access to the system of meaning underlying the Mayday project and the mediated methods used by its actors. The photos are taken from inside the walking crowd and sometimes from the back of one of the trucks. They are not arranged to provide a systematic overview of all participating vehicles, groups or slogans, but are displayed in three batches each preserving the chronological order in which the photos were taken. This arrangement preserves the spatial and temporal logic of the parade as a whole as experienced by the participant-photographers. The first photos of each batch depict the 2002 Mayday Parade at its assembly point, Porta Ticinese, a distinctive landmark which gave the name to the neighbourhood. After taking pictures of a band playing in the streets, several trucks, cyclists and other people arriving at the assembly point, s/he walks at the front as the parade starts moving, then stops and watches as vehicles, banner-carriers and musicians are passing by. After roughly a kilometre, s/he stops again to take pictures near the Hotel Ariston. The series of photos ends in the area of the Piazza del Duomo at the Milan Cathedral, another famous landmark. The photographer captures stickers and posters put on cash-points, Metro signs and walls as well as the moving parade. Thus for the viewer, clicking through this series of images evokes the impression of accompanying, through a participant's camera lens, the 2002 Mayday Parade as it flows through Milan.

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[71]   Since 1999, the chainworkers webzine was hosted by ecn.org, one of the early autonomous internet service providers in Italy catering for social movements. In 2006, it was moved to its own domain name and hosted by the autonomous ISP autistici/inventati. As of January 2010, the webzine was closed and turned into an archive (S_317).

Numerous photos show trucks decorated with giant puppets, banners, structures, very large posters and logos, for instance the dropped euro/pound/dollar sign used by the Chainworkers collective. Attached to a large truck is a smaller vehicle which carries a sound system composed of one large and several smaller speakers. One speaker is adorned with a pirate skull-and-crossbone icon, denoting peer-to-peer file sharing and the free software movement in an ironic turn of the music industry's denigration of such practices as pirating. Another truck is labelled "Brainworkers" and displays several red banners. One demands „nessun profitto sui saperi", complemented by a call to "boycot microsoft - support free software". Another one bears the slogan "Mayday: I say: give me my money!" – taking up the slogan of the previous year: „I say: Mayday! Mayday".

On a truck with a beautifully executed banner inscribed "Roma City Strikers, Intergalaktika" and "Brainworkers", we see a woman wearing a T-shirt with the Indymedia logo and a man wearing a sweatshirt with the chainworkers logo. At a later stage, this truck is populated by men wearing nothing but boxer shorts. We see some relaxed scenes on trucks - people chatting, laughing, playing music, socialising. A few smaller vehicles are part of the parade. The front of a white van is covered in two large banners. One bears the name of the then newly occupied social centre Cantiere and the inscription "contro la precarieta", the other simply says: Mayday. Probably the smallest motorised vehicle is a three-wheeler, which looks like a motorbike trying to look like a car. With eyes made of very large pipes and long feelers, it gives the appearance as if it were alive. A modified bicycle carries several barrels. A sound system is mounted on another bike. An agricultural collective brought a real agricultural tractor, followed by toy tractors causing much fun amongst participants.

The formation is loose, more like a casual walk, at times transforming into a street party rather than a rally. People chat, laugh and sing while they walk. As it flows through the narrow streets, the parade completely fills the space between house-wall and house-wall. Some people are on bicycles, some brought their small kids. A group of middle aged men with flags of the radical trade-union CUB discusses something on the street. A brass band adds life music to the techno-house beats and reggae rhythms blasting out from the sound systems. A large crossroad is blocked, as a band with a large drum and a violinist give an ad-hoc concert. Some photos inadvertently show people taking pictures with small cameras. Men and women from the Kurdish left carry a banner denouncing the post 9/11 war on terrorism and its impact on any Muslim community: "Kurdi non sono terroristi".

Migrants carry a street-wide banner: "Siamo migranti non criminali". Some pictures show street theatre scenes. A giant mobile phone mounted on a shopping trolley is pulled by people who are chained to it. It announces "fuori sevizio" - out of service. Large scissors are carried along, symbolising government cuts in the education system. Bodies become notice boards for more or less explicit commentary. A white man with a camera wears rabbit ears stuck to his head – a reference to the rabbit of precarity which appears in many later Euromayday parades? A black man with a mohawk hair-do wears a T-shirt bearing the US flag and the signature "Terrorist no 1" - another reference to 9/11. A woman carries a simple cardboard saying nothing but: „Freelance". One group has dressed up in orange overalls. As it passes, the demo leaves traces on the walls, billboards, signposts, and all kinds of city furniture. A4 sheets bearing slogans like "net not work" or "life is short don't work", some signed by Indymedia Bologna, adorn cash points, metro-signs, and walls. Cash points are completely covered in stickers. One of them is turned into an advertisement against itself: A large banner exclaiming „reclaim money!" is affixed across the top length of the cash point niche.

The participant-photographers constructed their own perception of a carefully staged event, and someone from the chainworkers collective arranged the images in a photo gallery. Thus a digital, visual representation of the parade was created. This representation was crafted to convey a particular interpretation of the 2002 Mayday Parade. The Mayday Parade is represented as a relaxed, festive event. Only two of the photos depict lines of police in riot gear. Not even one year earlier, during the protests against the G8 summit in Genoa, the Italian police had violently attacked protesters, injuring many and killing one. Notwithstanding the actual police presence on the day, the creators of the gallery avoided an invocation of the dramatic events at the Genoa protests. However, the inclusion of the two photos with riot police signals that despite its cheerful character, the Mayday parade was devised to express a conflict with the dominant order, and that the Italian government was well aware of it. The gallery shows that Mayday in its characteristic form of a politicised street parade was already established in 2002. The Mayday parades visualised, narrated and embodied the concept of precarity through a variety of media formats. Every year, a poster was produced along with small media formats like cards or stickers. The story of precarity was actualised in themed vehicles, performance, giant puppets, street theatre, games, body sculpture, and graffiti. Slogans, symbols and icons appeared on printed materials, websites and web-banners, T-shirts, and banners. En route, they were

applied to sign-posts, cash-points, cars, buildings, billboards, waste-bins or the street itself. Interaction amongst participants was enhanced in activities like dancing, video-interviewing, playing collection games, and applying signs to the surface of the city. The imageries developed for Mayday transgressed the set time of the parade, as they were also put to use in pickets, interventions and actions as well as in catchy radio jingles, video trailers and alternative publications.

IV.2.2 Public Performance as Media Activism

Conventional understandings of media activism centred around the notion of counter-information provided by social movements through the production and dissemination of alternative media. Alternative media comprise a wide range of formats from micro-media such as flyers and leaflets to free radio stations and alternative video productions, and, most importantly, journals and magazines. The increase of interactive online media led to a proliferation of new formats such as weblogs, public picture galleries and video clips as well as social network platforms. The alterglobalisation movement accounted for this change by using terms like polymedia or omnimedia. Media activism came to signify not only the production and dissemination of alternative media, but also the provision of technical infrastructure such as servers, applications and content management systems. Through the media practices of the Chainworkers collective, the Mayday project further expanded the notion of media activism. The staging of visually compelling and sensually tangible public performances as seen in the mass mobilisations of the alterglobalisation movement was linked to media activism. The practice of subvertising was embedded into interventions and performances in urban space. Thus the Mayday parades themselves were regarded as a social medium. Not only the performance itself, but also the translation of narratives and concepts into catching graphics were seen as practices of media activism. In the Mayday process, media activism came to encompass the entire range of practices involved in the production of imageries of precarity.

His demeanor suggested that enunciating these words in the context of the parade amounted to a performative speech act, which signalled that the speaker considered him- or herself part of the 'precarious conspiracy'. Several elements from popular culture were re-coded in the precarity frame. The loneliness of the first human being in outer space relates to the 'loneliness of the city', the desire for sociability. Enunciated by the cosmonaut, the words "Mayday! Mayday!" refer to the internal shipping emergency call.

Here, Mayday is an anglised spelling for the French sentence "m'aidez", help me. At the same time, in the context of the Mayday mobilisation, the expression retained strong connotations to the industrial labour movement. Finally, the speech in first person singular ("I say: Mayday! Mayday") highlights the movements' emphasis on subjectivation processes as precarious singularities who act together without being forged into one overarching, unified identity. Previously unconnected signs and symbols acquired new meanings through contextualisation with the issue of precarity. The detourned sign invited to take pleasure in a playful and humorous approach to a serious issue. In ensuing years, the slogan became very popular not only in Milan, but also in other Mayday cities.

Figures of Precarity: San Precario, Serpica Naro and the Imbattibili

In 2004 and 2005, three sets of imageries of precarity were developed which continued to appear in the trans-urban Euromayday parades (Chainworkers 2006; Vanni 2006; Mattoni 2008b). The first figure was San Precario, the patron saint of precarious people. Like any proper catholic saint, San Precario comes with a wide range of accessories: a variety of statues to take to processions, a hagiography, a prayer card and a prayer, a field of expertise and a devoted congregation (Tari/Vanni 2005). San Precario often appeared in pickets at chainstores and supermarkets. In his first appearance at a coop supermarket in Milan on 29th of February 2004, he performed a miracle: A 20% discount on shopping. However, the actual miracle was not the price reduction. Using the powers of prayer, image and performance, San Precario turned a place designed for consumption into a place of communication amongst his devoted congregation, customers and workers.

The invasion of a supermarket resonates with the tactics of proletarian expropriation or autoriduzione practiced by the Italian movements of the 1970s. In fact, on the occasion of a large demonstration for basic income in Rome in November 2004, appearances of San Precario in a Berlusconi-owned supermarket and the large bookstore Feltrinelli turned into a classical expropriation of goods leading to 40 trials for robbery and condemnation of "inheritors of 1977" in the mass media (Hydrarchist 2005).[72] It also led to a serious conflict between different strands of the cult of San Precario, which exploded at the Mayday Parade 2005. According to the exegesis of the Chainworkers, San Precario does not advise a revival of the 1977s tactics of mass-expropriation. Rather, he encourages his

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[72] This event inspired the team from guerrigliamarketing.it to (self?-)ironically re-brand the action as a marketing service for chainstores, "granting high visibility and media attention to your brand/shop nationwide" (S_181).

congregation to appropriate shopping malls and supermarkets as a public space for socialising and communicating. This has not least tactical reasons. As one of the devotees explains: "We did not want to lose time on trials against us ust because we took some useless goods from the supermarket". This conflict shows that San Precario is not the logo of a unified organisation, but rather an embodiment and tactic of the extended precarious conspiracy, a floating signifier which does not belong to one particular group, but can be made to signify a wide range of activities relating to precarity. San Precario invokes audiences beyond the social centre scene, but his powers are not restricted to mobilisation. He also strengthens the formation of the precarious subject from within, inviting ever new narrations and visualisations.

The second figure was Serpica Naro, an invented fashion designer who caused controversy at the Milan fashion week. In an elaborate fake action supported by professionally crafted PR materials, Serpica Naro held a fashion show. Her product line of fashion "allegorically expressed the needs and the paradox of precarity through clothes".[73] Serpica Naro continues to exist as a process where young fashion makers experiment with ways to produce clothes in a mode similar to the production of free software (S_310).

The third figure was a set of "Imbattibili", or Unbeatables, visualised as comic figures. They transformed their strategies to survive in precarious everyday life into superpowers. Each figure was invented by a different group and expressed how their practices were part of the precarious conspiracy. The imageries were disseminated on a website together with hyperlinks to the repective groups. Most importantly, they appeared on the Milan Euromayday parade 2005, printed on small stickers to be assembled in a collection album. One of the remits for this format was to prevent the fluid, open and communicative setting of the Mayday parade from freezing into the solid block structure known from traditional demonstrations (S_305, Int_5, Int_20). As the individual collection cards were distributed from different trucks, participants were gently forced to move along the parade and swap cards with other participants to complete their collections (Hamm/Adolphs 2009; Adolphs/Hamm 2008).

In each of these figures of precarity, media were used to create situations which encouraged interaction and reflection. The Chainworkers conceptualised the media they produced as 'media sociali'". With this term, they emphasize the sociability-producing qualities of media:

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[73] Email correspondence with Zoe Romano, 21.11.2010, see also the project website www.serpicanaro.org.

"Mayday is a 'social media' and for this represents a way to put and put oneself in relation, cooperate and conspire. It's a communication tool that enables social subjects to represent and participate relations, unwilling to be victim of the reproduction of the goods. Its result goes beyond any definition and constantly exceeds itself. And really it's a network of individualities more than political organisations that has created the parade, each with his own story, with his own load of desires, passions and demands" (Chainworkers 2006).

The concept of media sociali evolves from the assumption that communication constitutes a strategic field of conflict. It is not to be confused with "social media" as it is used in the marketing and business literature. In these contexts, the term is defined as "internet-based applications that build on the ideological and technological foundations of Web 2.0, and that allow the creation and exchange of user-generated content" (Kaplan/ Haenlein 2010). In contrast, the chainworkers emphasised the social productivity of media both online and in the material world. Interaction and sociability generated by media sociali are precisely not adaptable to commercial purposes. While social media invite participants to put their own subjectivities into interaction with the concept of precarity, this process is situated outside commercial value production. A flyer about the Serpica Naro project states:

"Social Media is a form of Communication which is born from the participation of the precarious workers (...) It is capable of representing them and simultaneously building a form of conspiracy which cannot be summed up and re-elaborated by the instruments of neo-liberalist production" (S_184).

Creating New Imageries as a Political Strategy

The overarching strategy pursued by the Mayday project in Milan was the production of new imageries revolving around the theme of precarity. In literary criticism, imageries are seen as a systems of meanings expressed in a visual, figurative, metaphorical and sensory language. Composed of sets of images, imageries are products of imagination. They evoke mental images and experiences of sensation and emotion. The notion of imagery resounds with the notion of imaginary. In everyday use, the imaginary is seen as something which lacks factual reality. Since Lacanian psycho-analysis, the word imaginary is has acquired a more complex meaning. It is seen as an important element not only in individual psychological processes, but also in the constitution of social reality. Cultural anthropologists explore imagination and the imaginary as an interplay between emotion and rationality, desire, the symbolic order, and the real (Appaduraj 1996; Marcus 1995). As contemporary worlds can no longer be explained by traditional concepts, social actors

are "trying to understand the present by borrowing from a cautiously imagined emergent future, filled with volatility, and uncertainty" (Marcus 1995a:4). The imaginary is usually tied to the system of meanings that regulates the social. In the framework of communication guerilla, this system of meaning is taken as a site for political interventions using the notion of "cultural grammar" (Autonome a.f.r.i.k.a gruppe 1997: 17-29). Cultural grammar is an expression of power-relations. Although it produces and reproduces these power relations, the cultural grammar is not fixed. It continuously evolves as the fabric of society change. This changeability makes it a site for political interventions. Communication guerilla is presented as a tactical cultural politics set to intervene into the cultural grammar of a specific setting. It targets existing power relations by undermining the system of meanings which reproduces the legitimacy of the hegemonic order. In their production of imageries, the Mayday actors acted upon the cultural grammar from two different angles. On one hand, they used tactics of communication guerilla to insert their claims into the existing hegemonic order. On the other hand, their media practices fed into an emergent social imagination which constituted the precarious as a particular social subject capable of collective action. Imageries of precarity included the notion of precarious conspiracy grounded in digital and urban networking practices, pervasive figures like San Precario, and interventionist public performances which gave credibility and performativity to the emergent movement and its imageries. The Mayday parades articulated these different elements.

Storytelling and Mythopoeisis

Story-telling is considered as an important component of social movement cultures (Polletta 2009:33). In the Mayday project, story-telling in textual and audiovisual formats became an integral part of a cultural politics grounded in media activism. In networked movements, mediated story-telling extends into a system of signification as a constituent element in the production of political subjectivities and communities (Tarì/Vanni 2005). Wu Ming 1, part of a collective of Italian activist writers and cultural analysts, outlines a moulding of narrative practice particular to the Italian laboratory which he calls radical *mythopoesis*:

> "Italy's always been an exciting laboratory. For many historical and social reasons, the Italian
> social movements were able to emerge as multitudes of people describing themselves by an endless,
> lively flow of tales, using those tales as weapons in order to impose a new imagery from the
> grassroots. When we talk about "myths", we mean stories that are tangible, made of flesh, blood and

shit. As we tried to explain several times to people who live in other countries, mythopoesis is what enriches the Italian movements" (Wu Ming 2003).

In the preparation and enactment of the Milan Mayday Parades, the practice of mythopoesis is eminent. In addition to the provision of technical infrastructure and the production and dissemination of information, Mayday media activism involved creative, self-reflexive storytelling. In a variety of playful, thought-inspiring forms, media were used as instruments for collective storytelling and the creation of new imageries of precarity (Vanni 2007). Narrativity was thus embedded in the sociability of the Mayday Parades. In turn, it helped to enhance their social, interactive character. The Mayday parade was conceptualised not only as a demonstration, but as a space where a new sociability of the precarious could be imagined and be made productive. The Mayday parades were a way to implement the idea of the city as the new place of production – not only the production of value through immaterial goods in the service and cultural sector, but also the production of new radical subjectivities or, in the words of the chainworkers, the "precarious conspiracy" (Chainworkers 2006).

IV.3.   "Mayday Was The City and the City Was Mayday"

In Milan more than in other cities, the Mayday of the precarious inscribed itself into urban time-space. In the fourth year, the laid-back music cortege which started in the alternative neighbourhood of Porta Ticinese in the afternoon had superseded the traditional mayday march in the centre in the morning. Choice of timing and route was one of the means by which the city's time-space became perception media to claim the city as a canvas to represent precarious experiences. While the choice of the first of May marked proximity to the traditional labour movement, location and timing conveyed a difference to the official trade union march as well as most other demonstrations in Milan.

IV.3.1 Porta Ticinese – a Neighbourhood as Medium

In an interview, a former member of the chainworkers collective recalled how the proposal to begin the Mayday Parade in Porta Ticinese and to hold it in the afternoon was met with irritation during initial negotiations with a secretary of the radical trade union CUB:

„So we said: you put the money, we organise it. We told them: 'It's gonna be a music parade, we wanna do trucks, we wanna do it in the afternoon!' I mean, all this was - in the afternoon… (Quotes trade union secretary:) 'Oh, but it's in the morning!' And we said: 'We're gonna leave from Porta

Ticinese!' (Quotes trade union secretary:) 'No, nobody has ever done a demonstration from there!'
(Quotes himself:) 'That's why we want to do it!' (...) Because usually, demonstrations leave from a
place called Porta Venezia and they go to Duomo. Ours was very different, it would leave from, like,
a traditional alternative neighbourhood in Milan, Porta Ticinese, where it's always started, and it
would end at the castle. So, completely, nobody really, there were, it was, I mean, it's stupid, but just
to say it was also that which was different" (Int_10).

Although the significance of the choice of place is evident to the interviewee, he finds it difficult to convey this to the researchers who are unfamiliar with the city of Milan. When prompted for the history of Porta Ticinese, he continues:

"Ok, Porta Ticinese. Porta Ticinese basically was the neighbourhood where all the canals – Milano
before was like Amsterdam, before Fascism. It was, all the canals would get there. It was the port.
As such it has always attracted – Porta Cicca[74], it is called in dialect. It always attracted, you know,
thrifters, low-lives, scum, stuff like that, anarchists. So, Ticinese. Now it's being gentrified. Since the
80s or so, it's been gentrified. But still, I mean, there is the squats, I mean, the punks with their shop,
you know, the first punk shops were there (...), young people go there" (Int_10).

Porta Ticinese is a neighbourhood on the edge of the city centre in the former port area of Milan. Its narrow streets and the old system of canals give the neighbourhood a picturesque appearance. Although a gentrification process set in since the late 1980s, Porta Ticinese maintained a village-like structure. As many migrants settled in the area, its population is mixed above average. It was also a preferred place for militants from the 1970s movement. Today, travel-guides advise a shopping trip to Porta Ticinese for its combination of subcultural flair, boho-chic and chain stores. Many of the small, trendy shops grew out of the alternative economy of the social centres, or are created by a population of artists, architects and students. The neighbourhood retained a reputation as tolerant and politically active (Smagacz 2008). Despite several evictions, social centres and squatted houses continue to exist in the area.[75]

Starting a protest event at Porta Ticinese highlighted a particular relationship to the city. Most demonstrations set out from the Eastern city gate Porta Venezia, proceed towards the power centre of Milan along the representative Corso di Venezia, and finally arrive at the

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[74] Milan-based journalist Massimiliano Priore offers several etymologic explanations for this popular name. One meaning of cicca in popular dialect is cigarette end. Thus the name would refer to the „catamoeucc" who collected cigarette or cigar ends to fabricate new ones. Cica can refer to drunkenness, a reference to the high density of drinking places in the area. The same word can stand for nothing, referring to the poverty of the inhabitants of the neighbourhood. Finally, cicca can be understood in relation to the word cica, derived from the Spanish word for girl, chica, and meaning prostitute (Q 134)

[75] In June 2010, two social centres exist in the area: Cox 18 in Via Conchetta 18, and the now evicted Laboratorio Zero. Additionally many squatted houses can be found in via Gola / via Pichi (Int_21).

Duomo, the Cathedral. The Mayday Parade starts out at the Southern gate Porta Ticinese, proceeds through a previously abandoned, now gentrified neighbourhood with a radical tradition and ends at the castle, a reminder of numerous insurrections against foreign domination and feudal rulers which was eventually transformed into a prestigious art centre and handed over to the Milanese people. Thus the claim to the city symbolically started from a historical home-turf of "thrifters", "low-lives", sex-workers, migrants and not least social movements. Presently, this neighbourhood is also inhabited by young creative and cultural workers, a population tuned in with contemporary subcultures and particularly affected by precarity. By linking the parade to this neighbourhood, the participants presented themselves as legitimate inhabitants of the city rather than mere guests in the prestigious and representative centre.

IV.3.2 Euromayday 2005: Europe's Funkiest Conspiracy

In 2005, the Chainworkers collective and the media group Radiohacktive published a report about the hitherto largest Euromayday parade in English language. Titled "Europe's Funkiest Conspiracy", it highlights the multiscalar horizon of the parade, which included both the tangible urban geography of Milan and trans-urban character of the Mayday project. This report is one of the rare documents which outline the relationship between Mayday and the city not only in abstract terms, but by naming places, landmarks and timings. In a language almost inebriated by unexpected success, the text evokes a moment in time when the Euromayday parade was not anymore restricted to a vivid, but limited alternative political scene: "Mayday was the city and the city was Mayday". At the same time, it situates the locality of Milan on a wider map of social movements across Europe. The remarkable presence of this particular Euromayday parade in the urban fabric of Milan is not only signified by the large and varied participation. Numerous references are consciously put into interaction with urban time-space. These references are not spelled out in detail. A local audience would understand them without further explanation. For the researcher, they allow reconstructing the context of the event and the techniques employed in its construction. Taken as a para-ethnographic source, a contextualisation of this sequence allows a rapprochement to a thick description of Milan as a terrain of the emerging precarity movement.

> "In Milano, the mayday has transcended the boundaries of a movement event and has become an urban tradition belonging to the people of the city rather than to the San Precario and Serpica Naro activists that have made it grow in countless actions, pickets, hoaxes. It has seen the participation of

an incredible multitude of the many, many people. Notwithstanding despicable intra-movement tensions before and after the parade, it was a great and significant occasion that saw almost 120.000 people filling the streets in the center of the city. Everybody not rich enough to leave the city was there - the Piccolo and Scala theatre workers, activists all kinds and stripes, moms, kids, vegans (delivering free food in giant quantities), gender and post-gender warriors, flexers, temps, "migrants" , neglected precarious laborers, bookshop workers, social angels, dancers, researchers, musicians, from all over Italy. Starting with the migrant action day of the second of April, to the morning of the first of may, when a "Mayday, Mayday" banner appeared on the top of the of Scala theatre, Mayday was the city and the city was Mayday, through the radiowaves and brainwaves (there were various transmissions and actions and communications going on), across Europe."(S_306)

The sequence sets the Euromayday parade explicitly in the urban architecture: Participants "filled the streets in the centre of the city". Numerous online photos and videos of the Milan Euromayday parades illustrate that this was not just a figure of speech – the stream of the parade literally filled the streets from one side to the other. Over the years, many of the photographers included images depicting landmarks in their online galleries.

Setting Times, Using Space

The text sequence inscribes the Mayday parade in the everyday calendar of the city's inhabitants. In Italy, the first of May is a public holiday, preceded by Liberation Day on April 25th. The sentence "everybody not rich enough to leave the city was there" refers to the widespread practice of Italian employees to take advantage of the proximity of these two public holidays for a break. Nevertheless, many chain stores in the centre of Milan are open for business on the first of May. This provoked Mayday activists to hold numerous stage-acted pickets, combined with video interviews of shoppers. As a result, by 2010, most shops in the centre of Milan are respecting the public holiday. This popular organisation of time is embedded in a time frame established by the movement itself, not unlike the start of a medieval carnival is marked by the public handing over of the city keys to the king of fools (Scribner 1987). The beginning of the Mayday time is marked by participation in the transnational *Action Day for Freedom of Movement and the Right to Stay* on April 2nd (S_53, S_54), and the first of May is greeted with a late-evening banner drop. Thenceforth, the streets belong to the Mayday Parade.

It is worth taking a closer look at the banner drop. On April 30th, an author nicknamed "Teatrix" reported on Indymedia Italy that a Mayday banner had appeared on top of the

Scala theatre (S_326). This famous opera house was a highly symbolic landmark and an important source of civic pride. Precisely for these qualities, it had raised the fury of previous generations of activists (Ruggiero 2001:111). In previous months, artists and workers at the Scala Theatre went on strike for an improvement of their precarious working conditions and eventually caused the resignation of the Scala's renowned music director.[76] In addition to the Scala workers, the workers of another iconic theatre joined the parade: The publicly funded Piccolo Teatro, founded after World War II in an ex-workingmen's club and site of the debut of Dario Fo's theatre company. The inclusion of theatre workers, their labour struggles and their highly symbolic workplaces in the text points to an important conceptual element in the Euromayday project: The factory as the place of antagonism between capital and labour is superseded by the metropolis as the new space of production. Thus the city is identified "as the territory to be subverted and reorganised by the new antagonistic forces" (Exposito 2004). These forces are not confined to industrial action.

Symbolising Euromayday as a Multi-Scalar Convergence

Although the report presents a selection of highly localised signifiers, it does not confine the Milan Euromayday parade to the local level. One of the stated aims of the Mayday Parades was "to bring the spirit of Seattle-Genoa to post-industrial workplaces". The selected passage includes three dimensions of transnational networking: A transnational protest event, a shared discourse and digital technologies. The migrant action day mentioned above establishes a connection to the transnational movement networks which created social forums, mass protests against institutions of global governance and other spaces for a critique of neoliberalism. The transnational protest "for freedom of movement and the right to stay" was held simultaneously in 38 cities in 11 countries (S_56, S_57, S_182). Migrant action day was held four times since 2004. It grew out of the European noborder network which since the late 1990s campaigned in a plurality of local, national and transnational protest formats against the European border regime. The spatially distributed format physically localised the claim to open borders on the European map. In Milan, Migrant action day and Mayday mutually enriched each other, both adding to the inscription of radical culture in urban time-space.

The physical co-presence of participants in 19 Euromayday parades was enhanced by "radiowaves and brainwaves (…) across Europe". The term brainwaves points to a shared,

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[76] New York Times, 3.4.2005. Online: http://www.nytimes.com/2005/04/03/arts/music/03resign.html

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trans-European discourse embodied by projects, conferences, friendships, workshops and not least protest events. The term radiowaves refers to communication flows facilitated by digital technologies. In 2005, alternative radio stations in several countries collected and transmitted multilingual reports from the Euromayday parades in real time. In Milan and elsewhere, calls, posters and other mobilisation materials were uploaded on websites of local groups and hyperlinked from the Euromayday web-portal. During and after the event, reports about the parades in textual and audiovisual formats were uploaded on websites as well as commercial and non-commercial online platforms. The narration and mediatisation of the trans-urban Euromayday parade did not occur as a representation separate from the event, but helped to construct it as a tangible experience. Additionally, participants in the parade included a considerable number of guests from abroad, who took inspiration with them on their return.

Through the contextualisation of this activist report about the Milan Mayday Parade 2005 it was demonstrated how Mayday activists claimed the city for themselves by skilfully interacting with symbolic meanings and collective memory attached to its architecture. The Milanese Mayday Parade is inscribed in a situated political culture. As an annual event, it contributes to the ongoing reproduction of an alternative, oppositional space which traverses the city and generates collective symbolic capital for participants. The imagined space of the parade was extended beyond the city of Milan through transnational communication of ideas, images and concepts. This Europe-wide communicative space was enhanced and partially created by the use of digital technologies. By marking, mapping and structuring urban time-space by means of an annual protest event, the Milan Mayday activists carved out a platform where precarious experiences were voiced and represented. More than this, the Mayday Parades themselves increasingly became an occasion to mould these experiences in the subjective perception of its participants. To produce political subjectivities related to precarity, Milanese activists drew on a specific combination of concepts and practices relating to the urban structure of the city, its political traditions and a collective memory of local radical politics.

IV.4.   Media Practices in Urban Space

The Euromayday parades operated as an interpellation directed at and received by a wide range of mostly, but not exclusively young people (S_318). They were part of an

experimental process amongst activists in Milan, who drew on everyday experience as workers and activists, intimate local knowledge, forms of sociability and radical collective memory to device a new way to raise social conflict and create a new social imagination. The Mayday parades gave rise to the production and representation of new political subjectivities intent to act together. Reflexive, participatory media practices encompassing the dimensions of perception, semiotic meaning-making and technical transmission were used to challenge precarious conditions of life and work. Turning against precarisation of work and life, Euromayday acted from inside the very condition it challenged. Post-Fordist production requires a labour force skilled in the production of imageries and concepts as well as their mediatisation. The actors who developed the concept of the Mayday Parades of the precarious were part of this labour force. They developed methods which were to become the foundation for the wider trans-urban Euromayday project. The exclamation "the precarious are rebelling!" became performative.

My analysis shows that the concept of the Mayday parade as a public assembly of precarious people was carefully aligned with the wider cultural setting in the city of Milan from which it emerged. Meaning was produced through reformulation of existing cultural patterns. The search for a powerful protest format fed into a meticulous analysis of the socio-economic situation in Milan as a global city with a focus on precarisation. The cultural forms from where this analysis developed were specific to Milan as a global city in Italy, with a predominantly catholic population and a very particular political tradition embodied in a dense infrastructure of self-managed social centres. Particular to this political tradition was a focus on self-managed, non-commercial forms of sociability, an awareness of the importance of production relations and activists' position within them, and a long-standing affinity to alternative media. This cultural setting gave rise to the Mayday parades of the precarious as a protest format. Cast in compelling narratives and catchy imageries, the story of the precarious subject as a cornerstone of neo-liberal wealth production was worked through in multiple media formats and began to circulate beyond the cultural context from where it emerged. The social analysis packed into this story applied not only to Milan, global cities or the Italian situation. It could be applied to urban settings as varied as the small University town of Tübingen in a high-tech region of Germany, Malaga at the Costa del Sol with an economy based on tourism and agriculture, the trendy metropolitan area of Barcelona, the old central European city Vienna, several capitals from Helsinki to Lisbon and Geneva and Brussels as seats of European

governance. Thus although the protest format of the Euromayday parades was initially devised to suit the needs of activists in a particular situation, it could be translated to other cultural settings. However, its success was not an automatism. Only where the Euromayday parades were carefully adapted to their respective urban environments, political cultures and activist subjectivities, they unfolded their critical potential. Their performativity had to be re-established in every new setting. The next chapter offers an analysis of London as a global city where the Euromayday parade as a protest format did not catch on.

V.   Euromayday London – Activist Subjectivities and the Cultural Translation of a Protest Format

London was one of the cities where local activists tentatively adopted Euromayday into their action repertoire, and subsequently abandoned it after a brief period of experimentation. This may surprise insofar as the situation in London in many ways resembles the situation in Milan, where the protest format of the Euromayday parades and, more generally, the idea to organise around the concept of precarisation of work and life was hatched and successfully continued over more than a decade. Like Milan, London is a global city with a predominance of precarious labour, a strong media and communications industry and a considerable presence of migrants. Both cities underwent major economic restructuring, deindustrialisaion and neo-liberalisation since the 1970s. Both cities have an active political scene connected to the AGM, where many activists live – voluntarily or not – in precarious realities. Both scenes disposed of their own ICT infrastructure, included highly skilled media activists, had experience with the tactic of subvertising and an affinity to party-like street protests. Finally, in both cities, the movement scenes affiliated to the AGM and engaging with Euromayday attracted much unwanted police attention around the turn of the century. In Milan, the AGM became a focus for the authorities after the 2001 G8 protests in Genoa, where the police brutally attacked hundreds of activists and killed one demonstrator. In London, surveillance and policing increased considerably after the Carnival against Capital in 1999 and throughout the alternative Mayday events related to the AGM between 2000 and 2003. These similarities suggest that neither structural conditions nor resources available to social movement actors fully explain the diffusion of social movements across multiple localities. This questions concerning the methods and practices by which the Euromayday project was 'translated' to local realities prevalent in London in the process of diffusion, and the intricacies and limitations actors encountered in their translation efforts.

This case study is about the experimentation with the protest format of the Euromayday

parade in London. Seeking to understand why the circulation of Euromayday as a trans-urban movement of the precarious came to a halt in some cities, it explores the relationship between trans-urban / transnational movement networks and local settings. It seeks to explain why Euromayday as an action repertoire and the precarity frame as an organising device did not take hold in London. It has been noted that new information and communication technologies enable resource-poor actors to engage in "local politics with global span" (Sassen 2006). This case study shows how the possibility to connect local politics to transnational movement initiatives can be constrained by specific local situations resting not only in structural conditions and ressources available, but also in culturally enacted meanings.

First, the economic and employments structure of London is assessed with regard to precarious conditions especially in the area of employment. Second, the 2005 Euromayday action in London is taken as a starting point to analyse the experimental implementation of the Euromayday repertoire and its abandonment as a permanent campaign. Particular attention is given to local actors and their efforts to culturally translate the Euromayday format to the situation in London. Their media practices are interpreted as attempts to establish themselves as a credible collective speaker able to engage in performative speech acts. However, an analysis of the public performances and the tactical use of media practices alone do not fully explain why Euromayday or, broader, 'the precarious' could not be established as a performative speaker in London. Thus the third part of this case study turns to the radical collective memory prevalent in the London activist scene. I argue that a precondition for the adoption of new action repertoires or networked campaigns in a specific location is a careful alignment with cultural patterns enacted in the collective memory of the adopting network. Points of alignment as well as its limits will be explored through the theoretical framework of the ritual process. I juxtapose the 'structural subjectivation' offered by the Euromayday project with the "anti-structural" subjectivation inscribed in the collective memory of the London-based direct action movement.

Complemented by interviews and ethnographic conversations with actors, my analysis of the 2005 London Euromayday event and the radical collective memory of the direct-action scene is based on para-ethnographic sources. These include printed articles where actors reflected on their activities, and discussions on the online open-publishing alternative news platform *Indymedia UK* which is a particularly rich para-ethnographic source.

The Indymedia platform was first launched in 1999 at the protests against the WTO in

Seattle. Its immediate purpose was to counter mass-media (mis-)representations of these protests by facilitating immediate and collective online reporting about events on the streets. From the beginning, reporting on Indymedia exceeded the dissemination of counter-information. Reporting was enacted as a reflexive media practice, where a multitude of individual actors reflected upon the movements and actions they were involved in. Indymedia encourages subjective, situated reports about protests, interventions and actions. The mission statement of the first Indymedia website stated: "Indymedia is a democratic media outlet for the creation of radical, accurate, and passionate tellings of truth". This passage was adopted by many of the collectives who set up Indymedia websites in subsequent years. In the UK, this was specified by the sentence "Indymedia UK clearly states its subjectivity". Such programmatic statements where put into practice by participants of numerous protest events. The voices displayed in multi-mediated reports on Indymedia websites all over the world convey a caleidoscopic, pluri-vocal, reflexive self-representation created by participants of the respective events.

Launched for the Guerilla Guardening action on Mayday 2000 (S_191), Indymedia UK quickly developed into the main cross-movement online platform where actors reported what the Indymedia UK mission statement describes as "the truth from the streets". This included not only immediate reporting about actions, interventions, demonstrations and other public performances as they occurred, but also commemorative and evaluative articles about past actions. Many articles are extensively discussed by a wider audience in the comments section of each article. These comments constitute a particular genre of mediated expression. As with other websites and weblogs, comments on Indymedia are rarely carefully crafted statements. Rather, they must be seen as quick remarks, more akin to a spoken side-remark rather than a written elaboration. They are mostly posted anonymously and often expressed in more aggressive form than they would be in face-to-face encounter. In their immediacy, these comments convey a vivid impression of the conflictuous processes of movement evaluation and collective memory.

Indymedia UK is used to reflect about movement politics both in proximity to specific events and retrospectively. It is a place where movement culture, activist subjectivities and radical collective memory are not only represented, but also produced. Indymedia UK thus provides a record of performative, reflexive media pratices. It allows tracing political subjectivities in the making. To grasp the limitations of the Euromayday protest repertoire in the cultural setting of the London direct action scene, I drew on participants' reports on the

Euromayday action in London 2005, and several commemorative articles about past actions and protest events.

As an illustration of Indymedia reporting as a reflexive media practice, I offer a collage assembled from the language-based reports about the London 2005 Euromayday action in the format of a theatre play (see appendix).[77]. This format contains multiple voices, locations and actors involved in a narrative framework. The chronological arrangement of scenes follows the way activist photographers / participants grouped their images on the Indymedia UK website. This collage highlights the teichoskopic qualities of the plurivocal multi-mediated reporting of protest events, which allows preserving the unity of place in a multi-scalar action space.

V.1. Precarious Conditions in London

Statistics provided by the Greater London Authority and the National Office for Statistics give in their own way an impression of precarious conditions of working and living in London. With a resident population of 7.517.700 in 2005 Greater London, London is the most populous city and metropolitan area of the European Union (ONS 2007:5). London has a large transient population from abroad including European countries (DMAG 2006; ONS 2007:22)[78]. Compared to other UK cities, Londoners are remarkably young: 36,6% of inhabitants in Greater London and 41,8% in central London are aged between 25 and 44 years. 27% of Londoners are born outside the UK (ONS 2007:15, table 1.12). In 2004, 30% of the resident population with and without British citizenship was non-white, the largest groups being Asian, Black African, Black Caribbean (ONS 2007:12). An increasing concentration of immigrants and 'ethnic' populations was counted in central London boroughs such as Brent, Newham, Tower Hamlet and Hackney, pointing to a high degree of spatial segregation and heavy concentration. Urban sociologist Saskia Sassen translated

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[77] This collage is intended as a reconstruction of the 2005 London Euromayday action in a format that would preserve the plurivocality of the Indymedia mode of collective reporting. Several attempts to recount the events of the day in one single narrative failed, as I kept switching between representing the event itself and representing the mediated reports I drew on. The teichoskopic format allowed introducing the various scenes of the event, the actors and their media practices. I constructed a stage where the plot of the event including its various sceneries and the act of protesting was present as well as the act of narrating the event. In drama theory, maintaining the unity of place when events unfold in different locations is considered a main problem. Teichoscopy, the view from a wall, is a dramaturgic technique to solve this problem. The dramaturgic technique of teichoscopy provides a format to tackle aspects of the spacio-temporal formation of social movements through media practices.

[78] Based on the 2001 census, the Data Management and Analysis Group found that 510.000 people from European countries lived in London. The Office for National statistics detailed for 2004 an inflow of 155.000 and an outflow of 260.000 international people (ONS 2007:22, table 1.17).

such bare figures into a tableau of a changing urban landscape in what she calls "global cities", including London (Sassen 2006:156). As a major global city in the world's economic system, London is a key location and marketplace for the leading industries of the current period: finance, insurance, producer services (Sassen 2006:7). With a concentration of high revenue multinational corporations (Sassen 2006:70) and publicly listed financial companies (Sassen 2006:89), it accounts for a disproportionate share of all financial activity (Sassen 2006:133).

The development of London's economic structure, its increasing polarisation, and the transformation of its employment distribution since the 1960s is paradigmatic for the shift from manual to immaterial labour in western countries. Since the 1980s, London saw "an increase in part-time, casual, and sweated labour in construction, clothing, catering, retailing, tourism, cleaning, and even printing" (2001:300). Once an important centre for light manufacturing, it lost 47% of its manufacturing jobs between 1971 and 1989. In absolute figures, 800.000 manufacturing jobs were lost between 1960 and 1985. At this time, employment in finance, insurance and producer services overtook that in manufacturing (Sassen 2001:209f). Producer services are a range of specialised services for these leading industries of the current period. They include services like accounting, management, design, administration, personnel, communication, advertising or cleaning (Sassen 2001:90-126; 2006:7). Almost half of the jobs in producer services are lower income jobs, and half are in the two highest earnings classes. In contrast, a large share of manufacturing workers where in the middle-earnings jobs during the postwar period (Sassen 2001:9).

The percentage of employment in the service sector in London rose from 74.6 per cent in 1981 to 89.3 per cent in 1999 (Sassen 2006:213). The highest growth from 1987 to 1997 occurred in business services with 38% and the knowledge and communication sector including information technologies, research and development, telecommunications with 14% (Sassen 2001:212). At the end of 2004, over 30 per cent of Londons 4 million employee jobs were in financial and producer services and over 90 per cent were in services alltogether (ONS 2007:39). This includes the vast supply of low wage jobs required to serve high income gentrification in residential and commercial settings such as expensive restaurants, luxury housing and hotels, gourmet shops, special cleaners (Sassen 2001:9). No Inner London borough had less than 88 per cent service industry jobs. Little over 5 per cent (216,000) of employee jobs were in manufacturing (ONS 2007:39).

High-level business services are usually analysed as "output derived from high level

technical knowledge" rather than production. (Sassen 2006:7). Sassen challenges this view and suggests going "beyond the dichotomy between manufacturing and services". She regards the global city as a major and most advanced site of production. Although the global city produces little material, physical goods, its "makes" where highly specialised services and financial goods including "specialized services needed by complex organisations for running a spatially dispersed network of factories offices and service outlets", and "the production of financial innovations and the making of markets, both central to the internationalisation and expansion of the financial industry" (Sassen 2001:5, see also 2006:6, 7). Thus most work done in London consists of immaterial labour, which includes physical labour in the service industries.

The office of national statistics provides no detailed information on flexible job contracts. However, from the figures on part-time and full-time work as well as unemployment and weekly household income, we can assume a high level of precarity, especially in boroughs with low average weekly incomes and a high level of unemployment such as Hackney with 10.7% in 2006 (ONS 2007:42). Those who work more than 30 hours a week are considered full-time workers. In 2006, 10% of male employees and 30% of female employees worked part time, with an increase of the percentage of part-time working men (ONS 2007:39). In 2005/2006, 16% of the working population was self employed, 19,5% worked part time and 7.6 were unemployed (ONA 2007:47). Thus only 57% of the "economically active" population was employed in regular full-time jobs. Compared to 1965, long-term unemployment in London in 1985 was 21 times higher for men, and 60 times higher for women (Sassen 2001:302).

Across the service sector, the number of casual, short-term contracts is increasing. Studies by the Greater London Council in 2000 estimated that over 20% in the hotel and catering sectors are on temporary contracts. This trend can also be observed in specialised service industries such as banking, business services or engineering. As these contracts are often classified as self-employment, employees do not receive sick pay, holiday pay, overtime pay or general job security (Sassen 2001:300). For employers, part-time work arrangements result in considerable savings in National Insurance contributions (Sassen 2001:202).

To summarise: When the Euromayday project arrived in London, the city had undergone a massive shift in its economic and employment structure. Following a phase of deindustrialisation up to the mid-80s, the service sector assumed a predominant position in the

urban economy. This sector is characterised by a high percentage of casualised employees and an increasing polarisation of income. Combined with the high costs of living (housing, transport, food, entertainment), and a large transient population including Europeans as well as migrants from other countries both with and without residency rights, this amounts to highly precarious conditions of living for large parts of the population. Legislation facilitating regular use of part-time work contracts to create incentives for employers further weakened the position of employees. The power of the trade unions steadily declined since their defeat in the miners strike under the Thatcher government in 1984/85. Thus it is certainly not due to a lack of grievances regarding precarious conditions that Euromayday parades of the precarious did not materialise as a mass event in London.

V.2. Experimenting with Euromayday

The London Euromayday 2005 event was choreographed as a "flexmob action", a pun on the flexworkers mentioned in the Middlesex declaration and the popular practice of flashmobbing which first made the headlines in 2003. Using new communication technologies to create spontaneous urban sociability, flashmobs combined mobile phone texting, targeted mobbing and public performing/protesting (Nicholson 2005). Mobilised by text messages, participants would gather at a location to be revealed only at the last moment. The planned target was a large Tesco supermarket in Hackney, according to the Office of National Statistics one of the most deprived areas of London. A picket would be combined with a collective price reduction negotiated with the shop managers. This protest tactic was inspired by interventions of precarity movements in Italy, where collective price reductions were staged in chain-stores as a setting which symbolised precarious conditions of both workers and consumers (Tarrow 1993: 299f).[79] After the action, participants would converge in a nearby park for a relaxed Mayday celebration. However, events did not quite turn out as planned.

I participated in the 2005 Euromayday London event, but like many other participants was not able to attend the main action in the supermarket due to delays in the dispatching of text messages and police intervention. In the ensuing confusion in the car-park in front

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[79] The tactic of 'autoriduzione', also called 'proletarian shopping', developed in Italy since the late 1960s, when workers in the Pirelli factory decided to ignore piecework schedules and set their own production rates. In ensuing decades, the tactic became modular. This made it easier to diffuse to new sectors and social actors, but also facilitated social control (Tarrow 1993: 299f). In November 2004, some of the initiators of the London Euromayday event went on an educational trip to Rome, where they studied the tactic of autoriduzione by active participation in a large, controversial action and street parade of the GAP initiative (Hydrarchist 2005; Int 22)

of the supermarket and the small street beside it, it was difficult to get a general impression of the protest, let alone discuss the concept of precarity with passers-by or other demonstrators. Some participants were chased by police across the car park of the supermarket, others were manhandled or arrested. Several people documented the action with photos or video. The cheerful soundtrack of a Samba band dressed in pink and silver was intersected by angry or panicked screams and shouts (Stop! Stop! Stop!) directed at intervening police officers. The Samba band was soon enclosed by a solid cordon of police officers in a so-called kettle. I watched as several participants were being forcefully pushed into the cordon. Only hours later, they were allowed to leave. We formed a police-escorted march through the main street of Hackney towards a nearby park. A very large, beautifully screen-printed red banner with the inscription 'All we have to loose is our chainstores' separated the march from the surrounding police officers in their bright yellow jackets (S_258, S_255). Even in the park, moments of peaceful enjoyment were interrupted by sudden police chases, pushes and arrests. On the same evening, participants started to publish reports in textual and audiovisual formats to the open publishing news platform Indymedia UK, where the action was documented, described and interpreted.

In the following year, 2006, the reference to Europe was dropped and a Mayday parade was advertised through many carefully designed flyers. The parade materialised in the form of an "autonomous block" integrated in the traditional trade union march from Clerkenwell Green to Trafalgar Square (S_253, S_280, S_281). In this dignified march, trade union branches carried colourful, craftily sewn and embroidered, often historical banners, while various left youth organisations marched in formation and swung red flags. In this setting, the black-clad autonomous block which gathered around a small sound-system and carried black and white banners seemed strangely out of place. A circle of yellow-jacketed police officers around the autonomous block enhanced this impression. After 2006, no precarity-related Mayday events connected to the Euromayday Network took place in London.

V.2.1 The European Social Forum from a Local Perspective

To claim that the Euromayday project did not take hold in London is not to say that London did not feature on the map of the Euromayday movement. London was the place where most participating groups physically came together and took the decision to establish a Euromayday network during the European Social Forum in 2005. Prompted with the

question: "How did Euromayday come to London?", one of the organisers of the London Euromayday events started his narrative with a extensive sequence about the ESF preparation process, the conflicts with UK trade-unions and the Trotzkist Socialist Workers Party, the decision to establish the autonomous space *Beyond ESF* rather than participating in the official ESF, and the time-intesive provision of infrastructure for this space including setting up a venue, programming, and squatting two buildings to accommodate visitors. In his account, the cultural logic of networking overshadowed the place-bound narrative of the implementation of Euromayday in London.

Several references to London are inscribed in the process of the evolving Euromayday network. The first shared document of the network, the "Middlesex declaration", which announced Euromayday parades all over Europe, bears the name of the borough on the outskirts of London where the founding "precarity assembly" was held. In 2004 and 2005, the London-based mute magazine published a collection of articles on precarity as a potential field of struggle (S_200). This was an important contribution to the trans-European diffusion of the concept insofar as English functions as a lingua franca in the written communication of the Euromayday Network. The mute magazine precarity issue was distributed during the ESF, and the precarity DVD, a compilation of videos outlining precarity related struggles in several countries, was launched (P2P Fightsharing Crew 2004).

London was listed as a participating city on the Euromayday.org webportal in 2005 and 2006 and staged Euromayday events in both years. Groups and individuals resident in London contributed to the networks' Europe-wide mailing list, participated in network meetings and engaged with the movement's own thinktank *Precarity-Webring*. These contributions to the trans-urban network enhanced the performativity of the Euromayday project on the European level. However, they did not open up a new field of sustained, collective and political struggle on the London local level.

The European Social Forum in London provided a convergence space where activist groups and individuals were able to establish the Euromayday network. Coming from different European countries, these groups shared a critique of the official ESF and generally an affinity to direct action forms of protesting rather than formal campaigning and lobbying. In some cases, for instance Hamburg, the precarity assembly at Beyond ESF brought together previously unconnected groups from the same city, which formed the kernel of a local Euromayday circle. However, this assembly did not result in forging a London-based precarity-focussed coalition between potentially interested, diverse groups. Partly this may

be due to the specific dynamics of an ESF for the hosting locality. In London, energies of many local grassroots activist groups were bound to their roles as hosts, running alternative spaces, scheduling events, providing accommodation and not least negotiating deep conflicts with the traditional spectrum of the local ESF organisers, namely the Socialist Workers Party (Boehm/Sullivan/Reyes 2005). Thus the energizing and bridge-building capacity of this trans-national conference to form new alliances was to a certain extend lost for the diffusion of the Euromayday project on the local scale.

V.2.2 The Wombles: Initiators and Imagineers

In London, the Euromayday project was taken up by a counter-cultural movement scene (Haunss/Leach 2009:5). Direct-action oriented in its tactics and practices as opposed to move conventional campaigning and lobbying, this scene engaged with a wide variety of issues, including environmentalism, immigration policies, squatting, media democracy, consumerism, animal rights, corporate and neo-liberal globalisation, global governance and neo-liberal trade regulation, privatisation of public infrastructure, oppressive governments worldwide, queer politics, the war against Iraq and civil liberties. It was not organised through formal, identifiable campaigns and social movement organisations, but through fluid, interrelated networks, collectives and affinity groups who communicated at public events, gatherings, meetings, parties or protests, in squatted social centres as well as through mailing lists, the Indymedia web-platform and other alternative media. These groups and grouplets supported each others' protest actions. The mode of organising in this scene has been described as an "ecology of action" (Chesters/Welsh 2004), defined as

> "a system of relations between differing groups and individuals who are engaged in producing collective action within a context determined by fixed temporal, spatial and material constraints which are themselves a product of contingent social, political, and cultural forces" (Chsters/Welsh 2004:317).

In London, this scene is variously referred to as direct-action movement, DIY movement (McKay 1998), anti-capitalist movement (S_285, Callinicos 2007) or simply the activist scene. Since the late 1990s, local dynamics in the London direct action scene were closely tied to the movement cycle of global protests. London-based activists contributed to global gatherings, participated in trans-urban preparation meetings for protests, social forums, and networks such as *People's Global Action*. They mobilised for and contributed to mass events, provided alternative media coverage and set up their own node of the global Indy-

media network, which became an important communication channel for the emerging movement, not least due to its reporting in English language, an important lingua franca covering many parts of the movement.

In this scene, it was mainly one direct action oriented, anarchist group who set out to organise a Euromayday event in 2005. They called themselves the "White Overalls Movement Building Libertarian Effective Struggles" or short the *Wombles*. The group can be seen as a product of what Routledge and Cumbers describe as convergence spaces (Routledge/Cumbers 2009). Through their involvement in major mass protests of the AGM, they quickly learned to understand the mechanisms of multi-scalar networking and put them into practice. They assumed a role as translators of the repertoires of contention experienced in global actions to the local London environment.

Like many activists in the London scene, most of the Wombles were politicised through localised global actions of the AGM in London. The Carnival against Capital on June 18th 1999 in the City of London intervened in the financial centre of a global city and was connected to simultaneous protests in dozens of other locations worldwide. The experience of Carnival against Capital was highly formative for the London direct action scene. At J18, the carnival tactics of party-protests were connected to a global day of action, and the media practice of simultaneous trans-geographic protest reporting took the form that was eventually institutionalised in the Indymedia project (Annie/Sam 2003). One of the Wombles describes himself and his peers as the "J18 generation" in distinction to those who entered radical political activism in earlier years through the anti-road movement or the more class-based anarchist strands (Int_22).

Four months later, a protest at Euston Station supported the mass protests against the WTO in Seattle. It localised the agenda of the emerging alterglobalisation movement by exemplifying the privatisation of Britain's railway system (S_189). As part of a global day of action on Mayday 2000, a Guerilla Guardening action re-coded Parliament Square as an important urban landmark (S_192, S_194, S_190, S_195, S_196, S_224). Situated in the middle of a triangle formed by Big Ben, Westminster Abbey and the Houses of Parliament, Parliament Square is surrounded by three signifiers of imperial power. Activists armed with seeds, trowels and a small maypole turned it into a site of subversive yet cheerful Mayday celebrations, until the police decided to intervene (Rucht 2005a). Such localised global protest events operated on the local London scale in that they temporarily shaped and appropriated highly symbolic "programmed space" controlled by dominant

forces (Lefebvre 1976:88, 2007). As contributions to global days of action with their syn-chronised, spatially distributed interventions and their intense digital communication flows, they also operated on the global scale.

The Wombles formed as a group under the impression of the mass protests against the IMF/world bank in Prague in 2000, where they had experienced a rich repertoire of con-tention (S_285). They set out to translate the confrontational, performative and ironic pro-test tactics of the Italian group Tute Bianche to the London environment (Chesters/Welsh 2004; Uitermark 2004:715). Enthusiastic comments on Indymedia UK praised the Wombles with their ridiculous, Tute-Bianche inspired padding, their determined attitude in confronting police lines and protecting fellow protesters as a source of hope and empow-erment. "Wombling up", i.e. putting on a white overall and padding it with materials such as foam, bubble-wrap, card board or even rubber ducks as a protection against police ba-tons, was described as a transitional experience: "Today I was a Womble", one participant describing herself as "a short-sighted geek girl" recounts on Indymedia (S_228). The Wombles were highly visible in the mass media as organisers of protest events aligned with the AGM. Police statements recorded in the mass media show that, from the point of view of police and mass media, the group had replaced the unannounced and intervention-ist *Reclaim the Streets* parties as a major source of urban unrest: In the Telegraph newspa-per, a Detective Superintendant is quoted as saying: "There is no doubt that this new radi-cal organisation of anarchists is importing a frightening brand of continental-style violence into British protests."[80]

Most prominently, the group engaged in a series of appropriations of Mayday in London between 2001 and 2003 (Uitermark 2004). The annual alternative Mayday events in Lon-don, starting with the *Guerilla Gardening* at the global day of action on *Mayday 2000* (Do or Die 2001; S_275), were heavily policed. On Mayday 2001, several hundred participants in the Wombles' *Mayday Monopoly* action (S_197, S_243, S_234) were held for 8 hours in a police kettle in Oxford Street, London's major high street shopping location. The pro-ceeding was later deemed illegal by a High Court ruling. In 2004, the Mayday preparation group called off any action and met for a picnic in Hyde Park instead (S_199; S_236, S_235). Many London activists, including the wombles, travelled to Dublin to participate in the 2004 Mayday-cum-Anti-EU protests (S_179, S_45; see also Meade 2008). Indyme-dia UK reported about the Euromayday parades in Milan and Barcelona, and to the Euro-

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[80]   See Telegraph, 1.4.2001: Anarchist base destroyed in dawn raid.

mayday-inspired mobilisiation in Dublin in a feature report titled "Against borders and precariousness!" (S_239, see also S_45). The Wombles continued to participate in the preparation and staging of major protest events such as the protests against the G8 summit in Scotland in 2005 (S_210).

A part from developing localised forms of street protest, the Wombles engaged in the building of transnational structures. They had been instrumental in setting up Beyond ESF, where the Euromayday network was constituted. Their activities included the squatting of additional buildings to provide cheap accommodation for participants, support for the strong focus on precarity of the scheduled events, and organisation of the concluding precarity assembly together with the Milanese *Chainworkers* collective.

Critically reflecting on the practice of summit hopping, in their 2004 self-description the Wombles emphasised the importance of everyday practices in the process of building "social solidarity" and "autonomous communities of resistance". One of the goals of the group was "creating free spaces were where people can come together outside the domination of capitalist life" (S_208). A participant explains:

> "We did social centers, because we thought that outside the big spectacular events there was no space we could congregate around and meet without risking the alienation and fragmentation of living in London" (Int_22).

Previous generations of London activists had established several radical bookshops and venues where meetings, workshops and events could be held, as for instance Freedom Press in the East (since the 1880s, S_217), or the 121 social centre (1981-1999, S_198) and the 56a Infoshop (since 1991, S_290) in the South. However, these locations were not entirely adequate to the needs of the new movement scene. Inspired by the Italian social centre scene they had experienced at various events related to the global protest movement, the Wombles initiated a new wave of squatted social centres in London. As a form of radical urban sociability, these included workshops, kitchens, locations for meetings, screenings and parties and computer facilities (S_201, S_202, S_209, S_203, S_277). They also engaged with the tactics and politics developed in the Italian centri sociali scene and participated in some of their actions. One of these occasions was the notorious mass demonstration of the "Grande alleanza precaria" in Rome in November 2004, where a street parade and an apparition of San Precario led to controversial appropriation-interventions in a supermarket and a bookstore, much to the annoyance of the Milanese creators of the San Precario tactics (Hydrarchist 2005, see also chapter IV). Like the Italian social centre ac-

tivists, the Wombles combined spatial urban politics with media practices. Amongst other elements from the Euromayday repertoire of contention, they adopted the tactical use of mediated popular culture

This can be found not only in the flyers and posters the Wombles produced (S_279), but also in their choice of name. Wombles stands for "White Overall Movement Building Effective Libertarian Struggles", referring to the white padded overalls of the playful yet confrontational Tute Biance group. To a British TV audience, the Wombles are known from an animated BBC children TV show broadcast in the 1970s and 1990s. According to Wikipedia, Wombles are "fictional, furry creatures helping the environment by collecting and recycling rubbish in useful and ingenious ways". In an interview broadcast on the community radio Resonance FM in 2008, one of the initiators emphasises the tactical reasoning for this choice of name: "We knew that our tactics were going to be confrontational, so we needed a really fluffy name." He explains how the new London-based activist group translated the impression the ridiculously padded Tute Biance had made on them into their own idiom: "They looked like Wombles!" (Bone 2008).

By choosing the mass-mediated popular figure of the Wombles as a linguistic figure-head, the group localised the hitherto unknown tactic of the Tute Bianche to the London environment. However, the tongue-in-cheek double-meaning of the new group's name reaches deeper into the group's values and political practices. This becomes clear in the lyrics of the original Wombles TV show's theme song, which can be read against the grain almost in its entirety:

Underground, overground, wombling free
The Wombles of Wimbledon Common are we
Making good use of the things that we find
Things that the everyday folks leave behind

Wombles are organised, work as a team
Wombles are tidy and Wombles are clean
Underground, overground, wombling free
The Wombles of Wimbledon Common are we

People don't notice us, they never see
Under their noses a Womble may be
We womble by night and we womble by day
Looking for litter to trundle away

We're so incredibly utterly devious
Making the most of everything
Even bottles and tins
Pick up the pieces and
make 'em into something new
Is what we do (S_295)

The Wombles song is strongly situated in London as a physical and social place. As it was broadcast regularly over several years, it also has a place in the mass mediated imaginary landscape of UK TV audiences. In their intended reading, the lyrics serve as an educational call to "keep your environment tidy". Re-contextualised with a direct-action group, their meaning may be detourned to refer to the combination of DIY ethic and environmentalism held by many groups in the London activist scene and articulated in practices like "skipping" (finding food in the skips of markets and supermarkets), sourcing materials on the streets and turning them into equipment for actions or social centres. The lyrics also contain the distinction of the activist scene from the mainstream society, the emphasis on affinity groups and collaboration, the underground character of clandestine squatting, illegal partying or engaging in direct action, and a certain tongue-in-cheek pride in being "utterly devious" in "thumbing the noses" of various authorities. The word "Underground" in the first line of the song originally refers to the TV-Wombles' habitat under the ground of the large parkland Wimbledon Commons. In the detourned reading, aside from the political, social and cultural underground scene, it may also refer to the London Underground public transport. In many of the London Reclaim the Streets parties and protests, mobility had been instrumental. Using the Underground allowed activists to dissolve and reappear in unforeseen places while the police was trying to prevent them from gathering. Additionally, the "tube parties" were an inventive way to stage protests on many occasions since the late 1980s (S_287, S_274). The final line "pick up the pieces (of a society broken by capitalism?) and make 'em into something new" can almost be read as a call to revolution.

Weather or not the London Metropolitan Police conducted such a detailed analysis of the Wombles song is not known to the author. However the High Court judgement on the legality of the policing of the 2001 May Day protests in London's main shopping street Oxford Circus states:

"Just before 11am the British Transport Police at King's Cross reported information that the singing of the Wombles theme song would be a sign for knives to be drawn" (S_283).

When I told a participant in the 2001 Mayday protest about this police intelligence nine years later, he cried out laughing: "Hilarious!" Although he participated in many of the Womble's actions in London, he never saw any knifes drawn, nor heard the song played. He assumed that this would have taken the self-ridicule a step too far. Although the Wombles' song did not become a battle cry in the streets of London, it was played occasionally at protests, for instance at the combined first-of-May and anti-G8 protests in Dublin in 2004 (S_29). Even without actually performing the song in a protest setting, the name Wombles evoked its double-meaning each time it was mentioned.

V.2.3 Flexmob: A London Mayday Action

As for participating groups from other European cities, the commitment to hold Euromayday parades all over Europe made at the precarity assembly at Beyond ESF in 2004 also led to a preparation and organising process for those in London. In preparation for Euromayday 2005, info nights and film-screenings about precarity related struggles in Europe were organised (S_243, S_294). A local precarity assembly met weekly in the *Institute for Autonomy*, a squatted social centre in central London. A campaign website was set up under the name www.precarity.info. It tentatively describes the precarity assembly as "an embryonic political project focusing on 'precariousness' (the insecurities developed by global capitalism in work, healthcare, housing, life)." In addition to meetings, people from the newly established precarity assembly ran a fortnightly helpdesk aiming to "share experiences, pool information, and work out ways we can act together to solve our work, housing, immigration and living problems" (S_293). The group provided information on benefits, immigration, and labour legislation through hyperlinks on their website. However, their main focus was to "take direct action to make ourselves visible and to claim our demands" (S_213). One participant explains:

"The aim was not necessarily providing official information. The starting point was that it was a direct action group supporting people with work or housing problems. There were attempts and discussions to do the helpdesk thing in the form of a solidarity cafe, to leaflet people around the area who would come down. It did not work (...) We tended to chat to people when they turned up, and sometimes about the things the helpdesk was intended to cover. Communication was much more informal, not in set hours (...) We were left with, apart from discussions, info nights etc" (Int_22).

The helpdesk was planned as a micro-institution, a small, self-organised version of the

citizen's advice bureaus. In reality, it worked informally on the grounds of the sociability established in the social centre.

In the mobilisation for Euromayday 2006, the reference to Europe was dropped and a Mayday parade was advertised, which eventually materialised as an "autonomous block" (S_280; S_281) integrated in the traditional trade union march from Clerkenwell Green to Trafalgar Square (S_253). For both events, leaflets and posters emulating the style used for the Milanese Euromayday were produced. After these two attempts to integrate the precarity frame and its action repertoire in the London activist calendar and establish London as part of the Euromayday network, no more precarity assemblies were held, no further Euromayday events were organised, and participation of a London organising group in trans-urban Euromayday gatherings ceased. Although precarity is certainly a predominant condition of life and work in London, and although several political groups dealt in their own ways with the effects of this condition, the precarity-frame provided by the Euromayday network was not appropriated as an overarching signifier within the London direct-action scene. This was not for a lack of potentially sympathetic groups. In 2006, the London noborder group had aligned the struggles against immigration control with the precarity frame in a statement published on the precarity.info campaign website and participated in the autonomous Mayday block (S_211). Their alignment with Euromayday and the precarity frame ceased after 2006. A group affiliated to the Euromayday project through the movements' own think tank precarity-webring met in London in ensuing years. Focussing on conceptual work, they did not engage in local mobilisation and organisation. Another group, the *Carrotworkers collective*, is mainly composed of interns and ex-interns from the creative and cultural industries (S_215). Since 2009, the group explicitly investigates and campaigns around issues of precarity. It maintains bilateral relationships with several European groups related to the Euromayday network and an emerging network of activist countercartographies (S_288). Links to Euromayday Hamburg and the Serpica Naro project in Italy on their website make some of these relationships public. The Carrotworkers collective and more recently an action-focussed offshoot, the precarious workers brigade, participated in several demonstrations. At the trade union march against the financial crisis on 28 March 2009, they were recognisable through speech bubble shaped placards bearing individual inscriptions relating to precarity, and through an embodied visualisation of their experience of precarity. Wearing mule masks, they carried sticks with attached carrots dangling in front of their faces. Like the mule follows the car-

rot it will never reach, the badly- or unpaid intern is expected to follow the carrot of a work contract which motivates her to seek ever more and equally exploitative internships. They participated with similar performances in the London demonstrations against cuts in higher education and the welfare state more generally in 2010 and 2011.

Thus although several London-based groups continued to actively work on precarity after 2006, they did not converge in a way that made the continuation of the Euromayday project as a visible public event feasible. Although the Wombles as the initiating group were tuned in with the Euromayday mode of organising through reflection on everyday life and mediated forms of action, they were not able to set a London-based precarity movement in motion. What happened between the enthusiastic beginnings of the Euromayday process in London and its tacit abandonnement two years later? A first explanation is that in London, the combination of protest and street party had been extensively practiced in ever more refined Reclaim the Streets parties since 1994, culminating in the Carnival against Capital on June 18th 1999. While in Italy, Spain and Germany, this format came to signify Euromayday and the precarity frame, in London, it had already aquired a different meaning relating to an ecologically inspired version of anti-capitalism. Since 1999, the authorities had taken a strict line to prevent any repetition of the Carnival against Capitalism. It only recently emerged that several undercover agents were placed in the groups and grouplets of the alterglobalisation movement. Any protest affiliated to the London direct action scene was strictly policed. The mass media were fed dramatic statements bordering on paranoia about expected anarchist violence whenever a protest was announced. Thus when the Wombles, one of the groups surveilled by police, called for a Euromayday event in 2005, the authorities were well on alert. However, while the climate of surveillance explains the heavy policing of the Euromayday event in 2005, it fails to explain why the precarity frame as an organising device was not adopted as a long-term project. The preparations for and choreography of the first Mayday action in London give some clues to answer this question.

When the Middlesex declaration was published on Indymedia UK in 2004, one commentator expressed his dissatisfaction under the title "yah what?":

> *"How about putting that in language people might actually understand? I went along to the beyond ESF and was really impressed but this confused/confusing statement hardly seems to do it justice. If this statement is meant to be relevant to the everyday life of people across europe how about putting it in the language(s) of everyday life?" (S_242)*

Criticism of the precarity frame as inaccessible, elitist and confused continued throughout the Euromayday process in London. Other than in Italy or Spain, and some German-speaking radical circles, in the UK, the word "precarity" was not introduced in relation to casualised labour, nor was it commonly used in connection to any other precarious conditions of living.[81] For many potential supporters of the project, the term precarity evoked connotations of ivory-tower academic discourse and elitism.

The call to action issued by the precarity assembly and the Wombles took this into account. It was publicised on the precarity.info website, several mailing lists and Indymedia UK (S_206, S_247, S_207, S_266). It aligned precarious conditions of life and work with International Workers' Day[82], emphasised casualisation of work with the anxieties ensuing from this condition and the extension of work into everyday life, explained the term precarity, established the connection to the Euromayday parades in other European cities and announced that "On MAYDAY 2005 we will add London to this emerging movement." Potential participants were instructed to send their mobile phone number to an email address in order to receive directions to the location of the Euromayday "flexmob" action by SMS on Mayday. For many potential sympathisers, the secret location was a familiar and cherished cultural pattern established in the free party / techno scene and Reclaim the Streets. The precarity assembly tried to translate the notion of precarity by contextualising it with the history of Mayday and an anti-capitalist framework:

> "MAYDAY is International workers day, born out of the struggle for an 8 hour day in 1886. Over 100 years later our lives are still taken up by the world of work. Even more so now, as the work imposed by Capitalism has become more casualised (temporary contracts, flex time, part time, no time!) forcing us to adapt to the point where it's hard to tell when, where or even if we are working. This leaves us in a situation where our lives are always on hold, on call and at the mercy of the market. Our leisure time too is filled with anxieties. The anxiety of not being able to have enough money to pay the rent, go to the cinema, a nice restaurant, shop for food, clothes, anything! In reality our work never finishes and when we're not at work we still end up making some other person even richer. Around Europe people call this new working and living condition "precarity" and over the past few years the EUROMAYDAY parades of causalised workers, temps, part-timers, immi-

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[81] In 1998, direct action and media activist Simon Jones was killed on his job as a casual worker at Euromin's Shoreham dock. Friends and family set up a campaign against casualised labour in his memory. In addition to numerous direct actions and cultural events, the campaign ran a court case where the Euromin company was found guilty of two crimes relating to health and safety that led directly to Simon Jones' death for which it was fined £50,000. The campaign website was updated regularly until 2002. It never mentioned "precarity" (S_292, S_37)

[82] The call introduces the first of May using a passage from an anarchist text which circulated widely in UK activist/anarchist circles during the preparation for the London Mayday 2000 action.

grants and unemployed have marched through Europe's capitals to demand new social rights for the most marginalised. On MAYDAY 2005 we will add London to this emerging movement" (S_206).

While the Milanese and other mobilisation materials for Euromayday 2005 emphasized the double-facedness of precarity as both a claim to autonomy and an imposition by the neoliberal regime, the cultural translation in London focussed on the oppressive side of precarity, especially the imposition of "insecurities developed by global capitalism". The call is written in first person plural: the speaking "we" is subjected to precarity. However, this "we" is split between activists and those working in supermarkets. Mayday is presented as "a day when *we* extend *our* hand of solidarity over the counter & checkout & learn to live for free (my emphasis)." Direct-action oriented activists are addressed as supporters of workers struggles rather than as precarious workers themselves. This positioning echoes the numerous support actions of Reclaim the Streets (RTS) for striking workers in London and Liverpool in previous years. RTS formed allies *with* workers, but it did not act *as* workers. In the London mobilisation materials, activists were only hesitantly called on as precarious workers, and few non-activist precarious people answered to the call. The appellation did not call a precarious subject into being. However, the difficulties in translating the precarity frame where not the only reason for the failure to establish Euromayday as performative speech.

In several cities, for instance Milan and Hamburg, the Euromayday parade 2005 was articulated with the decentralised, Europe-wide Migrant Action Day called by the European noborder network a month before Mayday, on the 2nd of April. In Milan, this protest event heralded the time period designated for Euromayday. In London, Migrant action day brought together for the first time a broad coalition including anti-racist organisations, migrant-support campaigns and noborder groups (S_269, S_244). Although the call for the London Euromayday action included references to migrants, the connection between Migrant Action Day and Euromayday was predominently made on the level of representation on the Indymedia UK website by Indymedia volunteers, but not performatively enacted.

The media practices of the London Euromayday organisers also illustrate the difficulties in enunciating performative speech acts. Like activists in other cities, Euromayday organisers in London circulated printed materials. Before and during the action, 10000 leaflets were distributed[83], and 500 posters in A1 format were flyposted on bus stops, billboards and housing estates mainly in the North-East London neighbourhoods of Hackney, Harin-

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[83] Conversation with Wombles activist in Facebook chatroom, 11.08.2010

gey, Camden, Dalston and Whitechapel, and also in central London. Posters and leaflets emulated the aesthetics of the Euromayday meta-brand. However, a closer look reveals that they were not designed as performative speech acts. The leaflet was styled as a coupon which claimed to entitle the holder to free meals or entertainment in various shops or other establishments (S_247). Some people tried to redeem the coupon-leaflet in a restaurant, but left after having been told by the manager that the coupon was not issued by his establishment. In contrast, a group in Venice had a meal in a restaurant and got away without paying the billing, leaving a "San Precario will pay" card instead (S_181). The tactic of distributing fake coupons or tickets for public transport has been used since the 1980s in London and elsewhere, for instance at the N30 protests at Euston station in 1999 (S_189; see also autonome a.f.r.i.k.a gruppe 1997). The London coupon-leaflet it was clearly recogniseable as a call to action issued by a radical group, rather than credibly pretending to be part of an advertising campaign of a legitimate entity, and no performative format to redeem the voucher was offered. In the terminology of speech act theory, it constituted a speech-act in inverted commas. The speaker clearly only pretended to offer free services. The performative act remained empty. A further difference between the media practices in London compared to those in Milan or Hamburg lies in their the way activists designed mediated materials. In Hamburg, mobilising materials such as posters, calls, leaflets or slogans were the result of extensive group discussions. Thus making a poster was a collective, reflexive, knowledge-producing process. This enhanced subjectivation processes as precarious subjects amongst the makers, and also in visualisations of precarity which caught the imagination of people beyond the organisers. In London, designing the poster was quasi outsourced to one or two designers within the group.

Planned as a flashmob, the London Euromayday action consisted of a picket combined with an attempted price-reduction in the Tesco supermarket. A samba-band and dancers dressed in pink and silver created a spectacle in the aisles in the supermarket, a banner spanning most of the checkouts was unfurled, and negotiations with the shop manager were initiated. The police terminated this intervention after 15 minutes. In the ensuing confusion, some people left the supermarket without paying, while other customers tried to push back through the police lines to pay for their goods. Although participants reported and documented sympathetic reactions of shoppers and staff, the intervention did not transform the cultural grammar of the supermarket setting as a place of consumption to a place of collectively enacted cheerful rebellion.

The dramaturgy and flow of events of the 2005 Euromayday action in London is extensively documented in online calls to action and minute reports in textual and audiovisual formats on Indymedia UK, especially on its London node (see Appendix Teichoscopy). Participants started to send reports to the Indymedia website during the action on Sunday, May 1st. Until the 4th of May, a total of 18 reports were uploaded on Indymedia UK, including 109 photos and three video clips (S_261,S_263, S_266). An additional clip was added four days later (S_268). On the day, Indymedia volunteers established a chronological timeline to the event and collated the links to these materials in two summarising feature articles. These were continuously updated over the next few days, as new reports were uploaded to the Indymedia website. The first feature article titled "Precari@s Take Over Hackney Tesco Supermarket" appeared on the London section of the Indymedia UK platform. It recounts the London Euromayday action and includes links to all reports which were posted to the website (S_256). The second feature article was published on the UK-wide section of the Indymedia platform and is titled "Mayday 2005 - Euromayday and More". This feature widens the horizon by collecting links to alternative and traditional Mayday events in Glasgow, Birmingham, Bradford, Lancaster, Sedgefield, Liverpool, Manchester, and Oxford as well as five political events during the Mayday weekend in London including the traditional trade union march. It also displays a brief summary of events in Dublin (Ireland) including a Euromayday precarity block, which was part of the trade union march. The feature ends with a link to the Euromayday Netparade, which in 2005 was online for the second time (S_251).

The photos, images and texts in the reports about the London Euromayday 2005 vary in perspective, form and style, length, technological quality, complexity and effort put into their composition. Each section of the day is documented on video or by one or several sets of photos, all clearly taken from a participant's perspective. One set of photos is artistically edited using a fisheye lens and a black-and-white filter, enhancing a surreal perception of the depicted scenes (S_260). The language-based reports include a formal statement of the precarity assembly who called for the London Euromayday event (S_265, also published on their campaign website); a reflection on the question "why was the police so violent" and the trans-European diffusion of Euromayday (S_264); 4 carefully crafted text-photo reports (S_252, S_253, S_257, S_258, S_255) and several short descriptions including photos outlining one particular part of the day (S_259, S_262); two reports quickly thrown down in a nearby internet café during the action (S_250, S_249); an angry letter to

the organisers typed in capital letters, which in internet etiquette amounts to shouting (S_254); and a pledge of one of those arrested for witness statements (S_267). This amount of Indymedia reports is unusual for a relatively small action. In comparison, the important demonstration on Migrant Day, April 2nd, was covered by 7 reports including 64 photos. The multi-media reports allow to reconstruct in detail the tactics employed during the London Euromayday, the ways in which (protest-) media such as banners, leaflets, and performance were used during the event, and not least subjectivation processes enacted in reflexive evaluations.

The reports focus not on the condition of precarity, but on the performance of the action. Two leading collective actors can be identified: One is the police, differentiated in brutal met police, confused community support officers and the FIT (Forward Intelligence Team) consisting of police equipped with cameras assigned to the job of filming activists. The other consists of activists, sometimes referred to as "anti-capitalists" or "people", including the Samba band. Supporting roles are assigned to "the public", "Hackney locals" or "Hackneyites", "passers by shouting at the cops and cars hooting in support of us" super-market staff and shoppers. All of these are presented as condemning the heavy policing and supporting the activists.

The main plot is the confrontation between police and activists. The police are presented as "heavies", "cavalry", "thugs" and "bullies", who "storm in", "hit", push one person "face down on the ground", "violently assault a samba dancer", are "dragging, punching and kicking people" and make several arrests, supported by 24 police vans and a helicop-ter. The protesters respond to these attacks with "wit","joy","dignity","solidarity", and "determination": They continue to dance to the Samba drums, even when corralled in by the police. Due to "the continued solidarity on the outside", their "spirits were high". After a two-hours long stand-off between protesters and police in front of the supermarket, nego-tiations led to a tolerated march through a main street of Hackney to a nearby park, where further arrests were made. However photos and reports suggest that the protesters eventu-ally managed to conclude the day with a peaceful social gathering. This gathering is con-structed almost as redemption, as if the everyday banality of a relaxed socialising in a sunny park could annihilate the previous hours of physical confrontation with police:

> "Taking advantage of a hot and sunny MayDay sunday, people set out to finally celebrate the day in
> the park. The banner was hung between two trees, the samba band kept playing, groups of people
> sat in circles talking, laughing, discussing the day's events" (S_264).

Most of the reports unanimously emphasize one strategy of the protesters to counter the police's aggressive course of action. Through high spirits, trust, coordination, remaining together and acting in solidarity, a certain level of autonomy is being maintained. From coordination in the face of police repression to informal socialising in a park, it is a strategy of sociability which allows the report-writers to frame the event in retrospect not as a defeat, but as an encouragement for further action. The report of the precarity assembly summarises:

> *"The police will always attempt to stop Mayday and any other action we do, and continually attempt to destroy the movements we try to create. What is important is how we react and resist their repression, and to never give up. Mayday this year was a great example of people acting together in solidarity in the face of police aggression, and of our continued determination to take our struggle to the streets and communicate with people. As ever, the struggle continues" (S_265, S_207).*

This sociability is not framed as a sociability of precarious subjects. The references to the peaceful ending in the park are aligned with the cultural practice of enjoying a day out in the park, where the picnic spot is decorated, music is played and people relax in informal circles. This is combined with an emphasis on political solidarity focussing less on a post-Fordist regime or a government, but rather on the immediate opponent, the police.

One personal account subtitled "why was the police so violent" mentions the trans-urban Euromayday parades which took place simultaneously to the London action and thus introduces a further strategy of empowerment through the notion of multi-scalarity:

> *"It doesn't really matter if in Hackney there was, at times, more police than protesters. Because the reality shows another picture: that we are millions worldwide, and that we really are everywhere. (…) Here in Europe, this sunday's EuroMayDay 05, saw thousands in many countries and cities: form Hackney to Barcelona, from Milano to Stockholm, and from Helsinky to Athens. All rebelling against the current precarious working and living conditions capitalism is trying to corner us into."*

Adressing the police directly, the account continues:

> *"So yes, officer, this is precisely what you are so afraid of, isn't it?(…) in Hackney's Tesco megastore there were millions, and all determined to reclaim back what is theirs. Are you going to arrest them all? You still don't get it, do you?" (S_264)*

Alltogether, the reports can be interpreted as a forced attempt to rescue the Euromayday action in retrospect on the level of representation. Many details in the repertoire of contention used in this action did not work out as planned or were applied incompletely. Surely, the pronounced police attention directed at the Wombles group and the actions it initiated

considerably constrained their room for manoeuvre. However, there are also aspects in the choreography and planning of the Euromayday action which impeded on its performativity. The "flexmob", designed to mislead the police and to add a sense of excitement and secrecy, was smaller than expected due to technical problems which the precarity assembly suggested were caused by interference of authorities. The leaflet in the design of a coupon could have been a tool for precarity related direct action in restaurants or shops, had it not disclosed its character as a leaflet rather than a genuine coupon issued by companies. The articulation of the Euromayday event with Migrants Action Day was not realised. Neither was the trans-urban simultaneity of nearly 20 other Euromayday events exploited in the action. Media, such as posters and leaflets, were not used as performative media, but as representations. The self-reflexive reporting on Indymedia UK followed a format that developed since the first Indymedia website was launched for the protests in Seattle 1999: "Telling the truth from the streets" often focussed on clashes with the police. Thus the mediated subjectivation process enacted in relation to the Euromayday event affirmed an activist identity embroiled in struggles against the police and defying repression of performative direct action. None of the reports discussed precarity or explained why a supermarket – both a place of precarious labour and a place of consumption – was chosen for the action.

The London Euromayday action combined several elements which had proved successful in previous Euromayday parades and related actions: catchy posters and leaflets, use of digital media, collective price reduction in chain stores accompanied by music and performance. However, these elements did not amount to the coherence necessary for a successful performative act. Media practices, addressees, locations for flyposting, strategies to avoid police obstruction and not least the subjectivities of the actors did not group around the issue of precarity in everyday life and work. This leads to the question why the Wombles as a group which had successfully "imported" other action repertoires in London did not achieve to choreograph an action around precarity. As the main strategy of the Euromayday project is the production of political subjectivities around precarity, the answer may lay in an incompatibility between subjectivities centering on precarity and the prevalent activist subjectivities of the London direct action scene. This hypothesis will be explored through a reconstruction of collective memory in this scene.

V.3.   Collective memory in London's Direct Action Scene

The economic and social restructuring in Britain during the 1980s and 90s was accompanied by growing disillusion with formal politics, major social unrest, political campaigns and demonstrations. As the conservative government proceeded to break the class-based, trade-unionised traditional labour movement, new social movements around racism, civil rights and autonomy and identity formed. As the metropolitan capital and seat of the government, London was the location of major confrontations. Police behaviour amounting to institutional racism ignited the Brixton riots in 1981, 1985 and 1995. The Greenham Common womens' peace camp resonated in the London Campaign for Nuclear Disarmement, and Londoners participated in the Aldermaston Marches (Scalmer 2008). The repercussions of the bitter 1984/85 Miners Strike were present in numerous demonstrations. Mass demonstrations of the Anti-Apartheid movement were combined with large, free open-air concerts. Gay Pride events were organised. The movement against the Poll Tax culminated in a riot around Trafalgar Square in 1990.

The struggles of these decades are inscribed in the urban fabric, and were worked through in the collective memory of subsequent movements. When actors in London's direct-action oriented scene tried to establish a node of the Euromayday project in the mid 2000s, the political and cultural struggles of previous decades resonated in its collective memory. This section offers a brief overview of the British anti-road movement as a cycle of struggle that immediately preceeded the London direct action scene of the mid-2000s and introduces commemorative media practices performed within this scene. Political subjectivities based on processes of collective memory relating to the anti-road movement are juxtaposed with a type of political subjectivities contained in the Euromayday project, which are based on precarity. It concludes with an interpretation of these two different and even competing political subjectivities as a constraint to the long-term implementation of the Euromayday project in London.

V.3.1 From Road Protests to Alterglobalisation

In 1970s Britain, young people began to move out of the cities to experiment with new lifestyles around the Free Festivals, the so-called new-age travellers and later the techno-rave scene. Connected to this exodus, an environmental movement developed in the early 1990s. It directed non-violent direct action against the road-building programme of the Thatcher government. In this major building programme, many new roads would cut

through recognised areas of natural beauty. In many places, local residents had exhausted conventional legal and lobbying paths to prevent the road building. Participants of the anti-road movement emphasise that the political purpose of the anti-road protests was not exhausted by campaigning against the building of individual roads, but included a wider anti-capitalist critique. Practical resistance against roads and the car was symbolically directed against the submission of life under the capitalist logic.

The anti-road movement developed tactics of direct action to physically obstruct building work in unconventional ways (McKay 1996; Do or Die 1997a, b, d, 1998; Plows 2002). Protest camps were set up on projected building sites, often lasting several months. Tree-houses were built and inhabited to prevent felling. Machinery was damaged or put to a halt by activists who lay down in front of bulldozers, climbed cranes, locked themselves to diggers or fences with bicycle D-locks around their necks or dug tunnels were they locked themselves to concrete blocks. Local environmental groups converged in the new network *Earth First!* (Plows 1998). Dedicated alternative media such as the newssheet *SchNews*, the magazines *Squall*, *Aufheben* and *Do or Die*, the Camcorder project *Undercurrents* (Carey 1998; Harding 1998) and *Conscious Cinema* initiative were established. Digital technologies such as mailing lists, websites or computerised fax machines were used from the outset (Plows 2002; Pickerill 2003a; S_237; S_279) and combined with telephone alert trees, mobile phones and CB radios. New age travellers contributed vehicles, and their knowledge of living on the road (Hetherington 2000; Worthington 2004, 2005). The Free Party rave scene took care of the soundtrack by bringing their sound systems (Malyon 1998; St. John 2008, 2009a, 2009b). Punters of the Free Festival circuit and local residents joined in (Drury/Reicher/Stott 2003). Building contractors hired professional private security firms to secure building sites along with police. In many of the final evictions of protest camps, police brought in special cranes, so-called cherry-pickers, as well as specialist climbing teams to remove protesters from trees and tree-houses, rooftops and machinery.[84]

With the 1994 *Criminal Justice Act* (CJA), the government brought in new legislation in order to control a variety of cultures of resistance (McKay) ranging from the anti-road movement, the rave scene with its giant warehouse raves and outdoor parties, the Free Festival scene and the travellers who sustained it. The CJA also targeted nomadic lifestyles,

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[84] People who participated in these protests emphasize that the climbers who were hired by the police were often ostracised by their local climbing clubs.

squatting and hunt sabotage. Previously civil offences such as trespassing were criminalised. The CJA included police and judiciary powers to stop and search festival goers, road protesters, squatters and ravers, to seize their equipment, enter their sites, and remove them. While this legislation aimed to repress seemingly separate movements and cultures of resistance, its effect amounts to the opposite in that it created and strengthened alliances between previously disparate groups (McKay 1996:160; Rietveld 1998). A mass demonstration against the CJA in London legislation developed into a riot in Park Lane / Trafalgar Square. The illegalisation of their lifestyle led many sound-system crews, for instance Spiral Tribe, to leave Britain for Spain or Europe, where they continued to organise rave parties, especially the Technivals (St John 2001:29; 2009b). Thus the practice of partying as a politics of desire was exported. In Italy, the impression of these large raves since the mid-90s, together with the Gay Pride parades and the Reclaim the Streets Parties, inspired the protest format of the Euromayday parade.

While the anti-road camps were first established in the countryside, the protests against the demolition of homes in East London to make space for the M11 link road in 1994 took place in an urban setting. Tactics were adjusted to the new situation. Entire streets were squatted by protesters (Jordan 1998; Aufheben 1998; Do or Die 1997c, e). In Claremont Road, barricades and fortifying structures, often made from material 'found' on the building site, took the form of impressive sculptures. Organising and communal living took place not only in the houses, but in the streets themselves. The street became an "imaginative theatre of creative resistance" (Jordan 1998:134). When Claremont Road was evicted after more than a year of continuous protesting, one group decided to adapt the tactics developed in the road camps to the city. Their name, programme and tactic was "Reclaim the Streets" (RTS). In the following years, major London traffic arteries would be taken over by cheerful party crowds in numerous, sudden and unregistered street parties (Jordan 1998; Do or Die 1997c, e). Towards the end of the decade, RTS became a local London articulation with the alterglobalisation movement. Between 1998 and 2000, it played an instrumental role in international networking for the global days of action of the AGM.

Several times, Reclaim the Streets formed alliances with the more radical parts of the unionised labour movement by aligning street parties with their struggles. In 1996, they took action in support of striking London tube workers. A few months later, they responded to an invitation of sacked Liverpool dock workers to support them. In a three day event in Liverpool, a street party was combined with a mass picket and the occupation and

closing down of the port (S_214). In 1997, Reclaim the Streets contributed to the London *March for Social Justice* timed just before the General Election. Together with the Liverpool dockers and the Hillington Hospital and Magnet strikers, they held a march titled *Never Mind The Ballots* from Kennington Park in South London to Trafalgar Square, where an (illegal) soundsystem transformed the demonstration into a party (S_212, S_220). The spoof newspaper *Evading Standards* produced for the occasion was confiscated by police, reprinted and distributed before the general election. (Jordan 1998:147f; Blunt/Wills 2000:36; Rietveld 1998; S_214). On November 30th 1999, together with a strike support group, Reclaim the Streets organised the London event accompanying the protests against the World Trade Organisation in Seattle. It took place at Euston Station and was designed to highlight the links between the free trade agenda of the WTO and the privatisation of public transport in the UK. It included a speaker from the Rail Maritime and Transport Union (S_189).

This type of alliance, where a direct-action group lent its tactics to a workers struggle was later emulated by the Wombles in support of London tube workers. It can be seen as an attempt to extend the cultural logic of networking beyond the movement against neoliberal globalisation in a way that was acceptable for both radical trade unionists and direct-action movements. Interestingly, all these alliances were built with traditionally unionised industries rather than those characterised by structurally precarious working conditions such as the media and communications sector.

The largest London Reclaim the Streets party took place on June 18th, 1999 with 10000 participants dancing in the global financial centre of the City of London (Brünzels 1999). As part of a *Global Day of Action,* this protest was one of almost 100 simultaneous events worldwide (Haberman 2002). Nicknamed *Carnival against Capital* or *J18*, the event took place five months before the protests against the WTO summit in Seattle. It is listed in the genealogy of the global protest movements collated by anthropologist Jeffrey Juris (2009). From a UK activist perspective, it is often seen as a, if not the formative event for the global protest movement (Int_22; Annie/Sam 2003). At the same time, on a local scale, J18 gave rise to continuous extensive and often agressive policing and surveillance directed at social movements connected to the AGM, combined with extremely paranoid mass media reporting.

V.3.2 Commemorative Media Practices

In 2004 to 2006, when the Euromayday project was a publicly visible part of radical politics in London, veterans from the anti road movement, and even the struggles against the poll tax continued to be active in London, while considerable numbers of younger activists had joined in. Previous struggles gradually drifted from the realm of present experience to the dimension of collective memory. Recollections of demonstrations, campaigns, protest events, battles with the police, urban riots, action camps, site occupations, evictions, locations, characters, tactics, victories and failures were recounted, narrated and passed on in informal conversations and public events. Past struggles were collectively commemorated, assembled, selected and sometimes re-enacted.[85] In this process, movement actors established a collective function memory, which was shaped by the need of present movements to make sense of their current positioning.

Commemorative media practices were an important aspect of the process of forming a collective function memory. Past events and struggles were evaluated and commemorated in reflexive mediated accounts. One important site for the production of a movement specific function memory was the UK. Initially, Indymedia was set up for immediate activist reports about demonstrations as they occurred. As the project matured, the platform was also used announce cultural and discussion events, mobilise for protests, and reflect upon them afterwards. Movement actors also utilised Indymedia to commemorate the anniversaries of protest events they deemed formative for their actual movements by posting articles and reflexive narratives in textual and audiovisual formats. The Indymedia websites were used "to promote a continued dialogue reflecting on political lessons learned and reviewing future strategies", a practice that was "both novel and extremely important for the contribution of political memory to the development of fresh political strategies" (Downing 2002:5)

On Indymedia UK, anniversary postings frequently provoked numerous comments assessing past and present movements. Commemorated events at the time of the attempted implementation of Euromayday in London (2004 and 2005) included the 1984/85 Miners Strike (S_286, S_346); the 1985 Battle of the Beanfield where a convoy of around 500 new age travellers en route to the Stonehenge Free Festival was brutally attacked by police (S_272, S_339, S_341, S_340, S_344, S_344, S_271; S_347); the 1990 Poll Tax Riots

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[85]   A protest during the UK climate camp action in 2007 was nicknamed "The battle in the broad bean field" in reference of the "Battle of the Beanfield" in 1985 (S_284).

against the Tory government's introduction of a fixed charge per adult to raise local governments finance (S_289); the legendary 1992 free rave festival at Castlemorton Common where over 20000 revellers converged for a whole week much to the dismay of the authorities and right wing mass media (S_343); the 1994 eviction of the M11 link road occupation in East London (S_237, S_238); and the riotous mass demonstration against the Criminal Justice Act in Hyde Park the same year. To explain the initial adoption and subsequent abandonment of the Euromayday project in London, aspects of function memory in the London direct action scene in the mid-2000s will be presented drawing on commemorative media practices as enacted on Indymedia UK as well as in printed articles.

V.3.3 "Life was the campaign and the campaign was life"

Within the London direct action scene, direct action is traced back to the Poll Tax movement, the Miners Strike, the CND peace movement, the Suffragettes, and in a romantic turn to early modern Britain to the Diggers of the seventeenth century (Harding 1998; McKay 1996, 1998). However, the most poignant inspiration came from the direct action tactics developed in the anti-road movement and transformed in the practices of Reclaim the Streets. Previous understandings of direct action included strikes, civil disobedience, physical obstruction and sabotage, or the tactics of non-cooperation with the state or the employer, for instance in tax-refusals, boycotts or go-slows, i.e. the deliberate slowing down of work. In distinction to this understanding, the tactics employed in the anti-road movement, often controversially specified as non-violent direct action (NVDA), combined "an oppositional impulse with a positive effort at community organisation" (McKay 1996:130). Direct action was regarded and performed as a direct, physical intervention in the situation that was being criticised. An action camp at a street building site or a power station, an inhabited tree-house in a tree that is bound to be felled, a vibrant party in a busy street, the occupation of an empty building, a banner-drop, the climbing of a crane or a mass demonstration filling the streets at a G8 summit are seen as immediate intervention: the obstruction of street-building, tree-felling, house demolition, energy production, urban traffic or G8 summits.

Successful direct action can be regarded as a successful speech act. As the enunciated speech act creates that which it enunciates, the direct action performed against a perceived grievance contains in itself a however partial solution of the grievance. Direct action as a performative speech act is successful not only when it achieves more conventional politi-

cal aims such as raising public attention or convincing a government or company to change a policy. As a speech act, it bears the failure or success in its performance. The road protest movement led to the cancelling of most of the prospected road schemes in 1995, although most of the hotly fought over roads were eventually built. Notwithstanding, as performative speech, its direct actions were highly successful. They were not empty performatives spoken in inverted commas, as the physical obstruction of building sites made clear that the statement "we will obstruct the building of this road" was simultaneously enacted. They were not failed performatives, because they created a coherent assemblage of practices, tactics and targets. The speaker of a successful performative must take a credible role to avoid misapplied performatives. The performatives of the road building movement were enunciated by a collective actor which was seen and saw itself as capable to slow down progress at the building site – and to stay put on a day-to-day basis. In the complex social space delineated building site, protest camp / squatted buildings, construction workers, security guards, building contractors, police, local residents and protesters, the anti-road campaigns were a credible speaker with the power to act performatively.

Activists produced numerous reflexive articles about this re-discovered and re-invented action repertoire during and after the road protests. Acccounts were published in formal anthologies as well as movements' own alternative media. The following excerpts are taken from articles by participants of the road protests. Articles by art-activist John Jordan (1998) and the group Aufheben which formed as a reading group following the Poll Tax movement were published in McKay's anthology DiY culture: Party and Protest in Nineties Britain (1998). Other reports are taken from Earth First!s magazine *Do or Die*; and from two commemorative articles published on Indymedia UK in 2004 by Kriptick, a volunteer of Indymedia UK (S_237; S_238). These articles include over 30 comments from residents and squatters at the time. Most commentators point out that their campaigns amounted to the creation of radical sociabilities.

The campaigns did not demand sociability, but performed it as an outcome and a necessity in the pursuit of direct action. These sociabilities encompassed not only the relations and negotiations amongst different factions of activists. They also transformed interactions between activists and local residents, amongst local residents. In some cases, moments of sociability even occurred between between campaigners, building-site workers and security guards (Drury/Reicher/Stott 2003). A part from the first quote, the following excerpts refer to the No M11 Campaign in East London and were written between 1998 and 2004.

The notion of direct action they convey can be regarded as a typical strand within the collective memory about experience, tactics and politics within the anti-road movement.

An editor of Do or Die argues in a comment about the Newbury Campaign that

"the primary aim of campaigns is to rebuild communities and create a movement that can really transcend industrial capitalism as a whole. The rather minor effect we have on industry is less important than the way in which our campaigns affect us and our movement. In a socially fragmented world, the mad arena of campaigning is, frighteningly, one of the few opportunities we have for 'group therapy' and individual and collective evolution" (Do or Die 1997a.).

The formation of a radical sociability was regarded as an important outcome of the anti-road campaigns. In their longstanding magazine, the group Aufheben explain the political significance of the No M11 campaign in a similar vein:

"The key to the political significance of the No M11 campaign lies less in the immediate aims of stopping this one road and in the immediate costs incurred by capital and the state (...), and more in our creation of a climate of autonomy, disobedience and resistance" (Aufheben 1998:107).

Activists were aware that the road protest camps and the sociabilites they produced were temporary. This awareness was crucial to avoid misapplied performatives, where the message is delivered by an inappropriate speaker. It allowed actors to position themselves as a credible speaker. Kriptick summarises expectations and outcome of the "siege of Wanstonia", which was part of the no M11 campaign:

"It could only end as a glorious defeat for us. Our intention as always was simply to spin out the process for as long as possible so as to cause maximum cost and embarrassment to the DoT. We had an absolute ethic of non-violence then and not a single tile or brick was thrown from the roofs by us and yet the bailiffs took terrible risks with our lives as they performed vicious tug-of-war with our limbs and bodies suspended way above the ground" (S_237).

Other commentators interpret the temporality of the protests as a strength. After describing the eviction of Claremont Road which marked the end of the No M11 campaign, art-activist John Jordan resumes:

"We always knew that one day all this would be rubble, and this awareness of impermanence gave us immense strength – the impossibility of failure – the strength to move this Temporary Autonomous Zone on to somewhere else. Our festival of resistance could never be evicted. (...) If we could n longer reclaim Claremont road, we would reclaim the streets of London" (Jordan 1998:139).

Referring to a situationist framework, he emphasizes the ritual function of direct action in its intensity, when

"the inherent risk, excitement and danger of the action creates a magically focused moment, a peak experience, where real time suddenly stands still and a certain shift in consciousness can occur. Many of us have felt incredibly empowered and have had our lives fundamentally radicalised and transformed by these feelings. Direct action is praxis, catharsis and image all rolled into one" (Jordan 1998:133).

The personal transformation induced by the intensity of ritual experience is expressed in Kripticks reflections:

"For me and many others involved in the campaign against the M11 link road this was the most intense period of my life. The protests were always incredibly full on, we gained enormous respect for each other and lifelong friendships were forged as a result of being engaged in - as it seemed to us then - such an epic and sometimes dangerous struggle against injustice" (S_237).

Seeking to assess the radical political potential of the Claremont Road Campaign, Aufheben point out its all-encompassing intensity, where the collective organisation of everyday life, the tactics of direct action and an exodus from wage-labour formed a "whole way of existence":

"The different acts of creation and resistance that comprise the No M11 campaign were more or less coherently related as part of a conscious collective project. What made them radical, subversive and potentially revolutionary was the fact that the various particular acts were intended and functioned as parts of a whole way of existence, a day to day existence of thoroughgoing struggle" (Aufheben 1998:107).

Aufheben notes that this "whole way of existence" distinguishes their experience in the No M11 Campaign from their experience in the movement against the Poll Tax four years earlier. It is seen as a radical practice and lived critique of the capitalist system born not of idealism but of immediate practical requirements. In this view, the direct action structures everyday life. Squatting houses waiting for demolition is not seen as a means to draw attention to the social problem of homelessness, unaffordable rents and lack of tenants rights, but a response to the necessity to be near the building site in order to obstruct the progress of road-building. As such, the tactical practice of squatting broadened the horizon of a seemingly environmentalist campaign by bringing social issues on its agenda.

The notion of whole way of existence echoes Williams' notion of culture as a whole way of life or Thompsons notion of culture as a whole way of struggle. However, whereas Thompson and Williams seek to grasp a wider and durable cultural setting, Aufhebens' whole way of existence, just like Jordans notion of ritual, are limited to the confines of the campaign both spatially and temporally. The "day to day existence of thoroughgoing

struggle" as it was experienced by protesters in the road movement, but also by many of those participating in the global protest movement is bound to the intensity of a campaign. Life in its entirety is focussed on the requirements of the campaign. Aspects like family commitments, career planning, personal housing arrangements or wage-labour are temporarily excluded. This creates a coherence of a wide variety of practices and tactics set in complex spatial and social relations. While this coherence allows the movement to enunciate successful rather than failed performatives, it leaves little room for the intricacies and complexities of social and economic realities outside the campaign.

Aufheben sums up the performative character of the campaign in a footnote to their 1998 article, where present and future, campaign and demand, reality and utopia, enunciation and action, practice and objective are merging into each other:

> *"People in Claremont Road were 'living the struggle': life was the campaign and the campaign was life" (Aufheben 1998:281):*

And Kriptick admits to a sense of nostalgia for the straightforward politics of the direct action campaign:

> *"Believe me I yearn for a return to those times when everything was very simple and our actions were so very direct. There was a destructive road being built so we confronted and obstructed the men, bulldozers and cranes that were carrying out the destruction. We really did very little talking about it. We went digger diving because it needed doing and there was no one else doing it" (S_238).*

V.3.4 Controversies: Class and Direct Action

The process of collective memory is neither uniform nor unanimous. The interpretations presented above were contested by other activists precisely for the qualities they celebrated. An important contesting position is exemplified by nine comments to a commemorative posting on Indymedia UK titled "20 years on: Legacy of the Miners' Strike" from February 2004 (S_286). Disillusionment with the formal politics of the traditional left, ranging from the labour party to the trade unions and the Trotzkist Socialist Workers Party is juxtaposed with equally strong rejection of the direct action movement. The latter is seen as comprising, as one commentator put it, of "well-meaning middle class and monied types". Divided by a hard boundary from both traditional left and direct action movement is "the working class" as an authentic historical actor, constantly betrayed by the middle class and politicians in whatever shape or form. The Thatcher government, the New Labour government as well as the Trade Unions Congress (TUC) are to blame for the weak-

ening of the trade unions through the "anti union laws":

> *"We, the working class, have suffered ever since for the defeat of Britain's most politicised and militant trade unionists, shame on the labour party and the TUC for their betrayal."*

One commentator introduces the AGM as the most progressive stage in a teleological historical account:

> *„After the power of organised working class resistance in the '70s the combination of the Labour Party and Conservative Party smashed this movement (…) The 80s through the 90s was a period of defeat, but the movement that didn't begin in Seattle and didn't end in Genoa has shown the way forward."*

This commentator positions the AGM as the new, unified historical actor taking over from the traditional labour movement. In the next comment, the anti-roads movement and the UK-based actors of the AGM, here referred to as the direct action movement, are criticised for neglecting class and social struggles in an assumed post-industrial world and for reducing politics to a trendy lifestyle. Referring to the M11 campaign mentioned above, and the protest format of the Reclaim the Streets parties, this commentator complains:

> *"There is no interest in campaigning on poverty, housing, isolation, etc has its roots in the collapse of the Left after the strike and the emergence of a totally middle/even upper class direct action movement. Please, people dont say it wasnt, i was there: M11, RTS, you name it. Class was seen as not important, that we now lived in a post industrial world and priorities would be different. Some of these have been positive,, such as a concern for indigenous people, though I see it does not stretch to the white working class!}and the rejection of top down organising, but ultimately I fear they have thrown the baby out with the bath water."*

This commentator emphazises his competence by pointing out that "I was there", referring precisely to the protest against the M11 link road celebrated by other participants. For this commentator, the temporary dissolution of discernible social positioning experienced in the "whole way of existence" forged by the needs of the direct action campaign is not an asset, but a silencing of his concern for class-based social struggles. In a scathing evaluation of new, autonomy-centered social movements, another particularly resentful commentator reduces present social conflicts to a binary, common-sense class opposition:

> *„Oh, they'll march for days, oh they'll raise their fists in sympathy for workers etc, but ask about actually challenging the deep inequalities that means some people are paid very well, and others are paid a pittance, and there seems to be an embarrassed silence."*

He (I assume it is a he) finishes by politely declining any offer of solidarity by what he

describes as "trendy lefties" and "wine bar radicalism":

"If you want to be a trendy lefty and play at being Che Guevara fine, just don't think that it makes a difference and that you are changing anything by dressing down and acting all radical. We can do without that thanks."

These comments exemplify two criticisms which were frequently directed at the AGM, Reclaim the Streets and the London direct action movement by a wider political scene. To respond to these criticisms was a strong motivation for the initiators of the London Euromayday parade (Int_22). The first criticism concerned the neglect of "real", place- and class-based social struggles in favour of issues which can be perceived as "cultural struggles" such as access to public space, environmentalism, or globalisation from below. The second criticism concerned the class composition of the direct action movements, which was regarded as predominantly privileged and middle class and therefore exclusive to participants with a pronounced working-class background.

It was frequently stated that many organisers in the No M11 Campaign, Reclaim the Streets and other direct action oriented groups affiliated to AGM came predominantly from middle-class backgrounds. However, even without having appropriate statistics at my disposal, I claim that this middle-class was highly diversified. During my involvement in this scene between 1999 and 2006, I met people, predominantly but not exclusively white, from a variety of backgrounds. This included people from families of Britain's political and economic elite, from menial, trade, and professional middle class as well as working class backgrounds. They included 'native' Britons as well as people who were first, second and third generation immigrants to London from Britain or abroad. Some had public school or university education, others never passed any formal exams. Some grew up on housing estates, others in villas. They worked full-time or part-time, on temporary or permanent contracts in offices, media- and computer companies, fairs, workshops and building sites, as carpenters, builders, journalists, campaigners, mechanics, tree-surgeons, social- and health workers, traders, academics, bicycle couriers, bar staff, to name only a few of the jobs. Many were unemployed at the time of the campaigns, others were students. However, this variety was rarely articulated in public statements of these movements as collective actors.

The critique of the perceived exlusive middle class composition of the London direct action movements establishes a hard boundary between "working class" and "middle class", understood as a binary opposition between "rich" and "poor". The definition of "working

class" is as much cultural as it is economic. "Working class" is tied up with the imagery of the industrial factory worker. It refers to manual, repetitive labour, exercised not as a temporary job possibly leading to other jobs, but as a lifelong destination. It also encompasses a disadvantaged position regarding formal education, earnings and housing. The imagined "working class" habitus is distinctively different from the "middle class" habitus. These differences are coded in cultural stereotypes such as pub versus wine bar, working class versus posh accent, state school versus public school, lager versus latte, Daily Mail versus Guardian, Blackpool versus Toscana. This stereotyped version of class society leaves little room for the fluid political subjectivities brought forward by the Euromayday movement. In all shared calls since the Middlesex declaration (S_48), political positions, lifestyles and types of work are constantly re-assembled in different combinations, departing from the clear boundary between fordist classes:

> "We call onto all our European sisters and brothers, be they autonomous marxists, postindustrial anarchists, syndicalists, feminists, antifas, queers, anarchogreens, hacktivists, cognitive workers, casualized laborers, outsourced and/or subcontracted employees and the like" (S_48).

> "As precarious of Europe -- flex, temp and contortionist workers, migrants, students, researchers, unmotivated wage slaves, pissed off and happy part-timers, insecure temps, willingly or unwillingly unemployed -- we are acting so as to grasp the moment/our time and struggle for new collective rights and our individual and collective possibility to choose our future" (2005).

> "We are the unemployed, women and the young, the casualized, we are intermittent workers, students, stagiaires, migrants, net/temp/flex workers, we are the contortionists of flexibility and survivors of precarity springing out of dozens of collectives in our cities and through a transeuropean network to defend our collective social rights and claim new ones" (2006).

V.4. Clash of Subjectivities: Precarious and Anti-Structural Subjectivities

The reflexive accounts of participants of the 1990s anti-road building movement exemplify how actors are collectively engaging in the process of building a movement-specific function memory. This collective memory is carried not only by actual participants of past events, but impacted on the cultural repertoire of the London direct action movement in the mid-2000s, when attempts were made to introduce Euromayday to the city. Past direct action campaigns were revisited, remembered and constructed as a life-changing, all-encompassing, intensive, rewarding and to some extent effective political practice. Aspects of immediacy, sociability and temporality were emphasized. These aspects resonate

strongly with Victor Turner's concept of the ritual process, a cultural practice which establishes a counter-structure to the structure of society (Turner 2008 [1969]). This concept was applied to counter-cultures such as the hippie communities of the 1960s, or the introduction of Ghandian non-violent direct action to the British peace movement as a ritual pilgrimage (Scalmer 2008). Public ritual takes the participants – or novices – out of the ordinary course of everyday life. By crossing a metaphorical or actual threshold, novices are separated from the wider society and enter a state of liminality, where they are "betwixt-and-between" social interaction. The liminal state is "time out of time", where alternative models of society can be explored. The organising structure of society is temporarily dispensed of to make space for playfulness, fragmentariness, experimentation, subversiveness – or, in the language of *Aufheben*, a day-to-day existence of thoroughgoing struggle. The ritual counter-structure is solely organised by the needs of the ritual – in this case, the direct action.

The liminal state is characterised by the experience of communitas – an intense feeling of kinship and equality with others combined with a hightened sense of joy, wellbeing and belonging that challenges the dominant social and cultural order. The complex hierarchies of life in the structure are null and void. Signs of social and economic status, authority, hierarchy and cultural distinction are temporarily disbanded. The ritual group imagines itself as an assemblage of equals. New paradigms of social and symbolic structure can be put into place. When the ritual ends – for instance with the eviction of a road building site – participants return to society transformed. They have made a life-changing experience, their subjectivity has changed. Rituals can be regarded as techniques to produce subjectivities which remain to a certain extend valid after re-integration in society. The subjectivities produced in the course of the anti-road movement's direct action and, similarly, in the mass protests of the AGM, are shaped by the ritual process, especially by experiences of liminality and communitas. These experiences include the conscious rejection of established social distinctions, including those related to class and economic position (even though they may well be replaced by other distinctions). The ritual process during these and the subjectivation work involved operated through a sense of exodus, of unhinging from the constraints of everyday life in the structure and through the establishment of anti-structural subjectivities.

This might explain why campaigners of the anti-road movement, Reclaim the Streets or the London nodes of the AGM rarely presented themselves as "workers". Participants in

the No M11 campaign described themselves as neighbours, "vibrant community" (S_188), people of one of the proclaimed republics such as "Wanstonia" (S_237), or simply "people". Reclaim the Streets often emphasized the social and political diversity of those involved, yet without going into details. In public announcements, collective identity was more likely to be expressed through a political commitment to direct action, mostly specified as non-violent, or through the activities campaigners engaged in such as running a campaign, mobilising for a protest, obstructing traffic while dancing in the streets, throwing a party, giving out free meals, producing alternative media. Sub-cultural references were more important signifiers of campaigners' identities than their position in the production process, both in the mass media and in internal self-perception. In debates on how to present the movement to the mass media, concern was expressed that

> "The more that people like us get our more fluffy middle/class face accepted by the media (…), the more we may be agreeing to marginalise our 'darker' side - our clothes and jewellery, opinions and arguments, drugs and language" (Aufheben 1998:116).

Style – hairstyle, clothes, jewellery, musical and eating preferences, drugs – and commitment to the respective political projects, DIY culture or direct action were important media signifying anti-structural subjectivities.

In contrast, local participants or bystanders' occupation was sometimes specified, for example a pensioner, a lollypop lady, a housewife or, in the case of the London Euromayday action, "staff" and "shop manager". Campaigners, as proponents of the ritual anti-structure, described themselves in anti-structural terms, while they applied structural terms (position in the economic process or in the family) to sympathisers. These descriptions contributed to symbolically marking the boundary between "inside" and "outside" the campaign and its ritual communitas.

The collective memory of the direct actions of the 1990s including the anti-structural subjectivities it produced resonated in the London direct action movement of the mid-2000s. This may explain why the precarity frame as an invitation for active political subjectivation was eventually rejected by this movement. To create or adopt a subjectivity as a precarious worker would have meant to position oneself inside the post-Fordist regime of production. The Euromayday project claimed that precarious people are "at the center of post-Fordist production", a "corner stone of the wealth production process". Thus precarious subjectivities were not anti-structural. The radical political subjectivities created in the Euromayday process were about subverting the post-Fordist regime from the inside,

through a politisation of the "practices of everyday life" (De Certeau 1984) developed in daily struggles and negotiations under precarious conditions. The radical sociabilities, the new social imagination and the European public space it proposed to create were not based on an exodus from structural realities, but imagined as their transformation.

In the logic of the ritual process contained in the collective memory of the London direct action movement, adopting such an inside-the-system subjectivity would have meant to undergo a structural subjectivation as opposed to the "anti-structural" subjectivation offered by the cultural codes of the direct action movement. Adopting a structural subjectivity would have – still in the logic of the ritual process – catapulted the subject out of the perceived communitas and right back into the structure it had escaped through numerous protest- and cultural practices. Thus the adoption of the precarity frame in the London direct action movement would have required a major shift in deeply personal and highly political subjectivations. This clash of subjectivities was an important reason for abandonment of the Euromayday project in London.

This abandonment was not due to failures in mobilisation technique, misguided tactical decisions, or unfavourable opportunities, although these aspects can always be improved. This case study suggests that the end of the Euromayday project in London was the result of a clash of subjectivities which made it extremely difficult to translate the Euromayday repertoire of contention to the London direct action scene.

This case study explored the reasons for the abandonment of the Euromayday project in London. Based on statistical evidence, I showed that precarious conditions of working and living are prevalent in London. Based on (media-) ethnography and backed up by participation, I juxtaposed London's role in the Euromayday process on the intertwined European and local scales. I presented a variety of London-based actors with stronger and weaker ties to the Euromayday project, the preparations for the London 2005 Euromayday action and the abandonment of the project. I came to the conclusion that the project was not abandoned for lack of resources, but that existing resources were for some reason not mobilised. Analysis of the media practices employed at the London flexmob action led to the conclusion that the action bears signs of a failed performative caused by lack of coherence of the performative act. A thick description of the flexmob action and its main initiators showed that the political opportunities for this group at this time were unfavourable, as they were subjected to intense police attention. Following an established line of narration, the reflexive self-representation of participants in the action on Indymedia UK was organ-

ised around the conflict between police and activists rather than the visualisation and enactment of the precarity frame.

Aiming to explain why certain resources were not mobilised, why the precarity frame did not reach its adressees, why the flexmob action failed as a performative act, and why the heavy policing could not be tactically subverted, I turned to the process of collective memory as it is built in the London direct action scene. By delving into representations of previous movement cycles in Britain, I came to the conclusion that collective memory in the London direct action scene strengthens an anti-structural subjectivation based on a ritual process which was instrumental for the direct action movement, especially involving experiences of liminality and communitas rather than activists' position in society or the post-Fordist production regime. I conclude that a decidedly anti-structural political subjectivity is hardly compatible with the subjectivation processes encouraged within the Euromayday project.

After a meandering path starting at the London ESF 2004 and the perspective of London activists in this multi-scalar convergence space, revisiting the attempts to implement the Euromayday project in London in 2005 and 2006, after having turned to the last 30 years of British radical history and examined which parts of it may have been included in the functional collective memory of the direct action scene in the mid 2000s, I would like to end with a more theoretical hypothesis.

Ressource mobilisation, framing processes and political opportunity structures, briefly, the analytical devices of political process theory, are going a long way to analyse the structure of a social movement at a given time. Political process theory is useful to describe which actors form part of a movement, how they relate to each other, how their action frames overlap, which resources are available to them. Political process theory can state the diffusion of a social movement and the circulation of repertoires of contention. However, this instrumental approach to the dynamics of social movements makes it difficult to include complex, historically situated processes such as the production of collective memory or the changing techniques of subjectivation into the analysis. By constructing one specific movement at a chosen moment in time as the object of research, cultural dynamics of translation, transmission, or transformation as well as failures and experimentations are necessarily bracketed out. If social movement theory seeks to understand the processes that lie behind a successful or failed framing process, the reasons why resources can be mobilised in one situation and not in another, why one movement, struggle or repertoire of con-

tention circulates fast and intensely while another does not, then ethnography as an open methodological approach can contribute to an inclusion of the dynamics of cultural production and provide a historical perspective for the analysis of social movements.

VI.   Euromayday Hamburg – Seeking a Cultural Politics of the Multitude

Apart from Milan, Hamburg is the only city where the *Euromayday parade of the precarious* took place every year since 2005. The parades were organised by the Euromayday Hamburg preparation circle, a dedicated group seeking to develop a cultural politics around a social subject marked by precarisation. Most actors of the Euromayday Hamburg circle shared previous involvement in the radical left, and strived to find a politics that would reach beyond the confines of the (post-)autonomous left scene with its highly ritualised forms of protest and organisation. In the space between traditional trade-union organising and the militant politics of the radical left, who each had their own Mayday manifestations, they experimented with mediated aesthetic forms, methods of collective knowledge production, and open forms of political organising.

This chapter analyses how Euromayday Hamburg used media practices strategically as part of a *cultural politics of making visible*. First, I outline how media practices intersected with public performance, political organising, everyday life and the building of political subjectivities. Second, I present the trans-urban networking around precarity and situate the Euromayday project in relation to wider labour related struggles in Germany. Third, I contextualise the media use at the first Hamburg Euromayday parade in 2005 and analyse how it was evaluated by participants as well as opponents. Fourth*,* I investigate the use of performative imageries of precarity in the Hamburg Euromayday parades 2008 to 2010 on the basis of aesthetic artefacts, practices of political organisating and the production of political subjectivities. Concluding, I summarise ways of organising political sociability in everyday life using a cultural politics of making visible.

VI.1.   Producing Culture: Performance – Organising – Subjectivities

Euromayday Hamburg aimed to make precarity visible not only as a grievance but more importantly as a social formation extending to all levels of society. This *politics of making visible* was developed on the terrain of culture. Euromayday Hamburg reflected on prac-

tices, grievances and desires experienced in the culture of everyday life in a post-Fordist, mediatised society; subverted products of mass culture; mixed them with practices of radical political organising and mobilising, developed political subjectivities adapted to the realities of a social subject under precarious conditions and intervened in the symbolic system of meanings that regulates what counts as normality. With their production of imageries and narratives of precarity, Euromayday Hamburg challenged the dominant discourse on labour. In 2005, precarity was largely perceived as an exception from the normality of the white, male, permanently employed and possibly unionised German passport holder who is the sole provider of a nuclear family. Euromayday Hamburg also challenged the radical left in that it rejected established forms of political organising and representation through its exuberant self-reflection, its loose forms of organising and its conceptualisation of the annual Euromayday parade as an assembly rather than a demonstration.

Centered around the politics of making visible a particular understanding of precarity to themselves and to a wider public, Euromayday Hamburg experimented with a wide range of formats and methods. The group did not come up with a concise methodology comparable, for instance, to the organizing concept of social movement unionising or the spokescouncils of US grassroots movements. Nevertheless, in their innovative practices, a reconfiguration of the political on the terrain of culture can be traced.

VI.1.1 Cultural Dimensions of Political Practice

In my research process with Euromayday Hamburg, I approached practices of cultural production from several angles. The first angle of enquiry was the public "frontstage" (Goffman 1959) of the Euromayday parades, where *mediated performances* were acted out in urban public space. As a participating researcher, I observed the parades in 2009 and 2010. As numerous mediated artifacts and their use before and during the Hamburg Euromayday parades between 2005 and 2010 are extensively documented online[86], I was also able to evaluate the self-representation of Euromayday Hamburg in previous years (S_162). Based on this empirical research, I regard the Euromayday parades as a medium

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[86] I mainly evaluated materials from the website of the Hamburg Euromayday circle, the open publishing news platform Indymedia, the Facebook page of Euromayday Hamburg, the Euromayday pool on flickr and the videos on youtube. These materials include documents of the movement, such as leaflets in pdf format or posters in jpeg format, documentations of the annual Euromayday parades in word, photo and video, and sources relaying additional activities such as invitations and programs for public events or gatherings. Additionally, I double-checked details through the archives of the public mailing list of Euromayday Hamburg, participated in the Hamburg Euromayday Parades in 2009 and 2010, conducted interviews with participants and not least enjoyed many ethnographic conversations as part of my ethnographic visits in Hamburg between 2006 and 2010.

which shaped and transmitted the voices of precarious people through mediated perform-ances, images and narratives.

The second angle of enquiry related to the *mode of political organising* around this an-nual protest event. I evaluated the website of the Hamburg Euromayday circle, which in-cludes an archive of public events and workshops. Between 2006 and 2009, I paid 15 short ethnographic visits to Hamburg, where I had the occasion to participate in several formal workshops and events, and in numerous informal social gatherings. This allowed me to gain an insight into the "backstage" (Goffman 1959) of the Euromayday Hamburg circle, where the signs and symbols brought to the streets on mayday are being developed, where networking is going on amongst local and trans-urban networks, where questions are asked and ideas are aired, plans are made, props are put together and decisions prepared.

The third angle of enquiry concerned the *production of political subjectivities* both as representations and as experience through performative practices. I approached this through analysis of cultural artefacts produced by the Euromayday Hamburg circle, and through ethnographic conversations and formal interviews about their production. The informal character of my visits allowed me to observe precarious subject positions not only as they are publicly represented, but also as they are performed in everyday life. Through highly self-reflective subjectivation processes, participants gave live to the concept of a rebellious precarious subject. While using this concept to make sense of their own lives, they enriched and enacted it by writing their own experiences into it.

I found that the activities, statements, conversations, representations and practices cir-cled around three interrelated *cultural dimensions of political practice*. The first dimension was the recognition of *everyday life* as a site which constantly produces grievances, but also as a site of strength and resistance. The key to an emerging cultural politics of the precarious was to be found in everyday life. The second dimension concerned the *forma-tion of the social* in post-Fordist society. This rised questions such as: how does contempo-rary society work? How do we relate to each other as friends, colleagues, family, and neighbours? How can we act together to transform the conditions of precarisation into the good life – and what is the good life? The third dimension related to *forms of political or-ganising*. Could the desires and grievances raised in everyday life and the collective pro-duction of imageries and narratives of precarity be forged into forms of political organising that would maintain radical openness and at the same time remain effective?

Euromayday Hamburg did not only add precarity as an additional contentious issue to

the political landscape. Through a recombination of the everyday, the formation of the social and forms of political organising as cultural dimensions of political practice, Euromayday Hamburg pursued a wider political project, which I regard as a reconfiguration of the political on the micro-political level. Through the reflection on precarisation of work and live, Euromayday Hamburg traversed these cultural dimensions of political practice. In the course of the preparations for the Euromayday parades and during the event itself, actors developed an experimental practice which re-configured the relationship between the experienced dimension of individual everyday lives, the reflective dimension of the formation of the social and the political dimension of a politics in the first person. This reconfiguration affected the framing of precarity as a contentious issue, the way resources were mobilised, the repertoire of action and the shaping of a recognisable identity of the Euromayday parades. In its experimental character, Euromayday Hamburg rejected many proved and tested forms of political organising such as the trade union, the militant collective, the avantgardist political artist, the alliance-building campaign. Their process did not follow an instrumental logic aiming to reach as many organised political groups as possible through alliance building on the basis of the lowest common denominator. Rather it was driven by a desire to shape a politics which would suit the needs of precarious people as an emerging social subject in post-Fordist society. This led to practices and experimentation with a wide range of formats for reflection, action and mobilisation.

VI.1.2 Politics of the Everyday

I strike – I stress – I pause

How do I strike as a freelancer?

How do I strike when unemployed?

They stole my day – and I want it back!

Master, I was afraid of the Job Centre

I want everything

We're not apolitical, we're not disinterested, we're pissed off!

How safe is my job?

I'm a superhero... because I'm no victim of the system

Too much shit, too much work, too little time

Why don't we freak out?

I love you anyway

How come that it's always the places I need which are disappearing?

What's the good life for you?

Glamour Precaire

I've had enough ... NOT

Such slogans appeared at the Hamburg Euromayday parades between 2005 and 2010 on banners, leaflets or stickers. They adorned the invitations for events in the run-up of mayday and decorated the trucks at the parade. They were called out over the sound-systems and written on speech-bubbles made from cardboard or placards. They guided conversations in public and private settings. The raw material for these slogans was picked up while socialising in a pub, taken from popular culture, extracted from (self-)interviews, made up on the fly during the Euromayday parade, recorded at preparation meetings, parties or mobilisation activities in urban space. Everyday parlance uttered by people as they walk the paths of precarious working and living conditions was listened-to, recorded, discussed and brought to the political and public space constituted at the Euromayday parades.

Other than slogans of the AGM such as "Another World is Possible", "For Freedom of Movement and the Right to Stay" or "Smash Capitalism", those of Euromayday Hamburg emphasize the subjective affectivity, the personal experience, the individual perception. Rather than expressing desires, grievances, critique and demands in the generalised language of abstract concepts, they encapsulate the variedness of everyday experience. Often, they are posed as personal statements or questions posed by or directed at a person: "What is your struggle?", "How do I strike as a freelancer?", "How do I strike when unemployed?" Euromayday Hamburg adressed people as individuals, inviting them to add their own questions and answers and thus inscribe themselves into the Euromayday project.

The slogans give an impression of the ways everyday life was made productive in the creation of the communicative space at the Euromayday parades. Along with the slogans, other narratives, sounds and imageries were distilled from everyday lives. They circulated around topoi like the protective marriage as a strategy to deal with precarious residency status forced on many migrants, the flexible worker equipped with serving tray, mop or laptop depending on the job she is doing, the parents juggling child-care, education, jobs and unemployment, the city-dweller negotiating the question where work-time ends and autonomous time begins, the search for the post-Fordist workplace which could be an overloaded desk, a dinner-table in someone's flat, an office, or either side of the counter in a trendy bar.

In Euromayday parades and mobilisation materials, slogans, narratives and imageries were taken from different realities and placed side by side and often arranged in partial

overlap of each other, while difference between various subjectivity arrangements was acknowledged and carefully maintained. No single narrative, image or slogan was to be given precedence as the ultimate representation of a unified precarious subject. The production of political subjectivities of the precarious was to occur in the plural. It took the form of an assemblage of politics in the first person which interjected each other.

The actors drew strongly on their own everyday experiences, combined with inspiration taken from theories on the formation of the social in post-Fordist society. Their political, creative and reflective work can be seen as an attempt to bridge the gap between an awareness of social change on a macro-level implied by the transition from fordism to post-Fordism and subjective experiences within this social change on a micro-level.

In their everyday lives, the actors in the Euromayday Hamburg circle experienced precarisation from different perspectives: as students approaching graduation, often as the first generation in their families to obtain university education; as descendents of migrant workers who had come to Hamburg to work in the harbour industries; as young people from farming backgrounds who had moved to the city, as internal migrants who had moved from the East of Germany to West Germany. They worked as freelancers and project workers, rarely with fixed contracts, often in education, the NGO sector and other forms of culture- and knowledge production. Many experienced phases of unemployment, others moved on to permanent jobs. The wider group included, for instance, a teacher, a hairdresser, a trade-union organiser, and an accountant. The social network of the core group also included programmers, film-makers, graphic designers, and artists.

The Euromayday Hamburg circle departed from existing forms of political organising in trade union or in radical style, as well as from the identity politics that came to the forefront in 1980s feminism and anti-racism. In the framework of social movement theory, social movement's identity construction is seen as a unifying procedure involving shared demands or programs and shared representation both mediated and in the streets, while the difference amongst subject positions inhabited by participants remain in the background. By developing their own version of a politics in the first person, Euromayday Hamburg followed a different logic. Their political practice was designed to build precisely on the difference amongst subject positions emerging in precarious conditions of working and living.

With their production of imageries and narratives, the Hamburg Euromayday circle sought to put precarisation of work and life on the political agenda. Euromayday Hamburg

recognised precarisation as an overarching social condition which produced grievances and suffering as well as desires and satisfactions. Engaging with precarisation meant engaging with the wider social change of the transition from fordism to post-Fordism. On the macro-level, this change is characterised by subjectivation and flexibilisation of work, an increasing predominance of immaterial labour, and economic globalisation combined with a tight border regime. Euromayday Hamburg activists investigated this change on the micro-level of their own everyday lives. They shaped precarisation as experience and contentious issue, and saw it as the basis of new radical political subjectivities. They traced the countless ruses people develop in the practice of everyday life, the tactical subversions which subvert the laws, representations or rituals of the dominant regime, "not by rejecting or altering them, but by using them with respect to ends and references foreign to the system they have no choice but to accept" (De Certeau 1984:XIII).

While such tactics usually remain hidden, Euromayday drew them into political space: "I am a superhero, because I reimburse myself for overtime in stationary" was one of the statements written on hand-made cardboard speech bubbles in the run-up to the Euromayday parade 2007 (S_124, S_126). The mechanism whereby subversive tactics of everyday life are transferred to the political space was not restricted to Euromayday Hamburg. At the Euromayday parade in Malaga 2007, a popular figure of speech expressing frustration about a lack of money was turned into a powerful slogan: "Mayday! Mayday! No llego al fin de mes!" meaning that the money will run out before the end of the month. Similarly, the movement *V de Vivienda* campaigned for affordable housing with the slogan "No vas a tener casa en la puta vida", meaning "you won't get a house in your whole fucking life" (Martín 2008). As will be shown, the transfer of subversive everyday tactics to political space did not stop at the appropriation of figures of speech.

VI.1.3 Rejecting Civic Grammars of Action

The post-operaist concept of the multitude implies that a new type of politics is emerging, one that allows different singularities to act in common – yet without being subsumed to one all-encompassing unity. Moves towards such a politics can be found in many details of the Hamburg Euromayday process.

In 2009, the truck leading the Euromayday parade had a large, orange carrot dangling in front of its windscreen – the carrot of false promises which seduces people to work for

little money in the hope of obtaining a permanent contract at some point.[87] When I asked why nothing was written on this carrot, I was told: "Well then we might as well have a front-banner". The front-banner had been a source of conflict during the preparation of the first Hamburg Euromayday parade in 2005 which eventually led to a split between the radical or revolutionary left and the initiators of the Hamburg Euromayday parades. While the former insisted that a demonstration needed a clear statement in the form of a front-banner, the latter firmly rejected what they saw as an inappropriate levelling out of the plurality of rebelling voices in precarity. Thus within the Euromayday circle, 'the front banner' became shorthand for any format or practice which would unduly smooth out difference and multiplicity.

My question why neither posters nor leaflets included a list of supporting groupings, projects and initiatives received the answer that such a list would mark a closure of the Euromayday project. As an event, it was meant to convey the character of an open and productive assembly, open not only to those already involved in organised radical politics, but to all groups or individuals affected by precarity. A list of supporting groups would bring the parade a step closer to established, representative forms of political organising.

People from the Hamburg Euromayday circle frequently expressed irritation with representative forms of radical politics. One of them describes an encounter with one of the more traditionally organised radical groups which initially participated in the Hamburg Euromayday project:

> "[This group] is very (sighs) classically organised (...), almost like a small political party structure or so. And there were many discussions, or many conflicts, because the classical alliance-building politics and this loose, chaotic Euromayday network bumped into each other. Or, in discussions it often happened (quotes herself asking a member of a traditional group a question during a meeting): 'So, what do you think about this?' and then the answer (quotes the other person): 'well, I need to talk with my group first. I can't say anything about this right now'. Well, this understanding of politics was completely strange to us, because we said (quotes herself): 'Why, but you yourself as a person can say something about this right now, no?' (laughs)" (Int_6).[88]

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[87] Using the symbol of the carrot was inspired by the London-based Carrotworkers' Collective (S_215), a group of current or ex-interns mainly from the creative and cultural sectors. According to their website, they "meet regularly to think together around the conditions of free labour in contemporary societies". They undertake participatory action research, publicise information material and occasionally participate in demonstrations.

[88] German original: „Und [diese Gruppe] ist ja sehr (seufzt) klassisch organisiert, (...) fast wie so ne kleine Parteistruktur oder so. Und es gab viele Auseinandersetzungen, oder viele Konflikte, weil da diese klassische Bündnisarbeit und dieses lose, chaotische Euromayday Netzwerk sozusagen gegeneinandergetroffen sind. Oder, es war dann halt oft so in Diskussionen, ja, was meinst du denn dazu,

In this passage, the speaker expresses frustration with a form of political organising which she likens to "a small political party structure". The organising form she refers to differs from traditional political parties or trade-unions in that it relies on a form of 'Basisdemokratie', which can be compared to workers councils. Delegates who participate in meetings such as the Euromayday preparation meeting are not elected, but informally appointed. They are immediately responsible to the group, and expected to report back. As decisions are to be made by the group collectively, a delegate has no mandate to agree or disagree to a proposal without first consulting the group.

The unlabelled carrot, the rejection of the front banner, and the irritation with a party-like, representative structure of political organisation marks a departure from a type of politics which began to take shape in the 19th century. The modern category of 'the social' encompassed a new understanding of collectivity and inclusion. What Hardt and Negri called the paradigm of industrial labour begun to structure the social formation. This paradigm was constituted through "undifferentiated unity". The concept of unity - of the people, the nation, the citizens, the class, the party – traversed the political, social, economic and cultural organisation of industrial and Fordist society. Through unity, a political body was formed with one that commands and others that obey. Although people inside 'the people' were different in many ways, the way they were able to act was by forming a unity where some aspects were emphasized, while others were neglected, silenced or excluded. The cultural construction of the nation as "imagined community" is a vivid example for the formation of the social through culturally performed unity (Anderson 1991). In the industrial and Fordist societies of the 19th and 20th century, the concept of unity also structured the way economic production was organised. The factory regime regulated the social body in time and space. Workers learned to clock in and out of the workplace as required by the logic of the machines. Resistance against the working conditions in the factory and in a wider sense against the political power-relations was moulded in line with the template of unity. Organising in cooperatives, trade unions and political parties, the labour movement drew on the industrial paradigm that implied a unified workforce. Some cultural theorists regard the invention of these organisations as the main cultural contribution of the working class (Kramer 1987, Williams 1958a). The organised labour movement developed

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und dann die Antwort, naja, muss ich erst Rücksprache mit meiner Gruppe halten. Da kann ich jetzt nichts zu agen oder so. Ne, so halt so'n Politikverständnis was uns völlig fremd war, weil wir gesagt haben, ja wieso, aber du selber kannst da doch jetzt (lacht) was zu sagen, oder so."

the strike, where the unified body of the proletariat takes action, as its major weapon. The Mayday demonstrations and celebrations of the labour movement were enacted and represented as an impressive display of worker's unity. The social body of the workers united was visualised in the orderly formation of the Mayday marches, where each section – the workers' cycling and music clubs, the rank and file of various industries – became part of a whole, and the individual became part of a section. Every unit from the individual to the group to the organisation was assigned a place as a limb of the social body of the class, the proletatiat or the labour movement. Up until the early 20th century, a telling representation of the rising social body of the working class was the figure of 'the giant proletariat', a gigantic, strong and dynamic male worker, breaking his chains as he rose from the masses (Hamm 1990).

This type of political organising has been described as *civic and industrial grammars of action'* (Boltanski /Thévenot 1991; McDonald 2008:28-36). Sociologist and social movement theorist Kevin McDonald uses this concept to open up a cultural perspective onto the classical, class-based model of political organising. In this grammar of action, actions "are of worth not when they are undertaken in the name of an individual, but when they are taken in the name of the collective" (McDonald 2008:28), while singularities and particularities threaten to divide the crucial unity. The collective manifests itself through programs, policies and resolutions of conferences, which can be seen as important symbolic manifestations whereby the collective constantly reaffirms itself. The individual acts in his/her official capacity as secretary, treasurer, president, minute-taker etc. The legitimacy of people's acts relies on their function. They are merely putting into practice decisions made by the collective, symbolised by conferences, resolutions, and manifestos (McDonald 2006:31). In contrast, interpersonal relationships are subject to suspicion, as are forms of private communication taking place between individuals.

> *"This leads to forms of organisation that emphasize vertical relationships of delegations, mandate, and representation, while horizontal relationships threaten the unity of the movement. The member relates to 'the totality,' or to actions, symbols, or structures manifesting the totality – declarations, resolutions, conferences. Person-to-person relationships and private identities are excluded. This form of movement seeks to constitute itself as a totality, as a 'collective subject' (...) It is the civic moral imperative that is at the basis of the importance within trade union culture attached to treasurers, branches, secretaries, members, statutes, resolutions, and meeting procedures" (McDonald 2006:30f).*

In trade unions, power resided in the collectivity, structured according to a logic of rep-

resentation and delegation, where each level of the organization elects the level above it, while decisions proceed downwards. In the industrial grammar of action, the individual acts in terms of executing a function, as opposed to acting on the basis of personal loyalties, relationships, or characteristics. Power inequality resides in the positions as representative of the collective, not the persons. Relationships between members are mediated through their relationship to the totality. The chair incarnates the collective. If there is no chair, there is no collective. McDonalds states that

> *"The culture of this civic, industrial form of action is faceless, it seeks to build a form of strategy that celebrates the collective, while being suspicious of the personal, the singular, and the private "* *(McDonald 32).*

In today's post-Fordist society, the civic grammar has not been superseded. It is still acted out in formal political organisations and to some extend in the organised radical left, where the front banner might take a similar function in representing the collective as the party program, and the functionary might be replaced by the plenary session of the collective. The cultural politics of Euromayday Hamburg are best analysed in distinction to a politics of unity structured by the civic and industrial grammars of action. The Euromayday Hamburg circle made a conscious effort to reject these forms of political organising, protesting and representation. In 2008, they refused to agree to a shared call issued by the European Euromayday network not on the basis of its content, but because they rejected the idea of a shared call to action altogether. As a consequence, the network issued two calls in that year (Int_14). An indifference towards formal documents of the Euromayday Project is displayed by several actors of the Euromayday circle. The decision to hold multiple Euromayday parades the next year made at the Precarity Assembly at *Beyond ESF* in 2004 was circulated in the *Middlesex declaration*.(S_48, S_60). In passionate yet poignant language, it summarises the concept and aims of the Euromayday project. Several actors in the Hamburg Euromayday circle were not aware of this document. This might partly be due to priorities other than organising on the European level. However, the active rejection of a unity-based civic and industrial grammar of action might also play its part.

The Hamburg Euromayday circle embarked on a search for different forms of political organising and articulation – non-representative yet powerful, non-identitarian yet subjectivity-based, stylish yet inclusive, fun and serious at the same time.

VI.2.   Connecting Precarity Struggles in Germany

Although it started in the urban landscape of the wealthy Northern German city of Hamburg, the Euromayday project was also picked up in other smaller and larger cities across Germany and embedded in cross-city communication micro structures. It was also situated in the socio-political struggles in Germany in the second half of the 2000s. Despite the rather pessimistic evaluation of the situation of the Mayday Parades in Berlin in 2010 (see chapter III), the numbers of participating cities in Germany rose from one in 2005 to five in 2010. In 2010, Bremen participated for the second time (S_31, S_36), the small towns of Hanau (S_177) and Tübingen (S_336) both assembled for the fourth time, Dortmund in the industrial Ruhr area celebrated its first Euromayday (S_44, S_43, S_42). In Hamburg, the Euromayday parade went into its sixth year (S_158; S_46).

VI.2.1 Euromayday: Informal Trans-Urban Networking

Like in other states, social movements in Germany often organise in country-wide networks. Although they operate in a more open, flexible and fluid way than the organisational structures of more formal institutions such as NGOs, political parties or trade unions, they tend to aim at a unified political position of some kind. This may occur through a shared call to action, the formulation of shared demands, a public statement, a leaflet or other forms of self-representation. Deliberation about the content of such a shared position takes place through multiple channels, from face-to-face to digital, from one-to-one to many-to-many, from bilateral negotiations between groups to final consensus amongst all involved. Important communication channels in such deliberations are shared mailing lists and country-wide meetings involving physical co-presence of people from most of the participation groups.

Through the annual Euromayday parades, the Germany-based actors of the Euromayday project clearly present themselves as part of the same political project. Nevertheless, the initiating groups, alliances, and networks in Germany held no formal national meetings. Neither did they set up a shared, dedicated mailing list or any other shared webspace. Other than in Italy and Spain, where networks of precarity-related info-points were established in affiliation with the EuroMayday project, no such coordination exists in Germany. Yet cross-city participation in Euromayday parades indicates that the individual cities did not act in isolation. In a densely hyperlinked feature report on *Indymedia Germany* outlining the 2005 Hamburg Euromayday process, initiators report:

„Doch nicht nur in Hamburg läuft der Euromayday Prozess. Vorbereitungen für einen gemeinsamen 1.Mai laufen allerorts. Aus Berlin, Bremen, München und Frankfurt, aber auch aus einer Vielzahl anderer Städte gibt es bereits Nachfragen nach noch mehr Infomaterial, nach Flugblättern und Schlafplätzen. Wir bekommen Berichte von Bastelvorhaben und Mobilisierungsveranstaltungen. Aus dem Rhein-Main-Gebiet erwarten wir einen Hochzeitswagen zum Thema ‚Schutzehe', Soundsystems wie Silly Walks Movement und U-Site legen auf, Samba-Gruppen begleiten die Parade, es gibt Agitprop von Pink-Silver und andere Aktionen" (S_98).

Although announced as a Hamburg-based event, the first Euromayday parade in Germany with around 4000 participants, was based on existing networks and discussions extending beyond the confines of one city. The Euromayday parade provided a showcase where Germany-wide networks as well as local initiatives collectively performed their issues, political approaches, actions and debates in relation to precarity. Activists from Berlin, Bremen and Hanau, who later set up Mayday events in their own cities, participated in the 2005 Hamburg Euromayday parade. The cortege was led by *nolager*, a Germany-wide network of anti-racist and migration-related initiatives focussing on the European system of refugee detention centres (S_88). Armed with a golden, 4 meter high boltcutter, and accompanied by a 'boltcutter ballet' consisting of dressed-up stiltwalkers, the nolager contingent, which included activists from Bremen, made clear their demand to abolish the literal as well as the metaphorical fences around refugees and migrants and pointed to their precarious realities (S_30).

Under the title *Hanau 3D*[89], the *glocal group Hanau* had organised six weeks of discussions, film screenings, interventions and activities where the interrelations between the three dimensions of appropriation, migration and precarity were explored (S_173). The concluding event was a trip to the Hamburg Euromayday parade. Together with the *Society for Legalisation*, they contributed a cheesily decorated 'protection marriage truck' complete with brides and flowers as well as elaborately crafted information materials (S_101). These included a brochure provided by the group *kanak attak* which advises on the tactic of protective marriage between German passport holders and illegalised migrants. The *Mega-Infarkt* catalogue was a pun on the advertising campaign of the electronics chainstore Mega-Markt. It provided "tips and tricks for free everyday life" in the spirit of appropriation. The Euromayday parade provided an occasion to publicly visualise the theoretical and practical elaborations of the Hanau 3D project. Together with the Hamburg

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[89] In the title „Hanau 3D", 3 D stands for the three dimensions of appropriation, migration and precarisation. The shorthand 3d was chosen to emphasize the interrelations between these dimensions.

Euromayday posters, banners of the society for legalisation, the Bremen protection-marriage art project (S_63) as well as the *Prêt-a-(em)Porter*[90] and the Mega-Infarkt initiatives, the Hanau truck outlined various political and interventionist approaches to the dimensions of precarity, migration and appropriation. A few dozen Berlin activists, including a *pink and silver* Samba band travelled to Hamburg and participated in the event (S_108). In the preceding week, many of the Berlin contingent had participated in a series of events, discussions, parties, actions and practical preparations in Berlin, which were coordinated by the left-wing network *FelS* (S_172; FelS 2007).

Cross-city collaboration was pushed further in 2007, when the Hamburg Euromayday circle initiated the *mir reichts - nicht* campaign (I've had enough – NOT) to connect with precarious workers in the cultural sector (Euromayday Hamburg 2007, 2008). After carrying out a co-research project accompanied by public events at the prestigious art exhibition *documenta* in Kassel, they moved on to the renowned film festival Berlinale where they collaborated closely with the Berlin Euromayday alliance and FelS – which in turn had participated in struggles around the labour conditions of precarious culture workers especially in cinemas. Not without conflicts relating to political analysis as well as forms of political articulation, this collaboration exemplified the arduous process involved in the creation not only of a specific campaign, but of a different approach to doing politics.

Based on existing networks, resources can be shared fast through informal channels. In 2010, the Berlin-based design team *image shift* which had designed graphic materials for previous Berlin Mayday parades collaborated with the Hamburg Euromayday circle to produce an elaborate sticker campaign, a poster and sticky tape with slogans (S_161). Some of these materials were also used at Mayday Ruhr in Dortmund. Such collaborations point to a communication micro-structure outside formal organising structures such as publicly announced meetings, shared mailing lists or other dedicated web spaces. It is maintained by personal and political relationships between individuals and groups through visits, participation in each others events, phone-calls, Skype, chats, text messages and other communications, often on a one-to-one basis. Traces of the distributed relations between Euromayday groups in Germany can be found on the commercial social network

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[90] Pret-a-revolter was an initiative of Las Agencias, a group of art-inspired activists in Barcelona until the mid-2000s. It consisted of designing fashion which was customised to the protective and practical needs of demonstrators. As an offshoot, prêt-a-(em)porter designed fashion which would enable consumers to transport goods out of stores without being detected. This, in turn, was related to the Yomango project, which promoted the appropriation of consumer goods as a collective and political practice. Yomango had participated in the Hanau 3D project.

platform Facebook, where individuals from different cites "befriend" each other, "like" their respective Euromayday Facebook platforms or subscribe to them. The political network is thus not articulated through formal structures, but through a multiplicity of informal collaborations and communication. While this network may be hardly visible in the corporate media, and not even recognisable to all participants in the Euromayday parades, it creates its own "partial public" (Schmidt 2006). This public is both reflected on and enhanced by online communication channels. It is not streamlined on one single dedicated website. However, those who participate in this public can find minute details on the activities of related groups and initiatives on their widely spread websites, weblogs and wikis, on commercial platforms such as Facebook, Flickr or Youtube as well as social movements own, autonomous platforms such as Indymedia or alternative media aggregators such as labournet. By publishing calls, reports, descriptions, minutes, event calendars, photos, videos, evaluations, and subjective accounts, they forge a partial public out of the activities of individual groups

VI.2.2 Labour Related Precarity Struggles in Germany

When Euromayday initiative was taken up in Germany in 2005, the German state was undergoing major and conflictual restructuring of the labour market similar to the neoliberal restructuring in Britain put forward by New Labour on the basis of a renewed model of 1980s Thatcherism (McRobbie 2002). Protests against this restructuring of the labour market and the welfare state flared up in mass demonstrations, labour conflicts, student strikes, and new everyday-related tactics of resistance were generated.

Several attempts were made to forge these struggles and realities into a social movement or at least a network. The initiative Dichtmachen.org aimed to bring together several Euromayday groups with campaigns around workplace struggles (S_18). Mobilizations against the cuts following the 2009/2010 financial crisis under the motto "Wir zahlen nicht für Eure Krise" (We won't pay for your crisis) were another attempt at country-wide cross-movement organising. On a concptual level, the restructuring of the benefit system, the increasing surveillance of employees and the tightening of work schedules as well as the demand for flexibility, mobility and never-ending dedication of employees as well as students fit well into the mould of the precarity frame. Theoretically, the precarity-frame offered itself as an empty signifier which would allow these multiple struggles to articulate each other. Consequently, several struggles appear on the horizon of the German-based

Euromayday initiatives. Euromayday activists supported various campaigns through interventionist actions, reported about them, engaged with trade unions, experimented with organizing concepts. With the Euromayday parades, they provided a framework which was hoped to assemble and mutually enrich the different struggles.

In January 2005, a new "law for modern services at the labour market" ("Viertes Gesetz für moderne Dienstleistungen am Arbeitsmarkt") named *Hartz IV* replaced the income-related benefits for long-term unemployment with a basic flat-rate which hardly covered the basic needs of recipients (Wolf 2006). The power relations between employees and employers were changed significantly in favour of employers. Responsibility for failure or success on the labour-market was placed on employees, who are now legally expected to continuously improve their skills as well as levels of mobility and flexibility according to the needs of the labour market. The employee was now seen as an 'Unternehmer seiner selbst', i.e. an entrepreneur marketing his or her own self. The required permanent self-activation enforced employee subjectiviations for which the poignant term 'Ich-AG', i.e. 'me.ltd' was coined (Bröckling 2007; Kleyboldt 2004). Hundreds of thousands demonstrated against Hartz IV, and the establishment of the new left-wing party *Die Linke* was not least fuelled by the wide dissatisfaction with the new legislation.

Discontent with the flexibilisation of labour erupted in the service industries, especially in the retail sector, where employers threatened to abolish overtime pay. Throughout 2007/2008, the service sector trade union *ver.di* run the longest retail strike in German history. It ended, against the will of the strikers on the ground, with a relatively small concession from the side of the employers. The strike was accompanied by Germany-wide public outrage against the policies of individual companies, which extended well into the corporate media landscape. A campaign combining online and offline tactics run by ver.di scandalised the discount supermarket chain Lidl for its extensive surveillance of employees which contradicted the German data protection act (Kneip 2010:148-159; Hamann/Giese 2004; Gajewska/Niesyto 2009). In 2008, the discount chemist chain *Kaisers* sacked one of its striking employees for alledgedly having stolen tokens worth 1 Euro 30. Supported by a vivid campaign, the employee nicknamed *Emmely* went to court. After two years, she won after having passed several levels of jurisdiction (Schönafinger/Fansa 2009; Zattler 2009). A similar campaign against *Schlecker*, another discount chemist chain, was run in 1994/95 (Huhn 2001; Schelter/Mallmann 2004:27; S_62). Retail struggles continued on the level of trade-union led labour dispute as well as direct action.

Euromayday activists joined in with several interventions, for instance flashmobs at the Schlecker chemist in 2009 and 2010 (S_32, S_33, S_34, S_35). In 2006, attempts were made to transnationalise a strike at *Gate Gourmet*, a multi-national corporation supplying food for airlines. Strikers at Heathrow, London were supported by their German counterparts as well as the London AGM-related direct action scene (S_225, S_273, S_276). These alliances were widely reported in the activist scene, for instance on the online forum *Chefduzen* (S_65) and Indymedia Germany (S_69).

On a smaller scale, labour conflicts occurred in the cultural sector, for instance at two ciemas in Berlin. In 2004, the *Cinemaxx* corporation had left the German employers association which allowed them to downgrade work contracts as they were not anymore bound to collective bargaining. Until 2007, more than 250 strikes and actions were carried out by over 2000 employees spread across numerous venues. Discontent amongst the employees of the Berlin Cinemaxx venue grew. In December 2007, Berlin Mayday activists supported their demands for improved working conditions and better pay with an action at the entrance of the cinema. Visitors were invited to express their opinion about the wages of the employees on speech bubbles made of cardboard, and to have their photo taken. The photos were then handed to the management of the cinema (S_72). In the second case, ongoing tensions in the independent, socio-culturally oriented and partly council-funded movie theatre *Babylon Mitte* hardened in late 2008, when employees set up a shop committee with the radical trade-union *FAU* to fight for better working contracts (S_28; S_20; S_21). Tensions turned into open conflict when the Babylon employees staged their first public event in February 2009 (S_24). The campaign continued until 2010.[91]

Established trade unions increasingly began to turn to network-based, action-oriented and internet-supported campaign tactics such as social movement unionizing or organizing (Baringhorst/Kneip/Niesyto 2009; Baringhorst/Kneip/Maerz/Niesyto 2010). Acknowledging that the concept of the service union providing insurances, legal support and 'reasonable' negotiators in labour disputes did not stop the decrease in membership, they begun to debate and experiment with the concept of *organizing* or *social movement unionizing* which had proved highly successful in the US (Bremme/Fürniß/Meinecke 2007). In April 2005, immediately before the first Euromayday parade in Germany and included in its

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[91] In addition to the conflict around work contracts, there was a legal conflict with the service trade union ver.di around the legality of the radical trade union FAU, which is not a member of the German Trade Union Council (DGB). Eventually, the FAU won the ensuing court case and was re-instated as an approved trade union. See the documentation on labournet.de (S_28)

event calendar, trade unions and the union-related *Hans-Böckler Foundation* organized a conference in Hamburg titled *Never Work Alone* where more than 100 trade union organizers, shop stewards, activists and researchers from Germany and the US discussed the organizing concept (Hauer/Wissmeier 2005).

Throughout the 2000s, the Bologna process set in motion a neo-liberal restructuring of German universities.[92] Gradually, university fees were introduced, formerly relatively open syllabuses were tightened and studying times were shortened to allow for an earlier entry of graduates into the labour market. A student's time table scheduled according to the Bologna policies amounts to a 40 hour week with few loopholes for self-organised studying or part-time work. Consequently, university education became increasingly unaffordable for those who needed to work part-time to sustain themselves. German universities have seen several student strikes relating to what was criticised as an economisation of higher education. With numerous protests, demonstrations, actions and interventions, Hamburg students participated in the student strikes in 2002, 2003, 2005, 2006 and finally in the *Bildungsstreik* (Education Strike) in 2009.[93] From the first Euromayday parade in Hamburg onwards, student activists made up a visible contingent in the event. In 2005 and 2006, their yellow T-shirts were scattered across the parade. In 2009 and 2010, the enforced factory-like mode of studying was visualised by a robot figure. This image was taken up in the design for the annual poster of the Euromayday parade.

In addition to mass mobilizations, highly visible campaigns and political lobbying, a number of initiatives and small-scale direct actions focusing on everyday related resistance and self-help occurred in the second half of the 2000s. Between 2006 and 2010, the internet forum *Chefduzen.de*, where tactics of everyday resistance in the labour market are discussed, accumulated 21.212 threads with 207.412 contributions by 9824 registered members. A part from self-help threads, the forum includes an events calendar as well as sections for theory and campaigning. Frustrated with the continuous devaluation of their work and ever more flexibilised working conditions, personal health assistants called for a *Scheiß-Streik* (shit-strike) in 2009. The daily amounts of shit were literally returned to those responsible. Throughout the month of May, excrement-filled tubes were sent to

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[92] The Bologna process, scheduled for 1999-2010, aimed at a harmonisation of the European University system. It was criticised as an economisation of higher education: "Reforms include introducing tuition fees, overhauling departments, and changing the organization of universities. These reforms have been criticized as unnecessary, detrimental to the quality of education, or even undemocratic" (Lorenz 2006).

[93] The student strikes are documented in the magazine analyse & kritik, volumes 483, 495, 507, 540.

health service providers, politicians, temping agencies, NGOs and charities (S_22, Nowak 2009). Initiatives of unemployed people and Euromayday activists were involved in several campaigns. The *Zahltag* (pay-day) initiative targeted the Hartz-IV policies where they were most visible, at job centres (S_73). Berlin activists set up the campaign *Keiner muss allein zum Amt*, an escorting service for visits to the jobcentre (S_26; S_23; S_19). Stalls were set up in front of jobcentres, where visitors could talk about their experiences or find someone to support them at their appointments. Alternatively, escorts could be arranged through a mailing list.

VI.3.   The 2005 Euromayday Parade in Hamburg

In 2005, Hamburg was amongst the 19 cities where Euromayday parades of the precarious were held. Several people from Hamburg had participated in the European Social Forum and met at the precarity assembly at Beyond ESF. They were involved with three groups who shared a cultural approach to radical politics. *Kanak Attak* is a network of people with and without migration backgrounds and German passports who successfully intervened in the dominant discourse of the migrant as a passive victim by promoting the concept of "autonomy of migration" (Karakayali 2008:251-258). They developed a distinctively cultural type of campaigning consisting of a mix of theory, politics and artistic practice. The *Gesellschaft für Legalisierung* (Society for Legalisation) was established as an association of several initiatives working in the space between art and politics and run an intensive campaign for the legalisation of migrants in Germany (S_74). *Hamburg Umsonst* (Hamburg for free) aimed to establish a culture of everyday resistance (S_93). Umsonst groups performatively and playfully engaged in the collective appropriation of goods and services, such as "entering pools and public buildings, fare evasion, eating in restaurants or cantines without paying, sneaking into cinemas, petty theft" (Kanngieser 2007). Although kanak attak, the Society for Legalisation and Hamburg Umsonst worked on different issues, they recognised the potential of the precarity frame as a device to connect their respective struggles. On returning to Hamburg after the European Social Forum and inspired by the Euromayday project, they invited several groups, media projects, networks and other initiatives from the north of Germany for a meeting to discuss to "fashion the 1. May demonstration differently" (S_76) - different from the established trade union rallies as well as the militant *social-revolutionary Mayday* demonstrations which took place in many German cities since the 1980s.

VI.3.1 Preparations: "It could only happen in Hamburg"

Several commentators noted that Hamburg was the only place in Germany where the concept of a Euromayday parade could take hold (Stützle 2005, Int_14). Through the combination of Kanak Attak, the Society for Legalisation and Hamburg Umsonst, the local hubs of two major country-wide political networks converged in the city of Hamburg. The first of these networks was *Kein Mensch ist illegal* (no one is illegal), to which people from the Society for Legalisation and Kanak Attak were affiliated. Kein Mensch ist illegal had experimented with a combination of radical social support work, campaigning and cultural interventions for almost a decade (AutorInnenkollektiv 2000; cross the border 1999; Heck 2008).[94] Initiated in 1997 at the *documenta* in Kassel, it brought together existing migration-related and anti-racist groups and inspired the creation of new ones. The second network formed around the issue of access to resources including knowledge and infrastructure (Bundeskoordination Internationalismus 2004). It developed counterstrategies to neoliberal policies leading to privatisation and precarisation, including the development of social rights, resistance at the workplace, use of free software and not least the *Umsonst* (*for-free*) groups in Hamburg, Berlin, Dresden and Freiburg which promoted a radical culture of resistance through collective appropriation of goods and services. This approach also gave rise to several small projects such as *Megainfarkt* in Hanau. This network had a strong presence in Hamburg through the urban interventions of *Hamburg Umsonst*, a dynamic group described by one interlocutor as "a hungry bunch" (Int_14).

Both the migration related groups in Hamburg and those promoting a cultural politics of appropriation were connected to similar groups in other European cities. Migration-related networks such as the *European noborder network* (www.noborder.org) or the *Frassanito Network* (thistuesday.org; Karakayali, Serhat/Sandro Mezzadra/Vassilis Tsianos/Manuela Bojadzijev/Thomas Atzert 2006) had organised on a European level since the late 1990s. They converged in several noborder action camps which marked the mechanisms of the border-regime in rural and urban border areas within and around Europe (noborder.org archive), and coordinated several transnational, synchronised *Action Days for Freedom of Movement and the Right to Stay* like the one on April 2nd 2005 which was associated with the trans-urban Euromayday parades. Since 2004, the Frassanito network had published several discussion papers about the relations between migration, labour and precarity (S_58, S_59, S_55).

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[94] These activities are documented on the website of the noborder network www.noborder.org,

Protagonists of a cultural politics of appropriation also networked on a European level. Hamburg Umsonst befriended the Barcelona based group *Yomango*. Between 2002 and 2007, this tongue-in-cheek lifestyle brand promoted "shoplifting as a form of disobedience and direct action against multinational corporations" (Raunig 2008). The brand had 'franchises' in Argentina, Chile, Mexico and Germany. It could be found in art galleries, shopping malls and chainstores, in the streets, and at mobilizations around the globe. Regarding buying as "an action based on obedience", Yomango took the demand for free circulation to the extreme in numerous well choreographed collective actions. In February 2005, Hamburg Umsonst, Yomango and the Hanau project Megainfarkt jointly participated in a conference at the Frankfurt theatre (S_77). International collaboration continued after Hamburg Umsonst transformed into a backbone of the Hamburg Euromayday circle. For instance, the group participated in the Amsterdam wintercamp in 2009, where further connections were established. Trans-urban networking and the mobility of actors across the European space is also manifest in virtual space. Only two days after the 2005 Euromayday parades, a photo report from the Milan parade appeared on the Hamburg Euromayday website. It documented the concept of the precarious superheroes (S_107). In March 2006, a translation of the short profiles for each Milan superhero figure was published (S_113). Three days before the Euromayday parade 2006, Hamburg saw its own superhero intervention and imagery (S_120; S_118). In turn, a report on Indymedia Italy celebrated the "grand success" of the Euromayday parade in Germany (S_96).

On the local level, the groups which initiated Euromayday in Hamburg maintained dialogue with parts of the trade unions. This was fostered by long-standing contacts reaching back to the unemployment initiatives of the 1970s and 1980s. They also cooperated with the theatre *Hamburg Schauspielhaus* in a years-long series of events titled *go create resistance*, where artists, activists and academics presented their concepts. Such collaborations between radical political groups and formal institutions can not be taken for granted. The traditional radical left in Hamburg and elsewhere tended to keep a distance from cultural institutions such as council-founded, prestigious theatres or museums, or from established political institutions such as the trade unions. They maintained a sceptical attitude towards a politics that departed, like the Euromayday project, from a standard radical action repertoire, its rhetorics, representation and organisational forms. Tactics of communication guerrilla were suspected to miss the point and trivialise serious political issues (autonome a.f.r.i.k.a. gruppe 1997).

In Hamburg, the convergence of Kanak Attak, Society for Legalisation and Hamburg Umsonst opened up a space for open experimentation with a radical cultural politics focussing on precarisation. Starting in 2005, each Mayday was preceded by a series of public events (S_79). More than in other cities, major debates of the German left had a strong, localised presence in Hamburg. This presence was not confined to the distinctively political space, but enhanced through a radical cultural politics which combined public events such as discussions and performances with actions and mobilisations. Finally, the initiating groups connected previous activities on the European level with the Europe-wide scope of the Euromayday project.

The Germany-wide call for a Euromayday parade in Hamburg 2005 was well received. Between three and four thousand people, many of them affiliated to existing political groups, took part. With five themed floats, street theatre, colour coding, sound, sculptures and full-body costumes, participants brought their own interpretations of precarious experience and tactics of resistance to the Hamburg Euromayday parade. For those who wanted more analytical information about the political background of the various performances, the newspaper "le monde precaire" edited by people from Kanak Attak was distributed (S_66). Participants re-assembled struggles they were currently involved in by tentatively relating their realities to the condition and experience of precarity. During the parade, an experimental re-framing of political and social struggles was expressed and enacted through polysemic, open performances and visualisations rather than fixed programmatic speeches, programmes or manifestos. Rather than forming an orderly march or a closed block-structure marked by linking arms and carrying front- and side-banners with explicit slogans, participants loosely gathered around vehicles, bands or soundsystems. Some groups made themselves recognisable by wearing colour-coded garments, as for instance the students in their yellow T-shirts who were on strike against the introduction of student fees and more generally against the neo-liberalisation of university. Neither call-out nor mobilising posters displayed a concise list of signatories such as individuals, organised groups, networks or initiatives supporting the Euromayday project. Instead, participants brought their often long-standing demands to the parade in mediated, performative formats.

VI.3.2 Reporting: "It really was a space of communication!"

The Hamburg initiators consciously framed the Euromayday parades as a means to produce a movement rather than a means to mobilise for or represent an already existing movement. They described the 2005 parade as "a mixture of a party and a political demonstration about precarity" (S_97).

The Hamburg Euromayday parade 2005 with its route, performances, media tools and speeches is well documented in photos, video (S_151, S_106) and text. Taking the website of Euromayday Hamburg and the German Indymedia platform as a starting point to search for documentation, I identified 31 items, some of which were published on several platforms. Seven were published in left-wing print publications such as the daily newspapers *tageszeitung* (S_100; S_90) and *Neues Deutschland* (S_89) and the magazines *analyse & kritik* (Hamburger Mayday AktivistInnen 2005; Hauer/Wissmeier 2005; Stützle 2005; S_68) and *Arranca* (S_111). They focussed more on analysis than detailed and subjective description. Seven items consisted mainly of photographs published on the movement webistes Indymedia (S_91, S_93, S_101), *Labournet* (S_109) and the Euromayday Hamburg homepage (S_84, S_85, S_87). Five reports focussed on specific actors, especially students and migrants, or an accompanying appropriation action which received much attention from the corporate media (S_103, S_105, S_104, S_75; n.A. 2005). Under the motto "the prosperous years are over" taken from a popular movie at the time, people from Hamburg Umsonst had helped themselves to food in a trendy restaurant without paying. Four items referred to invitations to prepare contributions such as clowning, radical cheerleading or samba drumming (S_82, S_80, S_83), or gave instructions referring to the route of the parade (S_86). After the event, participants made an effort to carefully recount and contextualise Euromayday Hamburg through nine online reports (S_98, S_95, S_99, S_102, S_67, S_108, S_97, S_110, S_78). Some of them provided links to reports on Euromayday parades in other European cities. On the open publishing platform Indymedia, users widely used the comment function, which allows anyone to add their views underneath each entry to voice agreement and disagreement with the Euromayday initiative. Comments were also used for interactive clarification of the performances during the parade. For instance, several reports mentioned pine-trees made of cardboard carried by migrant initiatives. One poster asked for an explanation. In less than an hour, a response was posted (S_95).[95]

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[95] The pine trees were a reference to a policy whereby detention camps are often situated in remote rural areas, without access to public transport and often in forests. These detention camps are nicknamed

Several reports will be analysed in detail. They were written from different perspectives. The first is titled: "Euromayday Hamburg – das war spitze!" (Euromayday Hamburg rocked!) and was published on the website of Hamburg Euromayday by the Hanau node of the network *Kein Mensch ist illegal* (S_108). The second set of reports was selected for its references to the route of parade (S_95, S_99, S_97, S_84, S_85, S_86). The third report titled "aphrodisiaca" was first posted on the international Euromayday mailing list, then forwarded to the Hamburg Euromayday mailing list and finally re-published on the Euromayday Hamburg website. It describes in detail the performative practices and the feelings of the author (S_102). The report from Hanau includes a description of visualisations of struggles around precarity performed by a variety of groups:

> *"At the front of the parade a freedom of movement banner, carried by the ‚block' of the anti-lager-action-tour, which was dressed in blue and silver and spread good vibes with drums and well-rehearsed chants. Notably especially the participation of numerous african activists from the Brandenburg initiative of refugees. And the issue of precarious residency status and equal rights for all was almost omnipresent in this demonstration: At the opening theatre against the regime of lagers and at the subsequent performance of the world's only bolt-cutter ballet; on the banners of the society for legalisation or of kanak attak about double citizenship (two are better than one! [mit dem zweiten sieht man besser – advertising slogan of the second channel of Germany's public TV appropriated by kanak attak for their campaign for double citizenship, i.e. two passports. mh]); on the multi-coloured wedding-vehicle by 'megainfarkt', where the tactic of protective marriage was promoted along with many other forms of appropriation; or at the intermediary rally at the refugee-boat, a so-called first stop welcoming center. Besides the pink-silver samba band from Berlin, a sound-system as well as two smaller themed vehicles from Hamburg, two participants attracted particular attention: two asses combined with scare-crows and ironic slogans broached the issue of precarious working conditions in the agricultural sector. Remarkable as well hundreds of Hamburg students in yellow T-shirts, who through their participation at the Euromayday parade announced a 'summer of resistance' not only (!) against the rising university fees" (S_108).[96]*

'jungle camps'. The government justified this policy as a measure to protect migrants from racist attacks in more populated areas. Through elaborate campaigns, migrants and their supporters had achieved the closure of several of these isolated detention camps in 2005.

[96] German original: an der spitze des zuges ein freedom of movement transparent, getragen vom "block" der anti-lager-action-tour, die in blue-silver mit trommeln und eingeübten sprechchören für stimmung sorgten. bemerkenswert dabei vor allem die teilnahme zahlreicher afrikanischer aktivistInnen der brandenburger flüchtlingsinitiative. und die frage von prekärem aufenthalt und gleichen rechten für alle war in der demo nahezu allgegenwärtig: im auftakttheater gegen das lagerregime und dem anschließenden auftritt des weltweit einzigen bolzenschneiderballets; auf den transparenten der gesellschaft für legalisierung oder von kanak attak zum "doppelpaß" (mit dem zweiten sieht man besser!); auf dem buntgeschmückten hochzeitswagen von "megainfarkt", auf dem neben verschiedensten aneignungsformen auch die schutzehe propagiert wurde; oder mit der zwischenkundgebung am erstaufnahmezentrum

Emphasizing the presence of migration-related initiatives, this report decodes the flow of the parade along the lines of political affiliation. It outlines the diversity of the participating groups both in terms of the social struggles they pursue and of the different styles of self-presentation. For instance, a campaign of unemployed people against a policy which forces them to work for the symbolic hourly wage of one Euro is juxtaposed with the shrill-looking costumes of culture workers. With regret, the authors observe "one empty space in the parade": "Not one trade union flag" was spotted in "the colourful sea of cheeky protest". Local trade union branches and the Euromayday circle had cooperated in the weeks before the first of May, most notably in the preparation of a seminar on social movement trade unionism and its specific organizing methodology which is seen as particularly suitable for precarious working arrangements.[97] However, the loose cooperation between people from the service trade union ver.di and the Euromayday initiative did not translate into an official trade union participation in the Euromayday parade despite a veritable charme offensive deployed by the Euromayday project during the trade union march.

While the report from the Hanau group focussed on the politics expressed in the parade, reports mainly from locals included a detailed outline of the route in their city, or, more specifically, the neighbourhoods of St. Pauli and the neighbouring Altona. As several postings on the Hamburg Euromayday mailing list in April 2005 confirm, the route had been carefully planned during the preparation in coordination with participating groups. Two sets of photographs and maps were published on the Euromayday website in late April. The parade started from *Michelwiese*, a relaxed park area at the landmark church St. Michaelis where people like to spend their lunchbreak on a sunny day or gather for a barbecue during the weekend. From there it proceeded to *Landungsbrücken* in the St. Pauli port area, a favoured tourist destination where passenger ships are departing. After a short walk, the parade reached *Hafenstrasse*, described as "the major nest of activists and formerly completely squatted" (S_102). The legalised squat, a multi-storey terrace of 6 houses, overlooks the port as well as a recently gentrified row of cafes. The parade then

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genannten flüchtlingsschiff. Neben der pink-silver sambaband aus berlin, einem soundsystem sowie weiteren kleinen motivwägen aus hamburg sorgten zwei demoteilnehmer für besondere aufmerksamkeit: zwei esel, die in kombination mit ausstaffierten vogelscheuchen und ironischen slogans die prekären arbeitsbedingungen in der landwirtschaft thematisierten. auffällig zudem hunderte von hamburger studentInnen in gelben t-shirts, die mit ihrer beteiligung auf dem euromayday einen "summer of resistance", nicht nur (!) gegen die erhöhten studiengebühren, ankündigten.

[97] The conference was titled *Never work alone* and took place from 25. to 28. April 2005. See Hauer/Wissemeyer 2005 for a conference report, S_64 for the conference Website and Schmalstieg (2009) for an analyisis on organizing precarious workers through trade unions.

moved through the *St. Pauli* neighbourhood with its red light district and the famous amusement mile *Reeperbahn*, and crossed the fish storage warehouses in Neumühlen, an area which at nighttime is a workplace for sexworkers (S_95), before returning to the port. It passed the *Fischmarkt*, another tourist destination. In stark contrast, the next stop was set at the refugee ship *Bibby Altona*, temporarily used as a detention and deportation centre for asylum seekers (S_166, S_91). The Euromayday parade ended at the *Platz der Republik* in the district of Altona.

The choreography of the parade carefully aligned performances and demands with the urban architecture. The city – its streets, neighbourhoods, inhabitants, visitors, infrastructure and history – was consciously assigned a role in the Euromayday parade: a backdrop, a stage, or an extra in a play staged by the actors. Through actions, performances, banner drops and occasional speeches, a cheerful, loud and hedonistic cortege marked some of the many precarious places (S_97, S_95) interspersing famous Hamburg localities: The streets of St. Pauli as the work place of sex workers; the high streets with their supermarket- and hotel chains where employers are most blatantly enforcing precarisation of work through anti-union policies, low-paid contracts and surveillance of workers and customers and where people on benefits daily try to make ends meet in the cheap supermarkets; the port area as a space of contested gentrification where developers and tourism compete with a melange of locals and long-standing, organised alternative and squatting subcultures, and where seedy or luxurious harbour romance clashes with the realities of migrants awaiting deportation.

Mapping was established as an important element in the action repertoire of social movements during the last decade as a technique to shift the normalised meanings of spatial geographies as well as power relations (Cobarrubias 2009; Cobarrubias/Casas-Cortés 2007; Spillman 2007; Cobarrubias/Pickles 2009). While Euromayday Hamburg did not produce a printed representation of its mapping of precarisation processes in Hamburg, actors did engage with the mapping technique (S_117; John 2006). The annual Euromayday parade itself inscribed an embodied yet imaginary map of the city as a site of precarisation into the collective urban horizon of participants.

In a report published by the Hamburg Euromayday circle on Indymedia, one participant is quoted as saying:

> *"This is the most creative demonstration on which I've ever been" (S_97).*

What exactly this creativity entails is outlined in a particularly vivid report which de-

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scribes in detail the practices and some of the feelings involved in marking the city (S_102). It is one of the few reports written in first person. At the Lidl supermarket,

> *"we had a speech, taped stones on the windows and taped lots of other info-stuff on the walls. We didn't dare to spray or attack the building - the Germans are so booooooring. The other action was led by a drum-group of some refugees where we approached the asylumn-ship and managed to get up to the door screaming and shouting against any forms of lagers or borders and expressing our solidarity with all people who suffer from borders in a more direct manner than everybody does. We were able to leave our demands in paint and paper on the walls of the buildings and the security-guards were damn scared :-). All along the way we had banner-, flyer-, poster-actions. The parade ended at 4:30pm in a small park where everybody was lying around, drinking, relaxing, talking or listening to the spreeches from the truck (thanx to milano for the interview!)" (S_102).*

Note that stones were not *thrown* into the windows of the Lidl supermarket outlet, as is customary in demonstrations aligned with the black block tactic and often occurs in the aftermath of the revolutionary Mayday demonstrations of the radical left, but *taped* to them. This ironic statement can be understood as an expression of the self-understanding of the Euromayday parade as a tactical change in form and formation, but not as an abandonment of a confrontational attitude altogether. Even though we can guess that this commentator may have liked to, as he puts it, "attack the building", he appreciated that the Euromayday parade had "the dynamics of a movement, not of a Sunday-walk". He ends his report with a statement which earned it the ironic heading "aphrodisiaka" on the Hamburg website:

> *"The most impressing thing for me was: It really was a space of communication! Through the over-emphasized self-representation and self-agitation, forms of expression were found that really taught me new things and allowed me to do things I don't do in the tight skin of the rooms structured by the hegemonial majority discourses. EuroMayDay, I love you. Let's organize so that we can stay to-gether. (…) I think, I speak also for the Berlin Samba-Band and x-prekaria when I thank the Ham-burgers for the work they did to realize this starting point. See you next year in Berlin on the Euro-MayDay, my friends" (S_102).*

Wrapped up in a veritable declaration of love for Euromayday, the people involved, and the socio-political experience it generated, this statement in its unashamed affectivity and its almost incredulous acknowledgement of the virtues of "overemphasized self-representation and self-agitation" points to a crucial aspect of the Euromayday parades, which was envisaged in the shared call of the network in 2005: the creation of a "public space (…) to catalyse new forms of social cooperation". The desire to hold on to the ex-

perience emerging from the performative mode of movement building activities became a major motivation to organise: "Let's organise so that we can stay together".[98]

The quality of the Euromayday parade as a communication space was also emphasised by the no-lager network which campaigns against the detention of migrants in often far-out, rural camps while they are awaiting deportation. This policy forces migrants as well as supporting protestsinto invisibility. One commentator notes that at the Euromayday parade, migrants led a demonstration with several thousand people, thus reversing this invisibility into its contrary. He also stated that connections flared up between the precarity of migrants and German passport holders, however different their situations might be. To him, the entire Euromayday parade seemed to have been characterised by a temporary, mutual identification with the political issues of other participants (S_68). This mutual identification was not codified in one single, overarching document, manifesto, call or organisation. An articulation of different aspects of precarisation occurred on the level of experience, affect and subjectivity. This articulation might not have been possible within the boundaries of a formal alliance aiming for a fixed, unified voice. In the open communication space of a Mayday Parade, different realities could coexist and communicate without the need to smoothen out their difference to achieve one unified position.

VI.3.3 Criticising: "Is this an I-pod advertisement"?

The overall positive evaluation of the Euromayday parade was by no means shared by the entire radical left scene. This is reflected in the comments posted under announcements and reports of the Hamburg Euromayday parade on Indymedia. One commentator referred explicitly to conflicts between the initiating groups and those from "the autonomous and anarchist spectrum" including the FAU (Free workers union) during the preparation period. S/he regretted that the organisers were not responsive to criticism which prevented a broader participation which would have included this spectrum (S_95).

In mid-April, the 2005 Hamburg Euromayday parade was announced in an extenxive feature article on Indymedia Germany (S_98).[99] In quick everyday language, the com-

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[98] 'Staying together' was one of the main motivation given by young visitors of centri sociali in Milan in a survey (Ruggiero 2000).

[99] The article was titled 'Euromayday in Hamburg and elsewhere'. It was published in mid-April as an announcement and updated on May 2nd to include a report about the Mayday Parade. 30 comments were made between 15.4. and 13.5. 9 of these were deemed useful 'additions' by the Indymedia moderators. They consisted of announcements of other alternative Mayday events in Germany as well as further information about Hamburg's Euromayday activities. The remaining 21 comments were regarded as 'contributions which do not constitute useful additions'. On the website, they are typographically set apart

ments posted under the article include almost all critical positions which were debated in more elaborate language in other media close to social movements such as the magazine analyse & kritik (Hauer 2006, Stützle 2005), or the daily newspaper tageszeitung, and continued in ensuing years.[100] Interestingly, the moderators of Indymedia Germany decided to classify the depreciative as well as the supportive comments on the Hamburg Euromayday project as "contributions which do not constitute useful additions". Many criticisms presumably came from those who tend to support the socio-revolutionary Mayday demonstrations. Commentators addressed the form of the Euromayday parade, its positioning in relation to the political spectrum and the concept of precarity.

The creative, playful and hedonistic form was denounced as "a ridiculous selling" of "a dull re-hash of the Barcelona Euromayday" as the "next cool thing". Music corteges, one commentator noted, have long been part of the trade union Mayday celebrations, so the parade was no innovation. Euromayday was equalled with the Christopher Street Day Parades of the gay and lesbian movement as well as the love parade and its various derivatives, all deemed worn out and over. It was positioned in the spectrum of mainstream cultural events such as the Berlin Carnival of Cultures, and as the "rear-light in the traffic jam of the countless moves of event-society". One commentator juxtaposed militant and substantiated action against private property with Euromayday as harmless costume- and street-art bricolage, screenings and parties. An anarcho-syndicalist interpreted Euromayday as a "carnival" which threatened to replace the ongoing resistance against the restructuring of the welfare state. S/he reminded readers that the abolition of wage labour can only be reached through "long-term organising from below", rather than one-off events.

Many critical commentators denied Euromayday the medal of radicality. The Euromayday project was seen as mere died-in-the-wool reformism. According to this position, just like the traditional trade unions, the parade organisers obfuscated social-revolutionary perspectives. A radical left perspective, it was claimed, needed to pose the social question independent from or even in opposition to the trade unions. Thus the shared events of Eu-

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and stored one click away. The titles of these comments appear in a separate section. To view the full text, the user needs to click on a link. This activates display of the full text in a light shade of grey. Of these 21 comments, 8 are critiques of Euromayday, 6 defend Euromayday, 4 criticise the Indymedia moderators mainly for 'hiding' critical comments, the remaining three deal with other issues.

[100] In 2010, an article on Indymedia Germany outlined the upcoming and past Hamburg Euromayday activities (S_158). One commentator ironically presented the Mayday Parades as "these super-fun, super-colourful, super-cool corteges (…) where one can be really upbeat just like on carnival, innit?". Another commented on the slogan "Die Förderung die ich fordere" (the support I demand): Man, Euromayday, looks like even the trade union demo comes across more radically".

romayday Hamburg and the trade unions as well as the use of trade union locales to hold meetings were seen as a dismissal of radical or even revolutionary politics, as was an assumed financial dependency on the trade unionist Hans-Böckler foundation. An additional sign for the reformism of the Euromayday organisers was found in their demand for global rights, for those who address the "system" with demands for rights do not understand the true role of the state. From the disdained social democrats, it was said, Euromayday only differed in form, not in content. The call and the text on "glossy flyers" were denounced as unintelligible, "barmy" and void of content, analysis and radical demands, and the poster could easily be confused with "I-Pod advertising". The concept of precarity was rejected as a "nebulous fashionable term" which allegedly brushed aside class analyses and naively favoured the home-made construction of a new revolutionary subject – a construction that would only benefit the self esteem of "theoretically plain scene idiots". The concept of precarity was seen as obscuring differences between highly unequal living situations for the sake of false unity in service of a futile Mayday mobilisation. Privileged precarious positions were exemplified by the figures of the highly qualified PhD student or journalist with brilliant career perspectives, the freelancer or anyone eligible for state pension and benefits who are undeniably "all a bit precarious". On the deprived end of the precarity-scale, the figure of the "illegalised cleaning woman" and anyone who faces destitution once they loose their jobs were mentioned. The construction of a "social common ground" based on the assumption that "we are all a bit of a victim" was rejected as it would not provide "a basis for political identity". The double-facedness of precarity offering an increase of autonomy as well as requiring endless flexibility as brought forward by Euromayday was understood as a trivialisation of exploitation. One commentator ironically characterised Euromayday's inclusion of positive aspects of self-chosen precarity through the scathing slogan: "We are precarious - yeah yeah yeah". It was also noted that Euromayday mistakenly defined precarisation as a distinctive change in relation to "normal labour conditions", as these "only ever existed in so-called industrial states and were never normal from a global perspective". Therefore, neither the expressive form of the Euromayday parades, nor the condition of precarity was seen as something new.

A week after the parade, the *Anarchistische Gruppe – Rätekommunisten* (Anarchist group – sowjet communists) or AG/R conveyed their own report to the Euromayday Ham-

burg mailing list.[101] The group had initially participated in preparation meetings for the Euromayday parade, but left after substantial conflicts. After mentioning the performances against the "state policies against refugees" and the students' struggle against university fees, the group voiced their surprise that "so many left wing positions were expressed". They reported their evaluation of the preparation process for the parade. In their view, the initiating groups of Euromayday Hamburg were, other than Euromayday Milan and Barcelona, not interested in a radical, anti-state and anti-capitalist demonstration and rejected an anti-capitalist position from the beginning. Rather, so AG/Rs evaluation, the initiators wanted to organise something "new, modern, hip", where content was "of secondary importance at best". AG/R were particularly irritated by the concept of double-faced precarity brought forward by the Euromayday movement, where precarity is regarded both as an imposition of post-Fordist society and a potential to realise desires for more autonomy of time, place and occupation. For AG/R, the desire for flexible work-times and mobility amounted to a "cynical neoliberalism under the guise of a left-wing cloak". After reconsidering their less-than-optimistic expectations, the group came to the positive conclusion that, against their expectations, the Euromayday parade positioned itself clearly on the left.

Similar criticisms were directed at Euromayday parades in other European cities. Although no public account summarised these criticisms, they were discussed internally within the European Euromayday network. One posting on the Euromayday Hamburg mailing list reported about the situation in Barcelona and Milan[102]. In Milan, physical scuffles occured at the beginning of the 2005 parade, when the group *Disobbedienti* insisted to lead the parade with their soundsystem, although a different order of vehicles had been agreed during the preparation. This incident led to a major argument within the Italian radical left. Even five years later, many Italian activists remember this incident with considerable unease. In Barcelona, groups and organisations from the traditional anarchist left such as the anarchist trade union CNT and the alternative media project La Haine criticised Euromayday as "trendy, a-political and institutionally controlled". As some of the initiating groups in Barcelona had worked closely with the Museum of Modern Art[103], this became a major point of conflict (Ribalta 2004). The Euromayday initiators were seen as

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[101] Euromayday Hamburg mailing list, 10.5.2005

[102] Euromayday Hamburg mailing list, 9.5.2010

[103] Collaboration between more culturally/artistically-minded political groups in Barcelona and the Museum of Contemporary Art (Macba) dates back at to 2000, when a series of workshops under the title "direct action as one of the fine arts" brought together artists and activists from Spain, Europe, and the US.

"middle class kids" who neglected the real social problems. As in Germany, the critique in Barcelona often took a sarcastic form referring to the creative forms of the parade, for instance in the title of an article: "Mayday: los teletubbies se rebelan" (The Teletubbies are rebelling, S_16).

The evaluation of the first Euromayday parade on the left in Germany was thus mixed. While some regarded the Euromayday project as a potential articulation of a wide variety of ongoing struggles, others feared that it would de-politicise political activism through an over-emphasis on creativity and self-representation.

VI.4. Cultural Politics of Making Visible

By 2010, Euromayday parades had taken place in five other German cities: Berlin, Bremen, Dortmund, Hanau and Tübingen. Nevertheless, the Euromayday project was not unanimously regarded as a success. In Berlin, the Euromayday parade was cancelled in 2010 after having been held annually since 2006. This was reported in two national left-wing newspapers, the 'tageszeitung' (S_25) and 'Neues Deutschland'. For the latter, the cancellation amounted to a "crisis of the Mayday movement". The newspaper concluded that the movement had not managed to convince "the precariat" to participate in the parade, let alone to organise a sustained coalition between "mop and laptop" (S_71). In a critical analysis of previous Euromayday parades (S_26), the Berlin initiators from FelS explained their decision to cancel the parade. They found that the aim to put precarity on the public agenda of mass media as well as trade unions had made progress since the first Euromayday parade in Germany in 2005. According to FelS, the Mayday Parades in Berlin had contributed to a shift in the city's demonstration culture towards protest formats more open and accessible to a public wider than the usual block formations of the militant left, but the question whether these open formats were compatible with the aim to create a collective antagonism against the established power relations remained open. They acknowledged their failure to create a sustainable alliance around the Berlin Mayday Parades, especially one that extended beyond the circles of the radical left and was able to reach out to other forms of resistance against precarity. Dedicated to experimentation, they feared that the Mayday of the precarious would turn into a mere ritual. This, they felt, would not be worth the considerable effort needed to organise an annual mass event. Evoking their dedication to the Zapatista dictum "walking we ask questions", they decided to change tactics. Rather than organising a Euromayday parade, they announced a plan to make actual social

struggles visible through militant investigation at a local job centre. Those who were interested in the struggles around precarity were invited to join them at an open-air meeting on the first of May to discuss further steps towards future struggles around precarity (S_27).

Thus the questions which were first posed in 2005 remained open in 2010. Was the Euromayday parade a suitable means to establish communication amongst people affected by precarisation in multiple ways? Was it an appropriate tool to forge a social movement which would reach all sectors of society? Would it be possible to translate the myriad of individualised struggles against imposed precarisation into a collective struggle on the political terrain? Or had the Euromayday project exhausted itself in the establishment of better public relations, the staging of a cooler spectacle, a prioritising of form over content or of populist fun over serious radical politics? The Euromayday parades were neither part of an ambitious marketing programme representing an already-existing social movement around precarity nor were they embedded in a fixed campaign designed to achieve improvements to precarious labour, nor did they offer a tried-and-tested organising concept. Thus the political value of the Euromayday way of protesting was hard to pin down. However, if the perspective of examination is shifted from the narrowly political to the cultural realm, the political potential of the Euromayday approach becomes clearer.

Ingo Stützle, a critical commentator who actively participated in the Berlin Euromayday process, recounted an episode observed at an evaluation meeting of the 2005 Euromayday parade in Berlin. One participant provocatively asked for the difference between Mayday and the annual Berlin-based *Carnival of Cultures*, a high-profile event with more than one million participants celebrating peaceful, multi-cultural co-existence. Stützle noted that such questions were often met with indignation on the part of organisers and supporters of the Euromayday project. Tentatively, he advocated to seriously consider such questions, as they led to the wider issue of how a convergence between different social struggles and interests of a wide variety of actors could be forged (Stützle 2005).

As will be shown, the practices around Euromayday Hamburg can be understood as a search for answers to precisely this issue. This search transgresses the constitution of precarity as an additional contentious issue for which resources need to be mobilised. Euromayday Hamburg challenged the very mechanisms of political organising and representation such as alliance-building, establishing representative organisational structures, issuing manifestos and other programmatic documents.

Based on critical reflection on everyday experience and enhanced by post-operaist con-

cepts of post-Fordism, the actors aimed to build the Euromayday parade as a place to invent modes of resistance to the post-Fordist regime with its reliance on precarisation. This experimental process encompassed the production of political subjectivities and of ways to put different subject positions with their respective interests into interaction. Thus the extensive focus on form expressed through mediated performance can be seen as a search for a cultural politics. Similar to the yomango project, the Euromayday practices are designed to aid critical thought and to develop "a *practical way of thinking*; creative, disrespectful, with a taste for rupture" (Yomango 2008).

Although the Euromayday Hamburg circle and several of its actors published numerous articles related to the Euromayday project, they did not sum up their methodology in what would amount to a concise guide to political organising under the post-Fordist regime. However, when examined as cultural politics, the imageries and practices they developed tell a story which sets the project apart from major spectacles such as the Berlin Carnival of culture and positions it as a critical politics at the cutting edge of the post-Fordist condition.

VI.4.1 Posters: Symbolising Precarious Subjectivities

„ I think particularly on Mayday, imageries are largely coined by industrial production. These hide many work realities or render them invisible. I think it is important to create new images. At the same time, especially when we are talking about something like immaterial labour, images are incredibly difficult. I mean, the production line is a fascinating image, or a steelworks. But, what you do on a laptop, I mean, whether you compose music, write a text or cut a film – you can't see it at all, all these things look exactly the same. So it's very difficult to find appropriate imageries. We tried from the beginning to advance from there, and to create positive points of reference"
(Int_16).[104]

In this interview excerpt, the speaker outlines the complications of a cultural politics of visualising precarious work realities in post-Fordism. Representations for a precarious social subject were not available, they had to be invented. To avoid closure, they needed to

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[104] German Original: Erst mal glaub ich gibt's grad am 1. Mai Bilder, die sehr stark von der industriellen Produktion geprägt sind und die gleichzeitig viele Arbeitsrealitäten verdecken oder unsichtbar machen, und dass es da auch wichtig ist, neue Bilder zu erfinden. Und gleichzeitig gibt es, gerade wenn wir über so was wie immaterielle Arbeit sprechen, sind ja Bilder unglaublich schwierig. Also, ich meine, Fliessband ist ein faszinierendes Bild, oder ne Stahlfabrik. Aber ich meine, was man am Laptop nun macht, ich meine, ob man Musik komponiert, nen Text schreibt, oder n Film schneidet, das kann man ja überhaupt nicht sehn, das sieht ja immer alles gleich aus. Und dass das auch ne grosse Schwierigkeit ist, da entsprechende Bilder zu finden. Und da haben wir eigentlich auch von Anfang an versucht, da weiterzukommen, oder entsprechende positive Bezugspunkte zu schaffen." (Int 19a)

maintain a semiotic openness and plurality. To symbolise a social movement, they needed to be recognisable and in some way coherent. The Hamburg Euromayday circle experimented with a wide variety of mediated representation and collective modes of production to achieve this representation, which at the same time furthered the production of political subjectivities based on precarity.

Every year, one or several posters were designed to mobilise for the Hamburg Euromayday parade.[105] The making of the posters was organised in a collaborative, reflexive process. The posters do not make use of the revolutionary pre-war agit-prop iconography in black and red which was adapted to publicise the social-revolutionary Mayday demos which sprung up in Germany since the 1980s. If they draw on the unified (male) body of the rising, chain-breaking giant of the proletariat as it is know from early Mayday posters of the traditional labour movement, they do so in negative distinction. The Hamburg Euromayday posters would not look out-of-place on the cover of a trendy-yet-progressive art magazine.[106] One commentator on Indymedia ironically wondered if the 2005 poster was actually an I-Pod advertisement (S_98).

In the first three years, the Hamburg Euromayday posters depicted several overlaying figures in different colours, each equipped with accessories connected to different types of paid or unpaid work. The iconography of the 2007 posters shows particularly clearly the departure from the traditional class concept as developed by Marx in the industrial era. In order to be able to act, Marx' working class must become conscious of its own existence and unify into a strong social force, the class for itself, led by its own political organisations. The class in itself, suffering and not conscious of its power, is often depicted as crooked figures burdened by the weight of exploitation. In contrast, the class for itself is an upright, proud figure, depicted as a female allegory of freedom or as a male 'Giant Proletariat' (Hamm 1990). The process of the formation of the working class as a social movement is often depicted as a process where a mass of singular figures transforms into a unified body. The 2007 Mayday poster reversed this process. In the lower third, the spectator sees four figures in black and white huddled together, so that they almost appear like one

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[105] In 2005, the Hamburg posters were dispatched to other cities in Germany to invite people to travel to Hamburg on Mayday. They were also used in Vienna (see mailing list Hamburg, April 2005)

[106] In many cities, the Euromayday Parades were announced on professionally designed posters using styles and iconographies which do not seamlessly fit into the mould of political propaganda. However, there are exceptions. For instance, the Lausanne 2010 poster combined elements from previous Euromayday Parades – the rabbit of precarity, the soundsystem, the urban setting – with the red flower of the traditional socialist Mayday and graphics of masked-up, hoodied figures in black-block attire (S_187).

single creature. Each figure carries its regalia of precarity. Out of this huddled unity, four brightly coloured figures burst into the top part of the poster in a veritable explosion of colour and movement. They are clearly distinguished from each other, although their transparent shapes are overlapping. Together, they create an impression of energy, potential, a sense of setting-free. Like in pre-war depictions of the working class, the oppressed and the liberated class are juxtaposed. The poster shows the two faces of precarity. The crooked figures in black and white in the lower part of the poster relate to the daily drag of insecurity, pressure to network and self-marketing, to be incessantly mobile and flexible. The promise of autonomy of time, place and fulfilling occupation is depicted by the dynamic, flying, colourful figures at the top. In order to act together towards liberation, the poster tells us, today's precarious people need not to unify into one, but to be aware of and make productive the difference between each other. With this poster Euromayday Hamburg suggests an understanding of social class that departs from the 19ths century Marxist model and embraces a class concept akin to the multitude concept proposed by the post-Marxist, post-operaist school of thought. The Hamburg Euromayday circle took this model of a distributed class made up of singularities in common very seriously. It was not enough to depict it – the depictions themselves had to be varied, fluid, participatory and performative rather than representative, fixed and unified. Thus the 2009 poster showed the clumsy-yet-mechanical shape of a make-shift robot combined with the organic silhouette of a person. Instead of printing the same slogan on each poster, some space was left free, so that a different slogan could be attached to each copy. Similarly, Euromayday Hamburg rarely issued one unified call to the Euromayday parade. The 2007 leaflet comprised not one call to action, but three, each written in its own distinctive style.

VI.4.2 Performative Imageries of Precarity: Avoiding Identitarian Closure

Each Euromayday parade in Hamburg had an overarching, very broad theme such as migration (2005), mapping precarity (2006), superpowers of the precarious (2007), swarming (2008), crisis (2009) or right to the city (2010). These themes were articulated in a variety of slogans, narratives and visualisations rather than used to streamline the contents and aesthetics of the parades. To illustrate the richness of signs, the mediated framing of the Hamburg Euromayday parades in 2008, 2009 and 2010 will be outlined.

2008: Swarming and Mobility

In 2008 the Hamburg Euromayday parade focused on imageries of swarming and mobility. In that year, Neonazis had mobilised for a demonstration at the 1st of May in Hamburg. As an additional provocation, the Nazi demo was to begin at the tradional starting point of the trade union Mayday rally. The trade unions decided to give in to a legal situation unfavourable for them and moved their starting point elsewhere. A large counter-demonstration against the Neo-Nazi march was called. EuroMayday faced the task to combine the parade with the counter-demonstrations. Rather than ignoring both Nazis and counter demonstration, or to call off the Euromayday parade, they integrated it with the anti-fascist protest. They drew on an important element of precarity: chosen, imposed or restricted mobility (S_133). Under the slogan "Euromayday is swarming", a mobile parade collected people in town and moved them towards the blocade of the Nazi march, supported by a variety of vehicles from rikshaws and bicycles in addition to the usual vans (S_132, S_131, S_134, S_136, S_135). On top of the drivers' cabin of the leading vehicle, the mascot Multitrude was installed. She wore a very large pair of wings made from the blue-and-red plastic fabric of 'migrant bags'.The wing metaphor was repeated in the crowd, as many people wore pretty angel wings. The sides of the vehicle were covered by expensively and beautifully printed banners. They displayed flying fish in bright blue and purple and the slogan "Euromayday is swarming". Nobody could explain to me what the flying fish referred to, but the imagery "worked" regardless. It re-combined metaphors relating to different discourses. Fish is an omnipresent object in a port city. A flying fish is a hybrid creature, neither bird nor bee nor fish – a position that many people in precarious situations might relate to. The appeal of the flying fish imagery might also lie in its lightness in distinction to the heavy aesthetics and connotations associated with the Nazi march. In its symbolic openness, the 2008 Euromayday parade plainly refused to engage directly with the Nazi symbolics. In 2008, the Euromayday Hamburg circle proved its ability to flexibly react to specific situations. As there was no necessity to prove its power as a political organisation, it was able to subordinate the Euromayday parade to the larger and more pressing anti-fascist demonstration without loosing its distinctiveness.

2009: Crisis, Glamour and the Carrot of False Promises

In 2009, like in many other EuroMayday cities, the overarching theme in Hamburg was "Euromayday crisis-proof". After all, so the call, dealing with crises is part of precarious life. Precarious people recorded no losses in stocks and shares, no bancruptcies, savings remained stable at zero, and their work remained, as before the crisis, characterised by precarious income, unemployment or internships (S_139). Visualisations and slogans were brainstormed and discussed in preparation gatherings and on the dedicated mailing list. Rather than agreeing on one single slogan, it was agreed to let many of them appear in the parade, which was preceded by the series of events *Five nights and five days* (S_141). The actual parade traversed *Hafencity*, a newly gentrified area close to St. Pauli (Int_14, Int_18, S_145). It was led by a vehicle with a giant carrot tied to its driver cabin (S_144. The van followed this incentive like the proverbial mule follows the carrot, and like the mule is seduced by the carrot, the precarious worker is seduced by the multiple promises attached to precarity. In contrast to the emerging politics of austerity, Euromayday celebrated "Glamour precaire" with much glitter and feathers in an evocation of the roaring 20s – another period where crisis was rife. In a popular gesture of contempt, shoes were thrown onto the prestigious building of the *Elbphilharmonie*. Shoeprints were sprayed onto the pavement, pushing the boundaries of legality. Participants were invited to pin slogans printed on simple A4 sheets to their bags and T-shirts (Int_18). The mobilisation poster played on robot-like body sculptures (S_137, S_138), referring to the Russian meaning of the word robot = work as well as the incessant functioning demanded from precarious workers: This metaphor had also been used in the student strikes in previous years. The personal side of precarity was emphazised in the popular format of a photo love story (Int_17, Q 385). The parade and related actions were extensively documented in audio-visual formats (S_144, 389, 386).

2010: Slick Posters, Sim City and the Cheshire Cat

In 2010, the Hamburg Euromayday circle developed three distinctive visual campaigns or sets of tools (S_156). The first was a poster campaign designed in collaboration with the Berlin-based graphic designers image-shift and complemented by matching stickers and sticky tape. Urban and interior scenes in black-and-white photography were overlaid with slogans set in white typeface on bright pink and green boxes (S_159). Some of these slogans were used in a series of 32 different stickers in green and white and a matching sup-

ply of sticky tape (S_160). Time and place of the Euromayday parade were added in small typeface at the edge of the posters – a compromise between the guerrilla-marketing concept favoured by the designers, who would have preferred to do without this information and the more pragmatic wish for a clear announcement favoured by the Euromayday circle. The slogans were mostly in German vernacular language, interspersed by some in Turkish, Spanish, or English. Most related to city planning and class-specific compartmentalisation of the city, others referred to subjective strategies in dealing with precarisation of work and life.[107] These materials had a strong presence before and during the parade and were used by many participants to decorate the city as the parade moved on. The combination of slick and recognisable posters, stickers and tape could have been used to produce a unified identitarian branding for the entire parade. Instead, they were mixed with other, very different aesthetic elements.

The second visual campaign related to the *Right to the City* movement, which had gained considerable momentum over the past year due to contentious city planning and gentrification (S_148, S_149, S_163, S_164, John 2010). Euromayday Hamburg participated in this movement by adding protest formats tried and tested at previous Euromayday parades to the Right to the City demonstrations.[108] In turn, these urban struggles inspired the 2010 Euromayday parade. Titled "Simcity – Hamburg Edition", the 2010 leaflet and call to action was designed in the half-tacky, half-sophisticated style of an advertising fly-

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[107] Slogans included: the city is our factory; what is your right to the city, the city is our …; when will the empty offices be squatted?; how to assemble the desires to take over the city, Hafencity – they are mad; system error – restart the city; congestion charge for rich cars; free transport for everyone; why is it always the places I need that disappear; why is Ikea allowed to do what I'm not allowed; how do I strike when unemployed; education is more than learning; why does my liver stress me out; project finished – and now?; creative workers of all sectors, it's about time you went to sleep for once; the grin of precarity lurks everywhere; partycipation deluxe.
Some of the slogans were distinctively local and are hard to translate. For instance, the slogan: "was guckst du, du Eppendorf du" ("what are you staring at me for, you Eppendorf?") refers to the middle-class neighbourhood of Eppendorf. The meaning of the word Eppendorf was turned from a signifier for wealth and stability to a demeaning form of address. The linguistic register of this slogan draws on a vernacular version of German. The sociolect Laan was developed by migrant youths and picked up by many young working-class natives. Another example is the slogan "Wir evozieren" ("we evoke") which was prominently displayed on one of the posters. In German, the word "evozieren" with its Latin roots sounds rather academic. However, a Hamburg inhabitant will know that it refers to a particular bureaucratic procedure whereby the city council, the senate, can override a decision taken by a neighbourhood, thus rendering void the few elements of direct democracy provided in Hamburgs constitution. If a social movement threatens to "evoke", this means that it claims authority to override decisions made by the senate.

[108] Euromayday contributions included speech-bubble shaped placards for participants to inscribe their individual concens. Euromayday Hamburg used this format at Euromayday Parades since 2007. During the first large demonstration of the Right to the City network in December 2009, Euromayday Hamburg conducted interviews with participants, which were later publicly discussed and inspired the slogans for the 2010 Euromayday Parade.

sheet for the well-known computer game Simcity (S_157, S_154). The front page shows a computerised vista of a futuristic city, part modern utopia, part threatening dystopia, interspersed with signs of unrest and upheaval as well as small symbols pointing to Euromayday. The back page gives instructions on how to play the Hamburg edition of Simcity: "Build an art metropolis, a police state (…), a Porsche-driver fortress – you have the power to build the city of your dreams or nightmares". Photos of contested Hamburg sights are mixed with those of people in superhero-costumes and a scene from the online game/ platform Second Life. Logos and language boxes filled with small print are scattered across front- and backpage to enhance the wished-for tacky style. While the outside of the flyer is entertaining and amusing, the inside pages outline the 2010 Euromayday activities. The gaming reference is maintained by arranging the activities during the parade on four "levels" referring to the grades of difficulty structuring most video games. Level 1 referred to forms of precarity. Level 2 (reloading the city), referred to the ongoing local struggles around gentrification and city planning. Level 3 (Alice in Wonderland) referred to the right to education. Level 4 (shopfloor assembly in the business city) reasoned that if "the city is our factory" (S_150), then it must be possible to hold workers' assemblies in it (S_155).

The third visual campaign picked up on imageries from the recently released movie 'Alice in Wonderland', which was based on the well-known 19th century novel. The figure of the rabbit with his panicky mumble ("Oh dear! Oh dear! I shall be too late!") had scuttled through the EuroMayday propaganda for several years, and took centre stage in the 2010 posters in Geneva (S_61), Milan, and Lausanne(S_187). In Hamburg, the figure of the ever-grinning Cheshire Cat was taken to embody the omnipresent grin of precarity (S_162; Kuster/Tsianos 2007). In the form of cut-out masks printed on A4 cardboard (S_162), the Cheshire Cat appeared in an action against expensive rents. It also led the parade, as a large grin made from cardboard was attached to the front of the leading truck (S_164). Worn as a mask by numerous participants, the grin multiplied. The Alice in Wonderland theme related to a real-life campaign titled "Alice im Wunderland – Die Förderung, die ich fordere" (Alice in wonderland - the support I demand) (S_170, S_147, S_152). Alice, 54 years old and on a benefits scheme, wished to take up a course at the arts school. Together with friends and allies, she demanded that the job-centre finance this course as regular further education.

During the 2010 Parade, the poster-and-sticker campaign, the simcity leaflet and the masks of the Cheshire Cat blended in with the numerous aesthetic elements brought to the

parade by participants. Rather than creating a Sea of Red Flags or, more contemporary, a sea of pre-printed placards, this approach helped producing an event which expresses the search for distributed, flexible and open way of radical political organising not only through words, but also in form.

While the logic of more conventional political campaigning suggests that a political campaign should have a clearly recognisable, streamlined set of visual tools and mobilisation materials – e.g. posters and flyers matching T-shirts matching a website – Euromayday Hamburg seemed to take a contrary approach. While its representations changed every year to year and sometimes, as I have shown, even within one year, a general aesthetics of openness and variety is maintained. Some of the most catching icons of the European Euromayday network, such as the figure of the precarious superheroe, never took centre stage on a poster. In Hamburg, aesthetically unconnected mobilisation materials transported a complexity of interrelated narratives. This points to the desire to translate the open, distributed class concept as suggested by post-operaist theorists into the political practice of the Euromayday events.

VI.4.3 Self-Organising and Productivity

Other than Euromayday Berlin, Euromayday Hamburg did not aim to establish a classic alliance between established political groups to pursue their project. They rejected a form of political organising where participating groups sent delegates to a plenary session, which would make decisions on the basis of an imperative mandate from their groups. In the meetings of the Hamburg Euromayday circle, the participating groups often participated as a whole. One of the initiators remarks that the Hamburg Euromayday gatherings resembled more an assembly rather than an alliance meeting. The Euromayday circle enforced this assembly character by explicitly inviting individuals as well as groups.

One critical commentator, himself at the time involved in the emerging Euromayday Berlin coalition, agrees that traditional forms of political organising such as trade unionism or political parties are dysfunctional in the new labour relations and conditions. However, in the efforts of Euromayday Hamburg, he misses an engagement with new forms of organising and networking. He detects an unwillingness to acknowledge conflicting interests and needs amongst different precarious positions. In his view, this is based on the fear that overarching organisational processes might smooth out difference and contradictions. The concept of multitude, for him, allows escaping an unwelcome necessity of class constitu-

tion, i.e. excluding or dominating some actors and interests. This fear of conflict leads to the result that the Euromayday process cannot go beyond a tolerant and interested side-by-side of different actors (Stützle 2005). While the practices of Euromayday Hamburg show that it does favour a side-by-side of different actors rather than their formation in the mould of a coherent organisation, I do not interpret this side-by-side as a liberal version of diversity (Bhabba 1990). The Euromayday Hamburg circle insists on acknowledging difference, not only between the core group of activists and the rest of society, but also amongst the different subject positions which are present in the circle itself. As these different subject positions are not covered up by one all-encompassing identity (the activist, the radical organiser etc), conflict between different interests and needs must be negotiated within the group itself. Expressed figuratively, Euromayday Hamburg does not need to reach out to the migrant, the hairdresser, the unemployed and self-educated, because these positions are inscribed in its own fabric. Thus to the Hamburg Euromayday circle, the question of organisation poses itself differently. The variety of subject positions inhabited and acknowledged by its protagonists forces the circle to invent forms of organisation that build relations based on difference. Through three examples, I will trace the beginnings of such forms of political organisation, which are based on a cultural politics.

Mayday Mobil: Spatial Practices and Social Connectivity

"The city is our factory" was claimed by one slogan used in the 2010 Hamburg Euromayday parade. The diffusion of production from the factory into urban space is an important topos in post-operaist theory. With the increase of flexible and mobile immaterial labour, the factory lost its symbolic position as the paradigmatic workplace. Immaterial production occurs throughout the urban fabric – on bus stops and in offices, in squares and streets, shops, markets and flats. This productivity includes paid and non-paid labour, it is not restricted to the production of immediate economic value. The Hamburg circle developed methods to insert its own productive process into the urban fabric not only during the Euromayday parades, but also as part of their conceptual process and as part of their mobilisation. The cultural politics of making visible precarisation demanded open communication in urban space, beyond the confines of clearly political meetings and discussions.

To this end, participatory media formats were developed. In 2005 and 2006, a *MayDay Mobil* toured Hamburg in March and April as an information and mobilisation vehicle (S_112, S_87). Adorned with a large Euromayday inscription, it stopped at markets and flea-markets, the university campus, shopping centres, parks or the beach. Passers-by

stopped for a chat, watched videos or put on headphones to listen to radio broadcasts produced by an ad-hoc radio group in collaboration with the local left community radio *Freies Sender Kombinat* (FSK). The Mayday Mobil was more than a mobile information stall. Wherever it stopped, a participatory public performance unfolded. Life-size plywood figures in bright colours appeared, echoing the tripartite figure with laptop, mop and service-tray which was displayed on the mobilisation poster. Various accessories such as duster, bucket and mop were arranged around the vehicle, the odd mobilisation poster appeared, large strips of paper were prepared to be inscribed with statements. More accessories were stored in the sturdy blue-and-red plastic bags known as 'migrant bags'. The same fabric was used to make decorations and clothing. Large sheets of paper and pens were provided for people to make their point. They were invited to pose for photographs with their statements in a scenery they could put together with the accessories provided. The photographs were uploaded on the website of Euromayday Hamburg, where participants could view their own picture. The statements expressed a need for more money across the generations: "I am young and need the money", "Less work – more money", "what happened to my pension?" They expressed a desire for mindless luxury: "I want a Lamborghini (or 2)" and gender equality: "why's the man not doing the housework?" Someone sighed: "Deutschland is very hard – 100%", another participant stated more optimistically: "Every tool is a weapon – if you hold it right". Some of these statements later appeared in the leaflets mobilising for the parade, or in speeches held during the parade. The plywood figures were given a special place on the Euromayday truck.

Equipped with simple, but well thought-out tools, the Mayday Mobil created a temporary productive space. The material arrangement expressed an invitation to 'do something' – put on headphones, write down slogans, arrange a scenery for a photograph – rather than a request to participate in a political action. In an interactive situation created through physical objects as well as digital media, the Euromayday concept was communicated through participatory practices rather than through the one-way act of handing over a leaflet, or of a verbal explication. In this temporary productive space, the invitation to participate in the Euromayday parade was embedded in casual and at the same time reflexive conversations about everyday lives in precarious conditions. As one of the initiators noted, the Mayday Mobil also helped to integrate activities in urban space and digital space:

> "It's a bit difficult to explain what Euromayday is in a conversation on the hoof. But people enjoy taking photographs, they love the photos that have already been made. Then, they are curious to

check the website [to see their photograph, mh], and of course they check: What is Euromayday?"
(Int_6). [109]

The Euromayday Hamburg website was set up shortly before the Euromayday parade 2005. It provided information about the organisation of the Euromayday parade, planned events and mediated materials such as posters and leaflets, background information about precarity and the Euromayday project as well as contact details including an email address and instructions on how to join the Hamburg Euromayday mailing list. Initially, the website was largely intended as a mobilisation tool (Int_1, Int_11).[110] However, to make it effective, it had to be brought to the attention of a wider local public. Thus Mayday Mobil, website, posters, mailing list, as well as gatherings and series of events formed a media assemblage which connected digital and non-digital space. Although less attention was given to disseminate the URL online, it gradually spread in the internet. Efforts were made to make it known through non-digital means. It was included in flyers and invitations to events. During the 'Mir reichts – nicht' campaign, it was also printed on the calling cards handed out at art events Dokumenta in Kassel and the film festival Berlinale in Berlin (Int_6). The Mayday Mobil operated not only as an outreach tool. Internally, it provided one of the valued spaces where actors came together outside the setting of formal meetings, where private or reflective communication is often confined to the breaks, or the beer shared after the end of the meeting. On the Euromayday Hamburg mailing list, it took 15 postings in March and April to organise the outings of the Mayday Mobil. One participant reports back from an excursion with the Mayday Mobil first on the mailing list, then on the website:

> *"What if next Saturday, the weather would be nice? In that case, an outing with the Euromayday*
> *Mobile would be a brilliant idea, especially with several people as a small agitation picknick"*

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[109] German Original: „Es ist ein bisschen schwierig, im Gespräch, zwischen Tür und Angel, sozusagen, jemandem zu erklären was der Euromayday ist. Aber dieses Fotografieren macht den Leuten Spass, die finden die Fotos toll, die bereits schon gemacht worden sind. Und sie sind dann neugierig, auf die Website zu gucken, und gucken dann natürlich: Was ist der Euromayday überhaupt."

[110] The Hamburg Euromayday Website was using the software developed for Indymedia Germany and UK. It had the technical functionality to operate as a collaborative weblog, where everybody could post information about events, reports, statements, engage in debates or exchanges on everyday occurances. However, only very few people from the Euromayday circle and the wider scene of supporters posted to the site, and even less people participated in its administration. The administration interface was found too clumsy and non-intuitive. People forgot their passwords. For many changes to the layout of the website, volunteers from the alternative service provider Nadir had to be approached. Although in retrospect, it is acknowledged that the website provides a rich archive of Euromayday Hamburgs activities, the group treated it as a "Stiefkind" – an adopted but not fully integrated child.

(S_87). [111].

Rather than framing the Euromayday Mobil instrumentally as a mobilisation action that needed to be done in order to achieve a higher turnout at the Euromayday parade, this report emphasised the pleasurable and social aspects of an outing with the Euromayday Mobil – a Saturday, nice weather, preferably with several people, crowned by an "agitation picknick". Mobilisation, agitation and fun are inextricably woven together.

Actors of the Euromayday Hamburg circle regarded personal relationships and friendships as a vital driver when it came to mobilising people to commit to one or several of the tasks related to the organisation of the Euromayday parade. In a group interview, they discussed what motivates people to take responsibility, and to which degree motivation depended on the communication channel where help was sought (Int_11). They explained that a formal call for help on the public Euromayday Hamburg mailing list with over 100 subscribers[112] was not likely to convince them or other people to respond. In a meeting, they would be more likely to commit to a task, especially when this would take pressure off someone who might be very busy or stressed out at this time. Feeling responsible for the well-being of fellow-actors was seen as equally strong motivation as feeling responsible for the project. This mechanism, they found, was not dependent on the communication channel. A request for help amongst friends on a smaller cc-list or mailing list was as likely to receive positive response as a request during a meeting. They concluded that motivation for active participation worked through the social. The distribution of tasks was negotiated through an awareness of each others' situations in relation to the collectively agreed workload. This awareness emerged from a social fabric that included digital communication, face-to-face work meetings, informal get-togethers, the breaks during plenary sessions and the beer afterwards. It was noted that occasions to assemble beyond a core group of friends had to be consciously produced. Making an appointment to meet up was mentioned as one way to achieve this. In the run-up to the Euromayday parade 2005, the weekly or fortnightly plenary sessions provided such an occasion. However, these sessions were regarded as "totally annoying", "lasting forever" and "very unproductive". Thus it was soon decided to reduce the frequency of the plenary sessions to once a month and replace them by digital organising through the mailing list and a wiki. But with the annoying

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[111] German original: was wäre, wenn nächsten samstag gutes wetter ist? dann ist ein ausflug mit dem euromayday mobile eine prächtige sache, vor allem mit mehreren als kleines agitationspicknick (S_87).

[112] In December 2010, this list included 143 subscribers.

plenary sessions, the crucial break times and the post-meeting beers disappeared as well. In its formality, the public mailing list with almost one hundred lurkers did not provide a corridor or a break time where people could catch up with each other informally and establish awareness of each others personal and political situations. The preferred place where this awareness can be gained are informal situations such as breaks, outings, a walk, the pub, a conversation over dinner or breakfast or on the way home from a meeting or a visit to the cinema – the fabric of everyday life. In 2008/2009, the Euromayday circle Hamburg found such an informal digital space on Facebook. In quick succession, most of its actors joined the platform, created profiles, befriended each other as well as friends, family, collegues, flatmates, activists and non-activists from other cities and countries, recommended more friends, signed up for online games, and shared jetsam from the internet. They also set up a group page for Euromayday Hamburg, where the first posting on 22. March 2009 referred to an event page for the 2009 Euromayday parade.

Considering the importance of the social in the context of political organising and especially resource mobilisation, and everyday life as the preferred place where it is being constituted, practices such as touring the city with a Mayday mobile gain further significance as a form of political organising. They create *informal spaces of social connectivity* in the city. If the city really is a predominant place of production under a post-Fordist regime, then these informal spaces resemble the shared lunch break in the fordist factory, the ritual of the Friday evening drink in the local pub, the chat at the photocopier in the office, the sneaking out for a cigarette with a trusted workmate. The industrial social fabric emerged to a large extend from the industrial regime of time and place, which moulded the workers into a unified body which entered, inhabited and left the same workplace at synchronised times. In this social formation, political agitators could act in the informal spaces carved out through the mildly subversive ruses, tactics and practices of everyday life (De Certeau 1984). The outings with the Mayday mobile can be seen as a search for the post-Fordist equivalent of such spaces. Michel de Certeau describes such practices of everyday life as tactical subversions which subvert the laws, representations or rituals of the dominant regime "not by rejecting or altering them, but by using them with respect to ends and references foreign to the system they have no choice but to accept" (De Certeau 1984:XIII). While in de Certeaus concept, these tactics usually remain hidden, the Euromayday circle drew them into the political space: "I am a superhero, because I reimburse myself for overtime in stationary" was one of the statements written on hand-made cardboard speech bub-

bles in the run-up to the Euromayday parade 2007 (S_124, S_126; S_128). The Mayday Mobil played on the tactical appropriation of urban spaces for uses other than labour, consumption and regulated recreation. Participants in the outings found that on Saturdays, in front of the malls and in the markets, the shopping regime was too seamless to leave space for people to engage with the Mayday Mobil:

> "In front of the shopping mall, it didn't work at all, because people wanted to do their shopping. They didn't have time, they were busy" (Int_6).

Saturday afternoon is the time for shopping, and while the mall might be a preferred hang-out for youths at other times and places, the shopping centre at the Hamburg market place was not such a place. More successful was an outing to the Steilshoop shopping centre in a 1960s/70s development on the outskirts of Hamburg close to the airport (S_87). An outing to beach of the river Elbe in Blankenese was not very successful either:

> "The Elbstrand [a beach, mh], somehow I think the general attitude there is too lascivious (laughs). People just want to lie down on the beach in their bikinis and don't fancy doing it" [engaging with the Mayday Mobil, mh] (Int_6).

The productive space around the Euromayday Mobil did not unfold in a setting coded as a space of lazy relaxation. The most successful places were the Stadtpark, a park in the city centre, and the university campus. The timing to visit the campus was perfect, as the students were on strike against university fees and eager to take part in the performance of the Mayday Mobil. They provided internet access by laying a long cable from the window of the student union into the yard where the Mayday Mobil was parked. Technically supported by the radio crew from Freies Senderkombinat (FSK), the Mayday Mobil was able to produce a live radio show. Beyond the instrumental achievement to draw attention to Euromayday, the collaboration between students, the radical radio crew and the Mayday Mobil had an organising dimension. Establishing the space of the Mayday Mobil also reinforced ties between Euromayday, FSK and the rebelling students. Working together in the heat of the moment in a successful project created a shared experience of an intensity that rarely occurs in plenary sessions.

Through their searching quality, the outings of the Euromayday Mobil were consciously framed as practices of knowledge production. The pragmatic question "where does it work best" was gradually transformed into an exercise of knowledge production. In the second year of the Mayday Mobile practice, questions were refined and answered, as shown in the publicised minutes of a public assembly in January 2006:

"Where is time/peace and quiet for conversations? Last years experience shows that this occurs mainly in parks, at the beach, but not at markets and shopping situations" (S_112).

It was noted that the outings of the Euromayday mobile extended the scope of knowledge production beyond the everyday lives of the Euromayday circle. Additional places, themes, and conflicts were identified, and both visitors' and actors' awareness of these increased. The outings of the Mayday Mobil were aligned with a wider mapping project as an investigative operation. Establishing a route for the next Euromayday parade and identifying suitable places for actions such as adbusting were mentioned as "possible products". Activities before and during the outings such as reflections on mapping, interviews and live reports would be presented in radio shows (S_333, S_351). Alignment with the medium of the radio would have the further advantage to entice the actors to produce presentable evaluations. Thus knowledge production immediately fed back into mobilisation through media practices.

Friendship Circles: Politicising Sociability – Informalising Political Meetings

The Euromayday Hamburg circle relied on informal spaces of social connectivity not only in the run-up to the Euromayday parade, but throughout the year. As my visits in Hamburg only occasionally coincided with formal meetings, I was given the opportunity to learn more about the sociability amongst the actors of the Euromayday circle and their friends and relatives. I mostly stayed in several of Hamburgs alternative housing projects. People from the Euromayday circle were either my hosts or my neighbours. I rarely arranged formal appointments for interviews in advance. Instead, I "went with the flow". Two or three people would make plans to meet up in a café or bar, eat together or to visit an event, text messages were exchanged from neighbourhood to neighbourhood, house to house, flat to flat, and by mid-evening, one table often was not enough to accommodate the crowd. Even on the days assigned to a formal workshop with guests from Spain and Belgium, time was found for a boat trip on the river Elbe and a barbecue.

In these social gatherings, sometimes on the fly on the way home afterwards, I picked up a sense of how everyday situations may serve as informal assemblies of people in precarious situations. An MA thesis had to be finished despite a painful medical condition. A decision had to be made whether or not to register disability. A recent graduate applied for social security benefit (Hartz IV), another one hoped to get a part time job as a tutor at university, but was not sure if he wanted to embark on the long and highly precarious journey of an academic career. A PhD student had to secure funding. The politics of shoplift-

ing were discussed. Love stories turned complicated. Someone's parent was diagnosed with cancer. Someone lost his accommodation and had to stay on people's sofas. An interesting three-month job abroad turned into a years-long position. Students made the transition to job seekers or employees. Some started to work with trade unions. Some took jobs in other cities. Grant applications for collaborative projects had to be completed. I picked up stories of chronic illnesses, continuous headaches relating to overwork in two separate part-time jobs, nervous breakdowns and burn-out – and resourceful ways to support each other. All this was told, discussed and sometimes resolved in informal social gatherings.

An attempt was made to formalise these forums of informal and productive exchange, to bring them into the world of the political without turning them into the dreaded formal plenary sessions. Several people set up *friendship circles*, informal gatherings for precarious people who had something in common, for instance as precarious knowledge workers or care workers. In an article, they are described as follows:

> *"Assemblies of the friendship circles are meetings where the important issues of everyday life are being discussed. They are about helping each other out and seeking advice, things which are often neglected in the agendas of political meetings or disregarded as private worries or individual problems. This reveals how mundane everyday social networks are, which are all too rarely finding political articulation and are still seeking a position in public life" (Euromayday Hamburg 2007).*

The idea was to create occasions for people who had much insight into precarious situations through their everyday lives, but only ever managed to talk in passing about how these affected their subjectivities were affected. The friendship circles were informal, pleasant gatherings, often in the early evening with some snacks and drinks, so that people would be able to go out afterwards (Int_18). They are also described as a translation of a Zapatista mode of organising to the Hamburg setting. In one of them, several groundrules unfolded. It was important to avoid any pressure and constraint. The gatherings were to involve no formal preparation and no "homework" should be produced. This rule protected the friendship circle from the constraints of work-intensive meetings, but it also made it difficult to publicly present their productivity. The timing was flexibly adjusted to the needs of the participants, many of whom were travelling a lot and could not make regular dates. To keep the chats focussed on everyday experience rather than turning them into a seminar, a political meeting or a theory discussion, quoting authorities was not allowed. Sometimes, themes were set such as: What do I do first thing in the morning? This particular question led to an exchange on "reading the paper", and from there into the question of

"what is work". For some, being able to read the paper in the morning is relaxing, an act of autonomy, for others, it is plain work due to the pressure to be always well informed.

One initiator of a friendship circle - "I invite you 'round for champagne" was a sentence in her first invitation – fondly remembers the gatherings that were held:

> *"Sometimes it took longer until we managed to see each other, but when we finally managed to meet up, one realised that one had longed for this gathering. People were looking forward to meet. What I found fascinating in these meetings was that (...) it mostly started like that (quotes the initial conversation) "what's happening in your life, ah, this happened to me, and this happened to me, and that, ah, I really want to tell you this. But we always managed to reflect about what happened to us as well. Narratives from everyday life on one hand, but on the other hand there was always the point where we turned round and reflected about them. That's what was so valuable to me. I rarely had both levels in political groups (...) Subjectivity is almost frowned upon. Here [in the friendship circles, mh], the subjective factor ws central, and we always thought beyond it. And it worked. I recollect, I was always looking forward to it" (Int_18).*[113]

In their combination of everyday narratives and analytical reflection, the friendship circles are not dissimilar to the method of memory work which was developed by Frigga Haug together with women's groups (Haug 1990, 2000). In both cases, subjective everyday experience became the basis for empowerment and theoretical insight. Other than the memory work groups around Frigga Haug, the knowledge produced in the friendship circles was not translated into a publication. But it fed into the wider Euromayday process, and added a format of social connectivity to the action repertoire of the movement.

Organising and Campaigns: I've had enough – NOT!

The Euromayday Hamburg circle experimented with several versions of formal organizing. Their first experiment was set up with a section of the service trade union ver.di. Like other trade unions in Germany, ver.di acknowledged that the concept of the service union providing insurances, legal support and reasonable negotiators in labour disputes did not stop the decrease in membership. Thus they begun to debate and experiment with the concept of *organizing* or *social movement unionizing* which had proved highly successful in

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[113] German original: Also, mal dauerte es länger, bis wir uns sahen, aber dann, wenn wir uns irgendwie getroffen haben, man merkte immer (lächelt) die Sehnsucht danach. Die Leute freuten sich auf das Treffen. Und was mich fasziniert hat bei diesen Treffen war, daß wir, ja es hat meistens angefangen,(...), (zitiert) was läuft grad bei Dir, und ahh, mir ist das passiert, und mir ist das passiert, und das, ah, ah, das will ich mal erzählen. Aber immer haben wir es geschafft, auch darüber zu reflektieren, was uns passiert ist. Also man hatte immer diese zwei Ebenen. Einerseits Alltagserzählungen, aber andererseits kam immer auch der Punkt, wo es gewendet ist und wir auch darüber reflektieren konnten. Und das fand ich so wertvoll. Das hatte ich selten bei Politgruppen, dass man beide Ebenen (...). Das ist fast verpönt, Subjektivität. Und da war der subjektive Faktor zentral, und wir dachten immer, was darüber hinaus. Und es klappte. Also ich erinner mich, ich hab mich immer gefreut.

the US (Bremme/Fürniß/Meinecke 2007). In April 2005, immediately before the first Euromayday parade in Germany and included in its event calendar, trade unions and the union-related Hans-Böckler Foundation organized a conference in Hamburg titled "never work alone" where more than 100 trade union organizers, shop stewards, activists and researchers from Germany and the US discussed the organizing concept (Hauer 2005). In the following year, ver.di set up an organizing project targeting security workers, where several people from the Hamburg circle worked as organizers on temporary contracts. However, this experiment did not align well with the Euromayday project. The tight methodology of the organizing concept and the ultimate aim to increase membership did not sit well with the loose, open, questioning approach of the Hamburg Euromayday circle (Panagiotidis 2006, Wildcat 2008).

The second experiment was the campaign *Mir reichts – nicht* in 2007 and 2008 which was realized in collaboration with Euromayday Berlin (Euromayday Hamburg 2007a, b; 2008). This initiative was designed to connect with precarious workers in the cultural sector and combined political organizing, militant investigation and the performative concept of mediated actions in public space where Euromayday Hamburg had previously been successful. Three fields relating to precarisation of cultural workers were chosen as targets for this campaign. The first field was the art event *documenta* in Kassel, which heavily relies on the work of badly paid but highly enthusiastic stagiaires. The second field was the *Berlinale* film festival, where the situation is similar. The third field, which in the end was dropped due to lack of resources, was the annual trade union conference. In the course of this campaign, around two dozen people from Hamburg travelled between Hamburg, Kassel and Berlin. Over 40 interviews with precarious workers including event organisers, exhibition guides, cleaning and building staff were conducted. The results were discussed and presented in formats which clearly bear the Hamburg Euromayday signature. For instance, in Kassel, selected excerpts from the interviews were made available in several public editorial sessions with invited special guests. The sessions were especially made known to the interviewees. Only few of them participated in the events. I participated in one which took place in a social-cultural centre running since the 1970s. The main room was transformed into something between a workspace, a theatre and an exhibition. Two of the walls were covered with endless printouts of interviews on A4 sheets and some selected quotes printed on green A4 sheets. The free space left on the walls was decorated with colourful photos from previous actions similar to those produced by the Mayday Mo-

bil. The mobilising posters from the last three years stood out from the black background of a stage, which was otherwise ignored. Excerpts from the interviews were projected onto the wall. Computers, cameras and recording devices were switched on. Chairs were grouped around small bistro tables in a way that there was no space that could clearly be identified as the table of the chairperson. Instead, a free space was left in the middle. This setting was chosen to avoid undue domination of the event by the special guests. The idea of the public editing session was to collectively produce a text or a textual format based on these excerpts. This might for instance take the shape of a letter to the trade union congress or the director of the documenta art event. The session resulted in a lively debate. Some of the quotes appeared in the slogans and leaflets for the Euromayday parade of the following year.

The decoration – photos, posters, excerpts from interviews – was also exhibited in the next public session, which took place in the venue of the documenta exhibitions. The all-in-white exhibition room was markedly different from the social-cultural centre where the last event had taken place. Suddenly, the materials did not appear improvised, but 'arty'.

During my participant observation in Kassel, I was fascinated by the way every product was immediately transformed into an element of the next step. Posters and photos taken at previous actions as part of the mobilisation process or during the Euromayday parade were now variously presented as decoration, exhibition, or element of an installation themed precarious productivity. Interview transcripts, rather than being analysed in the privacy of someone's workroom, became part of the installation, provided a working atmosphere and a starting point for a public debate. Selected excerpts, rather than being scribbled on index cards or one of their digital equivalents such as atlas.ti, were printed on green A4 sheets and stuck to the walls. An in-depth analysis of the interviews was never published, but excerpts were transformed into slogans and leaflet-texts. The productivity of the Euromayday project never seems to stand still, always remains in flow, it appears to resist fixation into a single format, product or organisation.

Fascinating as this might be to the ethnographer who interprets this incessantly fluid productivity as a feature that provides dynamics to the cultural politics of the Hamburg Euromayday circle, most of the actors involved were not satisfied with their campaigning experiments. Self-critically, they remarked that they did not manage to establish a political project in their chosen fields of precarisation. Lacking the resources to pursue a long-term organising project or strategically support workers through legal advice and unwilling to

kick off an action in the name of the cultural workers they had talked to, they found that their intervention did not reach beyond an act of knowledge production. (Int_18)

VI.5.   Mediated Practices of Making Visible: Organising Political Sociability in the Everyday

A highly contested aspect of the Euromayday project is its claim to imagine into being a political subject based on precarisation as an overarching social condition which affects all strata of society. It is assumed that the trendy-looking visualisations around the Euromayday parades only reach an equally trendy-looking constituency made up of highly qualified, young and confident people. Euromayday Milan self-critically responded to this assumption on their 2007 poster. On this poster, the spectator watches a woman, possibly elderly and possibly a domestic worker, as she is watching a poster which advertises the Euromayday parade. The poster-inside-the-poster visualisation poses the question who is called up by the Mayday parades of the precarious. The cleaning woman, possibly with a migrant background, is a paradigmatic figure often called upon by critics who doubt that she is included in the Euromayday project. In its call to the 2005 Euromayday parade, the Hamburg circle claims that the cleaning woman is amongst them:

> *"Whether highly qualified or not at all, with or without formal training, we are working in x jobs. Mobility and time management are our capital. Means of production? No problem – from mop to PC" (Hamburg Call 2005).*

Both mop and laptop are means of production used by precarious workers, and both are depicted in several posters. A year later, some of the initiators were asked in an interview if they thought that the cleaning woman with the mop responded to this call, and if said cleaning woman was present at the Mayday Parade (Bergmann/John/Panagiotidis 2006). The question implied a clear boundary between the subject position occupied by a cleaner and the subject position held by a highly qualified yet precarious, politically active knowledge/cultural worker – and that the Euromayday parades only addressed the latter. This assumption was countered by a series of questions:

> *"The cleaning woman was present and the question remains, what does she look like? Does she look like Brigitte Mira in the movie 'Angst essen Seele auf?' Or is she 28 years old with a primary occupation as a student, earning her money through a part-time cleaning job? Or is she someone who has several jobs at the same time to get through (...)? Or has she, maybe, no legal papers and par-*

ticipates chic in the Euromayday parade?"[114]

These questions opened up a horizon of overlapping subject positions, which can hardly be grasped by straightforward models of class, professional hierarchies or social strata. The aim of the Euromayday project in initiating a debate on precarity as experience, social structure and potential conflict was further specified:

> *"With Euromayday, we made an attempt – and this is a long process – to re-introduce something like a social relation, where us lefties are evidently subjects, just like the cleaner or the welder. By talking about precarity, we do not want to make everybody the same, but we hope to give equal access, so that debate becomes possible. We want to open up communication spaces, where these distinctive social subjects are winning and appropriating room for manoeuvre..[115]*

Thus the clear-cut boundaries between activist or lefty and ordinary people were rejected in favour of a careful, differentiated understanding of each person's complex social, economic, political or cultural positioning in relation to precarisation. However, the preference for multiplicity and the rejection of one unified identity is not to be equalled with a celebration of fragmentation, de-solidarisation, or arbitrary individualism. In the Hamburg Euromayday process, a search can be witnessed for that which would constitute connections between distinctive subject positions without forcing them into one single entity.

As exemplified in the slogans, Hamburg Euromayday favoured a "politics in the first person", and more often than not in the singular rather than the plural form. Drawing on the distinctive experience of the individual was hoped to bring forward the connections to enable actors to act in common. Experiences, coping strategies, feelings, affects, desires and frustrations emerging from social conditions characterised by precarisation of work and live were examined for their potential to connect the realities of the precarious migrant, student, waiter, cleaner, lecturer, freelancer, street-artist, squatter, dj, the office-, care-, service-, cultural and knowledge workers with their paid and unpaid working arrangements, their wide-spread social networks, their entertainment choices. Collective

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[114] Original in German: „Die Putzfrau war präsent und die Frage bleibt, wie sieht die Putzfrau aus? Sieht die Putzfrau aus wie Brigitte Mira bei "Angst essen Seele auf?" Oder ist die Putzfrau 28 Jahre alt, hauptberuflich Studentin, nebenberuflich muss sie ihr Geld mit putzen verdienen? Oder ist die Putzfrau jemand, der mehrere Jobs gleichzeitig hat, um über die Runden zu kommen, was mittlerweile die Biografie von vielen Leuten ist? Oder hat die Putzfrau keine Papiere und nimmt chic am Euromayday teil?"

[115] German original: „Bei Euromayday haben wir den Versuch unternommen - und das ist ein längerer Prozess - so etwas wie ein soziales Verhältnis wieder einzuführen, in der wir Linken selbstverständlich genau so Subjekte sind wie die Putzfrau oder der Schweißer. Mit der Prekarisierungsdebatte wollen wir nicht alle gleich machen, sondern erhoffen gleichen Zugang zu geben, um debattieren zu können. Es geht darum, dass Kommunikationsräume eröffnet werden, in dem diese verschiedenen sozialen Subjekte sich Bewegungsspielraum erkämpfen und aneignen."

reflection of multiple realities allowed to better understand a structure of feelings which organises subjectivities affected by the precarisation of working and living. This structure of feelings is the subjective side of social aspects encompassing the inability to make long-term plans coupled with an ability for flexibility, spontaneity and mobility, a desire for autonomy in relation to employers and control of one's own time, the practice of incessant networking, phases of hyperactivity intersected with phases of exhaustion or inertia, and an increasing overlap between time of work and time of play. This structure of feelings is made visible and brought to the political terrain in the imageries, narratives and visualisations of the Euromayday parades. Albeit perceived by individuals in the personal space of subjectivity, experiences of precarity are conceptualised as part of a collective condition. Although the contested cleaning woman and the overworked university teacher may have little in common, they possibly share aspects of precarious subjectivity.

With its concept of making visible, tangible and experiencable processes of precarisation in an interactive process, the Hamburg Euromayday circle developed methodologies of precarious subjectivation through trial and error. Its projects of self-investigation, co-research and playful mediated knowledge production feed into this methodological process. The development of Euromayday's capacity as an organising tool is still at its beginnings. The production of political subjectivities through mediated imageries can have an organising quality, as people are drawn into the Euromayday project less through membership and participation in meetings, but through specific tasks such as the production of mobilisation videos, posters, or reports, or spray-painting a façade with symbols of Euromayday (S_125). The Euromayda Hamburg circle explains how the prolific production of signs, images and narratives was embedded in a political project:

> *"From the beginning, we understood Euromayday as a process where we seek for answers to all-encompassing precarisation together. It is the rejection of phraseologies and rituals – particularly visible on Mayday - which opens up spaces where new answers can be found. In this context, the ability to pursue collective struggles in everyday life and to ask the question for another society in the realm of everyday life is of vital importance" (Euromayday Hamburg 2005).[116]*

Euromayday made visible the precarisation of work and life as an all-encompassing so-

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[116] German Original: „Von vorneherein haben wir den Euromayday als einen Prozess begriffen, in dem wir gemeinsam nach Antworten auf die umfassende Prekarisierung suchen. Erst die Abkehr von Phrasen und Ritualen, die gerade den 1. Mai prägen, macht es möglich, Räume zu öffnen, in denen neue Antworten gefunden werden können. In diesem Zusammenhang ist die Fähigkeit, im Alltag kollektive Kämpfe zu führen und dort die Frage nach einer anderen Gesellschaft zu stellen, von entscheidender Bedeutung" (S_134).

cial condition rather than an exception from the perceived normality of the white, male, permanently employed, and possibly unionised passport holder who is the main provider of a nuclear family. Making visible encompassed investigation into the overarching characteristics of precarious lives; the formulation of desires, pleasures and grievances; the search for modes of political organisation which would be suitable for those affected by precarity; and the translation of desires and grievances into the language of political demands. In 2005 Germany, the precarious subject was neither visible as a social reality nor as a collective actor. Neither was being precarious adopted as an identity marker whereby those affected by it could express their situation. As a concept of everyday conduct of life (Voß 1995), precarity flared up in the mass media, where young precarious people were variously romanticised as *Digital Boheme* or pitied as *Generation Praktikum* (generation of stagiaires). Trade unions failed to organise people who could not be assigned to one single industry, frequently changed employers, worked under temporary and part-time contracts or were freelancers and often experienced periods of unemployment. Within the radical left, precarity appeared as an analytical term to understand the impact of the dismantling of the welfare state, the tightening of the border regime and the exclusion of ever more people from societal wealth, but not as a contentious issue to organise around or a social subject with the agency to act on the political terrain.[117] Although precarity as a social condition had been observed by sociologists and social theorists since the late 1990 (Bourdieu 1998), social analysis was not yet translated into a political force. Although precarisation of work and life was already a condition experienced by increasing numbers of people, this experience could not yet be articulated collectively. As one of the friends of Euromayday Milan put it: "There was a social subject that needed representation".

Making visible processes of precarisation implied a major shift on the cultural level. It was not enough to establish precarity as a contentious issue to be added to those of other social movements, or to give voice to an already existing collective actor. What needed to be developed was the very understanding of precarity as an experience – what it felt like in everyday life, how it affected the way people relate to each other, and what kind of politics would be suitable for precarious people to fight together for an improvement of their situation. Making visible involved collective reflection of everyday practices as workers, unemployed, migrants, activists, students, artists. Times and places where this reflection

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[117] See for instance the programs of the BUKO conference in 2004, and the two conferences *Kosten Rebellieren*.

could take place were established as well as methods to pursue it. Participatory, mediated visualisations of the condition of precarity and appropriate forms of organising were invented. The Euromayday project was largely situated on the terrain of culture as a contested space where meanings are being produced not only through representation, but also through practices. Thus this chapter evaluated the way actors were "doing culture", which encompasses both performative and symbolic activities.

Conclusion

April 2011. Ten people are having an after-dinner conversation at a South-London kitchen table. They discuss the recent protests against the devastating spending cuts in the public and educational sector, implemented by the British government to pay for the deficit caused by the 2009 banking crisis. A few weeks earlier, London has seen the largest demonstration since the anti-war demonstration in 2003. Although it was organised by the national trade union congress as a conventional march, numerous grassroots groups spilled out from the planned route and staged interventions across the city. In the run-up, students took to the streets en masse, university colleges and local councils were occupied, and large shopping outlets blockaded.

The conversation turns to possible courses of action. "We need a general strike!" says someone. We look at each other. How could we strike? The freelance web designer can take a day off whenever he likes without anyone noticing. "Maybe I could stop spamming everyone for a day?" he suggests with a small grin. The part-time university tutor expects to be forced to re-apply for her job along with all her colleagues. They are now all competing with each other. Not a promising precondition for striking. The programmer does not participate in the discussion, because he is staring into his net-book, fixing some software. The artist doubts that the economy will come to a halt if he stops making artworks. The squatter has moved house dozens of times in the past years, but not moving for a while hardly constitutes a strike action. The health worker is more confident, although her section has seen redundancies already. Colleagues in another department went on strike a week ago. She adds: "And my clients could go on strike, too!" The precarious academic, me, launches into a passionate speech about the biopolitical strike – and yet a small voice inside her whispers: But what if you have a deadline for an article?

The group around the kitchen table had worked together in political projects over years. During the alterglobalisation movement, they rarely raised their different realities as workers or unemployed as part of their activism. However, their professional skills and resources often converged with political practice. Leaflets were photocopied at work. Discarded computers made their way from forgotten corporate corners into independent media

centres. Programmers applied their skills to the development of digital movement media. The ruses of call-centre agents came in useful in activist investigations. Psychologists turned into much-needed facilitators or reliable bouncers at benefit-gigs. Self-employed media workers and unemployed people spent weeks preparing a protest. Students became media activists. At the heart of the post-Fordist production logic, producers of immaterial labour converged to form a diverse, fluid, geographically dispersed yet locally rooted movement for a globalisation from below.

From Everyday Experience to Political Strategy

The kitchen-table discussion in London raised the pressing question how to transform the repertoires and networks built in this movement and relate them to current social conflicts as well as to a multiplicity of work and employment relations – how to act as an antagonistic social subject in post-Fordist society. This shows that the questions addressed in the Euromayday initiative are part of a wider search for forms of political articulation adequate to the current social formation. Euromayday does not provide a ready-made answer to this question. It is safe to state that after eight years of trans-urban Euromayday parades of the precarious, this protest event has not become the focal entity of an overarching, transnational movement organisation, which could claim to be the expression of the precarious in all shapes and forms as a new social subject. However, Euromayday has proved to be a compelling form of social activism. Over the past decade, Euromayday has developed methods and practices that may well help activists in their search for a new, political social subject that could become the protagonist of a new social activism. This methodology is about the transformation of everyday experience and tactical ruses of resistance into political strategy. It is embedded into a grand vision centred on precarisation of work and life both as a double-faced social relation and a political project. Euromayday places precarious people and their immaterial, affective labour at the core of the post-Fordist production process. The Euromayday method is about realising the strength implied by this position through media activism and a reformulation of labour conflict. Rather than promoting the return of the unified social subject of the industrial era, Euromayday conjures up a social subject that draws strength not from unity, but from difference and enables singularities to act in common. This social subject is imagined into being through a methodology comprising performative media practices geared towards a new social imagination. Rebellious imagination is fuelled by publicly stated analogies with the traditional labour movement: The city is our factory. The precariat is to post Fordism what the proletariat was to

Fordism. What is your strike?

This study has engaged with Euromayday's methodology. By tracing and analysing the cultural productions of the Euromayday project on the micro-political level and relating them to their respective cultural environments, it has explored how contemporary social movements weave their own threads into the cultural patterns, which overlay the post-Fordist regime, and how they attempt to change the social and cultural structures of this regime of production.

In thick descriptions, this study has shown how actors are experimenting with new forms of cultural micro-politics in the process of planning, mobilising and staging the annual Euromayday parades. Imageries of precarity were analysed as cultural products in all stages of the cultural circuit. Their collective, participatory production in relation to the dynamics of activism, urban settings, global cultural industries and popular culture, subculture and radical collective memory was described, and their meanings as semiotic texts were analysed. It was examined how imageries of precarity inspired oppositional readings and contentious practices of intervention and public performance as they circulated along the trajectories of the Euromayday network. Evaluation of ethnographic and para-ethnographic materials related the mediated cultural products of Euromayday initiatives to lived culture.

Overall, this study established that media practices were constituent in the formation of the Euromayday project as a contemporary social movement. Contrary to the tenets of social movement theory, actors used media not merely to represent an existing movement, but to imagine it into being and to strengthen its development over time. Such performative use of media can be found in other contemporary social movements as well. Euromayday stands out in that it consciously developed techniques for making media performative in specific socio-cultural settings. These techniques were tailored to precarious realities of work and life. They drew on repertoires of popular culture, the cultural industries as well as sub- and countercultures. The Euromayday parades were composed of complex media assemblages. These combined mediated street performances with a variety of digital and other media formats to generate processes of meaning-making and subjectivation.

Media practices were designed to enhance collaborative knowledge production, reflexivity, subjectivation and prefigurative imagination. Through its media practices, Euromayday conflated forms of knowledge production and mobilisation. Mediated public perform-

ances were often staged with a view to produce knowledge, for instance when participants in the Euromayday parades or other events were invited to express their own precarious subjectivities, which then entered the next Euromayday parade as slogans. Geared towards participatory, interactive, communication-producing formats, Euromayday's media practices enhance the production of new forms of sociability. Altogether, media practices enabled Euromayday actors to engage in the process of biopolitical production.

This type of media practices is not only an important asset for contemporary social movements in the sense of an addition to existing repertoires of action. I have argued that performative, reflexive media practices are constituent of a new mode of movement formation. As cultural micro-politics, they respond to wider social change in a post-Fordist society with its emphasis on biopolitical production. Using the modes of production of the social formation they seek to change, contemporary social movements may well develop into a challenge to the post-Fordist regime. Thus although Euromayday did not develop into a mass movement equipped to effectively pose this challenge, it has contributed an important analysis coupled with a methodology how to practice cultural politics of the multitude.

Reflexive Media Practices as Constituent Factors in Contemporary Social Movements

The importance of media practices in the new cultural politics of contemporary social movements is backed up by the empirical findings of my ethnographic study. First, I found that media practices were crucial factors in Euromayday's organising, mobilising and framing processes in a way that exceeds conventional interpretations of alternative media as means to the ends of counter-information and internal communication. Media practices were constituent in the prefiguration of a new social subject, helped to form new political subjectivities and transformed everyday experiences and ruses of resistance into political practices. Media practices provided the hands-on tools whereby the compelling but rather abstract concept of precarisation of work and life was made tangible and actualised in specific urban realities. Media practices helped people to relate their own, subjective realities to the double-faced concept of precarisation of work and life. Collectively or individually engaging in highly personal processes of mediated subjectivation, people added to the performativity of the Euromayday project, as they inscribed their own singularities into the plurivocal and sometimes dissonant chorus of the Euromayday parades. In these ways, the Euromayday method to make media performative structured mobilisation and linked it to the framing of the movement through participatory and reflexive processes of meaning-making.

As a flexible and modular repertoire of contention, media practices developed in the Euromayday movement were adopted by related struggles such as the Right to the City movement in Hamburg or the performances of the precarious workers brigade in London at several mass demonstrations about the financial crisis. The precarious workers brigade, in turn, contributed the carrot to the Euromayday repertoire as a symbol for the false promises made to precarious workers. In this sense, media practices helped to generalise and broaden the Euromayday movement in the multi-scalar European terrain.

In the absence of a fixed organisation structure, the circulation of mediated imageries of precarity provided symbolic and organisational cohesion for Euromayday as a trans-urban network. Euromayday has no statutes, holds no regular, formal meetings, did not agree on a single shared program or campaign against clearly defined adversaries, seems to have given up the practice of issuing an annual shared call for the Euromayday parades, and rarely streamlined mobilisation materials and slogans in all participating cities to provide the movement equivalent of a fixed corporate identity. These factors could be interpreted as a weakness of the movement arising from a lack of resources. However, they could also point to the potency of mediated methods. Imageries of precarity continue to travel across and beyond the network, allowing local actors to situate their specific struggles in a wider movement.

The use of imageries of precarity and reflexive media practices allows singularities to act in common across different local situations and political backgrounds. The adoption of the mediated forms, signs and symbols associated with the Euromayday project in any one location does not express membership of an organisation, but affinity to a concept. Several local Euromayday parades were initiated independent from the existing network. The use of imageries of precarity related them to the wider project. In many cities, activists preferred the seemingly instrumental, but also productive activity of collectively producing media for the Euromayday parades as an occasion to come together over formal meetings and plenary sessions. Thus media practices assumed organisational functions.

Performative Media Assemblages

Second, I found that the Euromayday methodology comprises a variety of techniques geared towards the establishment of complex media assemblages. Following the media-philosophical, pragmatist concept proposed by Sandbothe, I present these techniques as tools for sensual perception, semiotic communication and technical transmission. This concept roughly corresponds with three layers of media activism I described as the staging

of interventionist performances, techniques of visualisation and appropriation of technology.

Using spatial, temporal and sensual techniques, the Euromayday parades operate as perception media. The timing of these trans-urban, annual public performances on the symbolically charged First of May expresses that the movement situated itself in semantic proximity to the historical labour movement. This meaning was retained although Euromayday explicitly moved away from class-based politics and promoted a reconfiguration of the rebellious social subject in post-Fordism. Spatial strategies established Euromayday as a multi-scalar convergence space. The perception of the city was overhauled by practices of mapping and marking the urban architecture. Performances, stickers, graffiti, sound, and not least the flow of the parades themselves turned programmed space into lived space. "The city is our factory" is a recurring slogan in the Euromayday network. Media practices helped to make this claim tangible. On the trans-urban scale, spatial strategies included participation in the convergence spaces of the alterglobalisation movement as well as the Europeanisation of local Euromayday parades. Media practices such as the transmission of trans-urban radio programs to multiple parades, exchanging text messages from city to city during the event or reading out the list of participating cities during the parade contributed to the social construction of a multi-scalar space of contention. Sensual experiences such as dancing in the middle of a street to the drums of a sound-system, dressing up as a masked superhero, or even the activity of taking pictures of a moving crowd can imply a personal-political-social transformation. Thus the use of perception media is a crucial building block in Euromayday's performativity.

In terms of technical media of transmission, my data show that the engagement with the technical side of media activism varied from town to town. Euromayday actors used movement-specific autonomous digital infrastructure as well as commercial platforms. Many local Euromayday initiatives host their websites, mailing lists or wikis with autonomous service providers, and most Euromayday parades are announced and reported on the respective national nodes of the global Indymedia platform. In London, Hamburg and Barcelona, the initial Euromayday parades were accompanied by heated debates on Indymedia's open-publishing comments section. These debates can be regarded as a further layer of mediated subjectivation, facilitated by a participatory technical set-up. However, people who were not affiliated to the initiating groups rarely published on the Hamburg website, despite its open publishing facility. This shows that the efficiency of digital media as a tool

for collective mediated subjectivation depends on appropriate social shaping as much as on technical functionality. In the Spanish towns of Terrassa and Malaga as well as in Milan, the collective appropriation of digital technology strongly fed into the Euromayday process through active participation of dedicated media activists. In Hamburg, autonomous technical infrastructure was largely provided by allies, while the initiating group appropriated the commercial social network platform Facebook for casual day-to-day interaction and dissemination of content within and beyond the group. As web 2.0 matured, Euromayday groups gradually adopted practices wide-spread amongst the generation of digital natives. These include the use of blogging services and social network platforms such as Facebook, Myspace, or Youtube.

Overall, the technical side of digital media activism, including the use of audiovisual editing software, web-editing skills etc was pursued on a day-to-day, informal basis rather than as a collective and collaborative effort. In contrast, many groups set time aside for the collective production of expressive, material protest media such as banners, posters, or large-scale decorations. Besides their instrumental function, these "bricolage-days" provided occasions for subjectivation processes, sociability and thus enhanced performativity. On the network level, enthusiasm for the establishment of a technical infrastructure for internal and external digital communication was limited. Basic requirements such as a shared website and mailing list were met, but never took centre stage on the agenda of the network.

The predominant dimension of media use in the Euromayday project was the production of semiotic media of communication, understood as the mediatisation of narratives and concepts. Media practices were embedded into a highly reflexive process of collective meaning-making. These practices included making radio-programs, producing visualisations and staging interventions, and not least reporting about Mayday parades in textual and audio-visual formats on platforms such as Indymedia.

Media practices do not exist in a vacuum. In order to use radical media performatively, media producers need to assure that their products are conveyed by a credible speaker in an appropriate manner, and that they relate in form and content to their cultural environments. I found that movement actors symbolically linked imageries of precarity to repertoires and genres of popular culture. Genres included comics, video games, party-photography, photo stories and movies ranging from Hollywood to Bollywood style. Repertoires included popular Catholicism, New Age culture, literature (Alice in Wonderland),

advertising and collection albums. Not even the Eurovision song contest was spared. Conversely to social movement theory, I found that the Euromayday method is not about reducing culture to a toolkit ready to be imitated. Euromayday actors actively and collectively engaged with popular culture, appropriated and re-coded it. Collage, bricolage, detournement, subvertising, meta-branding, mythopoeisis, and mapping were employed as semiotic, meaning-altering techniques. These techniques were enhanced through participatory settings in the context of the Euromayday parades, inviting participants to add their own subjectivities to the pluri-vocal chorus of singularities. Such techniques helped actors to train a refractory gaze onto precarious realities. They effectively set in on the level of subjectivity of those involved, providing tools to imagine oneself as "precarious". Thus semiotic media practices helped to connect individual everyday experience with a wider, collective and explicitly political process of meaning-making. In addition to processes of subjectivation, semiotic media of communication were employed to produce knowledge about precarious realities, oppositional readings of these realities and forms of resistance, and to increase participation.

While the overall empirical evidence of this study suggests that media practices, moulded in an innovative method, were constituent in the formation of Euromayday as a movement, my ethnographic in-depth case studies of specific cities call for two qualifying remarks. Euromayday's performative imageries of precarity were mostly developed in correspondence with specific local environments. Where a concept was meticulously and reflexively aligned with multiple layers of a local situation, it typically also hit the core of experiences of precarity elsewhere, or corresponded with more general desires within social movements for adequate self-expression. In such cases, new imageries were picked up in other locations and re-cast to correspond with respective movement cultures. Somewhat paradoxically, careful alignment with local conditions facilitated the circulation of struggles around precarity across the European geography. In turn, where this alignment was neglected, or where cultural translation of mediated repertoires failed, the imagery and the meaning it transported typically did not catch on. For media practices to become performative, contentious issues and protest formats need to interact with cultural factors such as the urban fabric, radical collective memory, activist subjectivities, modes of sociability and mediated communication, and not least political circumstances. Only where precarity as a contentious issue and political project is aligned with such settings, the emerging media practices can become constituent factors in movement formation. The complexity of cul-

tural politics makes their success or failure appear contingent and unforeseeable. Through cultural analysis, this study has attempted to shed light on cultural processes that are easily overlooked in rational actor oriented social movement theory.

Collective Memory

   This study found that the performativity of media practices depends not only on a catchy image, a seductive theory or, in the language of social movement theory, an attractive framing. Neither was the decision of local activists to adopt the Euromayday initiative or abandon it after a phase of experimentation determined by the resources available to them. At least in the initial phase, existing movement actors often have the choice to prioritise or neglect a new protest format such as the Euromayday parades. Whether or not Euromayday is perceived as a legitimate speaker in a wider political scene strongly depends on its positioning within the cultural environment of existing social movements, sub- and counter-cultural scenes. Social movements are historically shaped. Present political subjectivities are connected to radical collective memory embodied in trans-generational communication, narratives, visual references, urban architecture and not least alternative media. Euromayday is no exception. In each of the cities I visited or studied, the Euromayday project was linked to existing activist / left-wing scenes, including the submerged networks which formed in previous movement cycles. I explored processes of collective memory and their impact on present political subjectivities in my in-depth case studies on Milan, the city where Euromayday originated and London, where Euromayday parades were abandoned after two years. By continuously producing alternative media, movement actors create a register of collective memory. This includes numerous articles in high-quality alternative media such as the online journals published by eipcp.net, the German magazine analyse und kritik or the UK-based magazine of the ecologist network Earth First!, Do or Die. While these publications present highly elaborate positions, the alternative online platform Indymedia with its open-publishing comments section or the maze of forgotten pages deep down in the directories of group websites allows observing how positions are gradually forming as part of activist subjectivities. Sifting through the collective storage memory preserved in old journals and websites, I found that numerous side-remarks in interviews or inconspicuous references in visual or textual reports about individual Mayday parades pointed to a meaningful, structured function memory amongst actors.

   Based on this historical exploration, I maintain that radical collective memory shapes political subjectivities, which in turn constrain or further the circulation of a particular

struggle, protest format or repertoire of contention. In Milan, the inventors of the Mayday parades of the precarious could draw on a radical collective memory which contained an emphasis on production relations, an embracing attitude to alternative media and a strong tradition of creating political and enjoyable forms of sociability. Although the Mayday project was by no means supported by all strands of the radical political scene, it could draw on an embodied collective memory which was continuously actualised in the local structure of social centres. The Mayday parades were tailored to prevailing political subjectivities inscribed in the urban scene. In London, the Euromayday project, its action repertoire and its political argument clashed with the political subjectivities of the direct action scene, where the local initiators were situated. This scene retains a collective memory of its origins in the anti-road-building movement, which produced anti-structural subjectivities based on highly ritual experiences of communitas outside the social structure. As Euromayday places activists as precarious people at the heart of the economic structure, the adoption of the Euromayday repertoire would have threatened important aspects of collective activist identity. In retrospect, such cultural constraints or resources can be analysed. However, in the political and social process of movement formation, they are often less obvious, accessible through gut feelings rather than analytical evaluation. When the initiators of the first Mayday parade in Milan decided that "we want a demo that looks like a street parade", they knew intuitively, on the basis of their local knowledge, that this format would work and set out to make it happen.

Future Prospects

After having outlined in which ways reflexive media practices are constituent for contemporary social movements, how they are made productive in complex media assemblages, and how radical collective memory impacts on the efficiency of media practices, I will briefly outline prospects for future research.

The Euromayday parades prefigure what they call "the good life" and aim to create a new social imagination. Cultural anthropologists emphasized the close link between imagination and social life in a globalised society (Marcus 1995a). In his elaborations on the global mediascape, Arjun Appaduraj states that "imagination has now acquired a singular new power in social life" (Appaduraj 1996:53). This corresponds to the importance given to processes of prefiguration as a direct, embodied form of theory in current social movement studies (Maeckelbergh 2009, Sturgeon 1995). The power of imagination also operates in the mediascape. In her ethnography of teenagers' use of the social network

platform Facebook, danah boyd identified practices of "writing yourself into being" (boyd 2008). In analogy to this formulation, further research is needed to better understand how social movements are imagined into being through reflexive media practices, complex media assemblages and media environments.

Euromayday is unique in that it explicitly conflated protest, knowledge production and subjectivation. Actors account for their mediated, reflexive and performative mode of protest and movement formation by highlighting and embodying an analysis of the post-Fordist social formation and its potentials for radical change. Euromayday places precarious people in the position of a protagonist for new social activism. Considering the debate about the class position of Euromayday actors and the claim that Euromayday's reach is limited to the new middle classes, further qualitative research could explore the social backgrounds of its constituency. While my study approached activists as experts of their movements, a biographical approach could tackle the question how people come to regard themselves as precarious, and why they affiliate to the Euromayday project. Future empirical research is needed to explore in which ways mediated modes of movement formation appear in other movements, who do not share the focus on precarity.

Mediated forms of dissent are nothing new in the history of social movements and popular protest. However, the significance of media practices in contemporary social movements differs from those of previous movements, because media power has assumed a central position in contemporary global society. This applies foremost to large mass media corporations, commercial social network platforms, and companies such as Google or Microsoft. But media power is also produced on the micro-level, where digital media permeate virtually every aspect of daily life (Wellman/Haythornthwaite 2002). Besides state apparatuses and civil society organisations, the formation of the social occurs through the media practices of citizen journalists, activists, self-help groups, consumers, family networks, peer groups or simply sociable individuals. Countless users produce and review digital content on a daily basis. Processes of subjectivation occur in a much more public manner than before the digital age. As this study has shown, social movements have begun to operate in this field of mediated micro-communication. Due to their extensive use of digital media such as mobile phones and social network platforms, the mass media termed the recent revolutionary mass protests in North-Africa and the Middle East Facebook- or Twitter-revolutions. An overly techno-euphoric interpretation of digital media as a cause for social protest would be overly simplistic. Cultural analyses could contribute to a better

understanding of the productive biopolitical processes which are shaping digital media as powerful weapons for collective action.

Based on the findings of this study, I assert that the cheerful, colourful, seemingly innocent surface of the Euromayday parades is no evidence for a depoliticised attitude to social change. I have argued that Euromayday's cultural micro-politics operate at the height of the current social formation. Actors are striving to develop a cultural politics adequate to the social change they observe in their own lives. They consciously factor this major change of the fabric of society into their method of mediated movement formation. Euromayday's strongest contribution to the landscape of social movements might be its methodology to develop a new protagonist of social movement activism through reflexive, performative media practices. The cultural politics Euromayday brought forward is reflexive, performative, experimental and questioning. Aware that a unified strike is no option for the dispersed social subject that is forming around double-faced processes of precarisation, actors of the Euromayday project mobilise by posing questions. In a multiplicity of mediated formats, they address fellow-precarious people with the same questions they are posing themselves: What is your struggle? Which collective expression the multiplicity of fragmented struggles will find remains to be seen.

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Appendix

Euromayday Parades: Diffusion and Mediatisation

Table 1a: Euromayday Parades 2001 – 2010: Urban Diffusion in Europe

Table 1b: Mondomayday Parades 2007 – 2010: Diffusion beyond Europe

Table 2: Euromayday Parades 2001-2010: Diffusion per annum

Table 3: Euromayday Online Archive: Entries per city 2001-2010

Interviews, Fieldwork, Sources

Table 4: Interviews conducted with actors in the Euromayday network

Table 5: Multi-sited fieldwork on media practices in the Euromayday network

Table 6: Websites and online platforms

Table 7: Online Sources

Documentation

Timeline: Media Activism and Social Centres in Milan (1990 – 2010)

Euromayday London 2005: A Teichoscopic Perspective

Table 1a: Euromayday Parades 2001-2010: Urban Diffusion in Europe

City	State	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010
Aachen	Germany								▓		
Amsterdam	Netherlands					▓	▓				
Barcelona	Spain				▓						
Berlin	Germany									▓	
Bremen	Germany									▓	
Copenhagen	Denmark					▓	▓				
Den Bosch	Netherlands									▓	
Dortmund	Germany										▓
Florence	Italy							▓			
Geneva	Switzerland					▓				▓	
Ghent	Belgium							▓		▓	
Gornja Radgona	Slovenia							▓	▓	▓	
Hamburg	Germany					▓		▓	▓	▓	▓
Hanau	Germany							▓	▓	▓	▓
Helsinki	Finland					▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	
L'Aquila	Italy					▓					
Lausanne	Switzerland										▓
Leon	Spain						▓				
Liege	Belgium					▓	▓			▓	
Limoges	France						▓				
Lisbon	Portugal									▓	
Ljubljana	Slovenia									▓	
London	UK					▓					
Lugano	Switzerland							▓			
Madrid	Spain					▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓
Malaga	Spain					▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓
Maribor	Slovenia					▓		▓			
Marseille	France					▓					
Milan	Italy	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓
Napoli	Italy						▓				
Palermo	Italy						▓				
Paris	France					▓					
Porto	Portugal									▓	▓
Sevilla	Spain					▓	▓				
Stockholm	Sweden					▓					
Terrassa	Spain								▓	▓	
Thessaloniki	Greece							▓			
Torino	Italy						▓				
Tornio	Finland						▓				
Tuebingen	Germany							▓	▓		
Vienna	Austria					▓					
Zurich	Switzerland									▓	▓

Table 1b: Mondomayday Parades 2007-2010: Diffusion beyond Europe

City	State	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010
Fuchu	Japan									▓	
Fukuoka	Japan									▓	
Kyoto	Japan									▓	
Sapporo	Japan									▓	
Sendai	Japan									▓	
Tokio	Japan							▓	▓	▓	▓
Toronto	Canada									▓	▓
Tsukuba	Japan									▓	

Table 1a,b: Data collected as part of *Protest as a medium – Media of protest* (Lucerne University)

Table 2: Euromayday Parades 2001-2010: Diffusion per annum

No of parades

| Year (No. parades) | 2001 (1) | 2002 (1) | 2003 (1) | 2004 (2) | 2005 (16) | 2006 (22) | 2007 (21) | 2008 (19) | 2009 (27) | 2010 (19) |

■ No Euromayday parades in Europe   ■ No Mondomayday-parades outside Europe
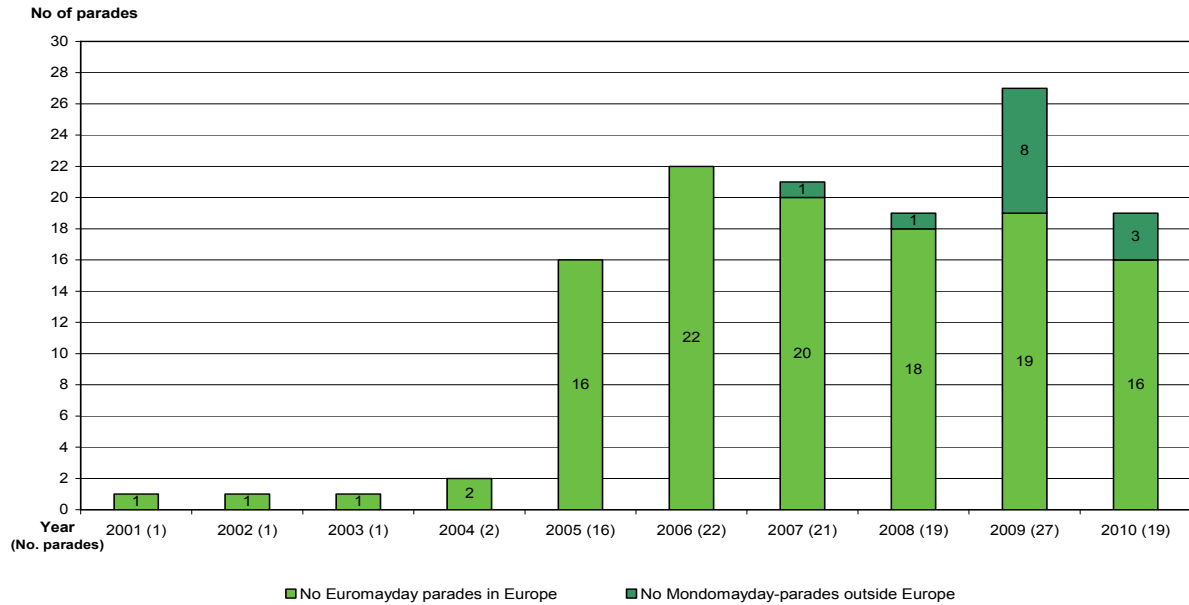
Table 3: Data collected as part of *Protest as a medium – Media of protest* (Lucerne University, 2006-2010)

Table 3: Euromayday Online Archive: Entries per city

No. of Entries

Cities (Entries total)
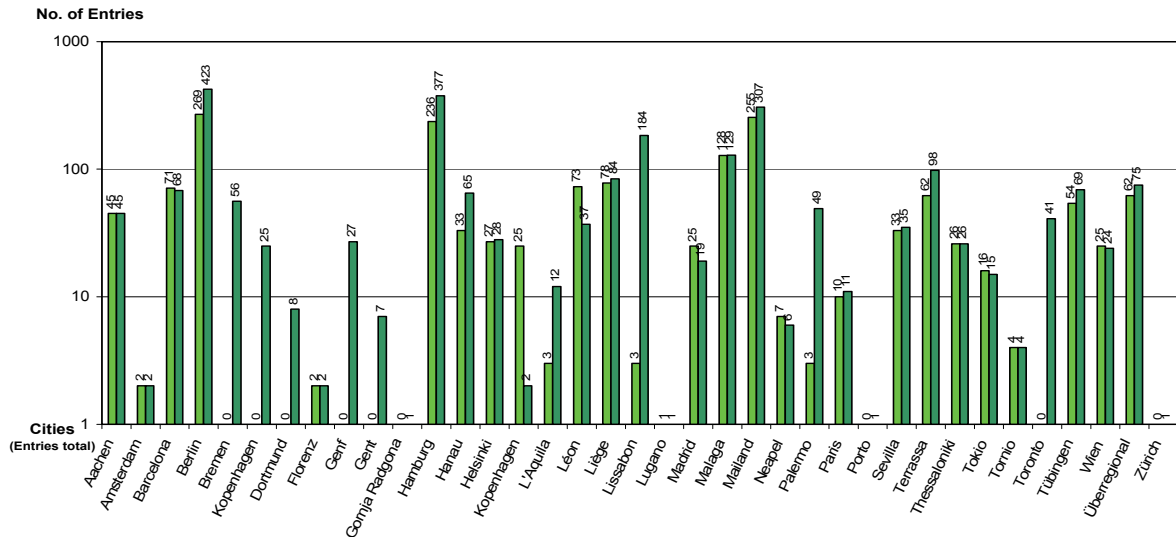
Table 3: The Euromayday Online Archive was created by the research project *Protest as a medium – Media of Protest* (Lucerne University, 2006-2010). On 7.7.2010, online and local digital archive contained 2596 entries. In addition to audio-visual sources uploaded by participants of the Euromayday parades on the internet, the archive includes the annual calls of Mayday parades in Austria, France, Germany, Italy, Portugal, Spain, Switzerland, and the UK as well as many of the mobilisation posters and videos. The archive covers the the time period from 2001-2010.

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Table 4: Interviews conducted with actors in the Euromayday Network

Interview ID	Date of Interview	Reference City	Place of Interaction, Interlocutors
Int 1	18.11.06	Hamburg, London	Interview with media and Euromayday activist in a turkish restaurant, Schanzenviertel (Indymedia)
Int 2	01.05.07	Malaga	Interview with media activist in media office of self-managed cultural center Casa Invisible
Int 3	01.05.07	Malaga, Netherlands	Interview with activist in the yard of the self-managed cultural center Casa Invisible
Int 4	02.05.07	Malaga	Interview with activist and trade union secretary in a canteen near squatted cultural center Casa Invisible
Int 5	23.02.08	Milan	Interview with media activist and co-initiator of the Euromayday Parades during transnational Euromayday meeting, Berlin (Chainworkers Crew)
Int 6	14.04.08	Hamburg	Interview with co-initiator of the Euromayday Parade in the living room of her alternative housing project, Schanzenviertel (Group 9-5)
Int 7	01.05.08	Terrassa	Interview with media activist at the Euromayday after-party in a park
Int 8	02.05.08	Barcelona	Interview with video activist / artist involved in the Barcelona Euromayday Parades in his flat
Int 9	03.05.08	Terrassa	Group session with a media group in the radio studio of the self-managed cultural center Ateneu Candela
Int 10	20.06.08	Milan	Interview with co-initiator of the Euromayday Parades in the office of the research project 'protest as a medium' at Lucerne University
Int 11	12.10.08	Hamburg	Group session with an office collective which formed during the Euromayday process at the kitchen table of an alternative housing project, St. Pauli
Int 12	27.10.08	Tübingen	Interview with a trade-unionist and activist in the Euromayday organising group in his shared house
Int 13	18.11.08	Berlin	Interview mit social scientist and activist involved in Euromayday in a Cafe (Fels)
Int 14	08.02.09	Hamburg	Interview with cultural activist and co-initiator of the Euromayday Parades in an alternative housing project, St. Pauli
Int 15	04.05.2009	Hamburg	Interview with a supporter of the Euromayday circle at the kitchen table of his flat, Altona Nord (performance and production of mobilisation materials)
Int 16	04.05.2009	Hamburg	Interview with writer and co-initiator of the Euromayday Parade in a cafe, Schanzenviertel (group 9-5)
Int 17	05.05.2009	Hamburg	Interview with co-initiator of the Euromayday Parade on the premises of her office collective, Altona Nord (group 9-5)
Int 18	05.05.2009	Hamburg	Interview with sociologist and co-initiator of the Euromayday Parade in in her office at Hamburg University (Preclab)
Int 19	16.05.2009	Hanau	Interview with two activists of Hanau Mini-Euromayday in their stall at the 'Subversive Fair' in Linz (glocal group Hanau, Megainfarkt)
Int 20	17.05.2009	Milan	Interview with a supporter of the Euromayday Parade at the Donauhafen in front of the 'Subversive Fair' in Linz (molleindustria)
Int 21	17.06.2010	Milan	Email-interview with media activist involved in the Euromayday process (multiple affiliations including chainworkers, Indymedia Italy and Hacklabs)
Int 22	25.06.2010	London	Interview with activist and co-initiator of Euromayday actions in an Indian cantine in London's East End (Wombles)
Int 23	26.06.2010	Italy	Interview with two (media-) activists from Italy (Autonomia, 1990s) in their London flat about past and present media activism in Italy and the UK (Indymedia UK / London)

Table 4: Interviews conducted between November 2006 and June 2010 as part of the research project *Protest as a Medium – Media of Protest* (Lucerne University, Switzerland)

Table 5: Multi-sited fieldwork on media practices in the Euromayday Network

Protest Events: Euromayday Parades and other precarity-related protests	
27.04 - 03.05.07	Malaga: Mayday Sur Parade
29.04.08 - 8.05.08	Terrassa: Mayday Parade
01.05.09	Hamburg: Euromayday Parade
01.05.10	Hamburg: Euromayday Parade
06.06.-08.06.07	Heiligendamm: Protests against the G8 summit
28.03.2009	London: Protests against the financial crisis

Euromayday Network: Trans-urban gatherings	
24.11.06 - 27.11.06	Madrid: trans-urban meeting (Precarity Webring)
1.2.08 - 6.2.08	Amsterdam: trans-urban gathering (Euromayday network)
21.2.08-24.2.08	Berlin: trans-urban meeting (Euromayday network)
05.02.2009	Chatroom: Meeting arranged by Euromayday mailing list. Discussion about transnational actions on Mayday
19.02.2009	Chatroom: Meeting arranged by Euromayday mailing list. Discussion about the Wikipedia entry on precarity
12.03.2009	Chatroom: Meeting arranged by Euromayday mailing list. Discussion on European networking and crisis protests.

Fieldwork (participant observation with focus on Hamburg Euromayday circle)	
16.-19.11.2006	Hamburg: First contacts
28.-31.3.2007	Hamburg: Visiting the Euromayday neighbourhoods
27.4 - 3.5. 2007	Malaga: Participation in media production after Mayday Sur Parade
31.05.-03.06.2007	Hamburg: Conference Technology & Culture, visit at Euromayday circle
03.06.-09.06.2007	Rostock/Heiligendamm: Protests against the G8 summit
10.01.08 - 12.01.08	Hamburg: Visit at Euromayday circle
10.04.08 - 14.04.08	Hamburg: Ethnographic visit at Euromayday circle. Public discussion event.
29.04.08 - 8.05.08	Terrassa/Barcelona: Participation in media production at Mayday Parade.
16.05.08 - 17.05.08	Hamburg: Ethnographic visit at Euromayday circle
9.10.08 – 12.10.08	Hamburg: Ethnographic visit at Euromayday circle
5.12.-7.12.08	Hamburg: Ethnographic visit at Euromayday circle
9.1.09-11.1.09	Hamburg: Hamburg: Ethnographic visit at Euromayday circle. Participation in gathering of a 'friendship circle'
5.2.-9.2.09	Hamburg: Ethnographic visit at Euromayday circle
15.5.09-17.5.09	Linz: 'Subversive Fair', interviews with actors from Hanau and Milan
1.6.09-3.6.09	Hamburg: Ethnographic visit at Euromayday circle. Workshop: social media networking with guests from Euromayday Terrassa and Liege

Table 5: Fieldwork conducted between November 2006 and June 2009 supported by the research project *Protest as a Medium – Media of Protest* (Lucerne University, Switzerland)

Table 6: Websites and online platforms

Name of Platform	Description	URL
56a Infoshop	Project Website (English)	http://www.56a.org.uk/
analyse & kritik	Online version of magazine analyse & kritik	http://www.akweb.de
Archive.org	Internet archive	http://www.archive.org/
Autistici	Group website (Italian)	https://www.autistici.org
Carrotworkers' Collective	Group Website (English)	http://carrotworkers.wordpress.com/
Chainworkers	Webzine 2006-2010	http://www.chainworkers.org
Chainworkers Archive 1	Webzine 1999-2002	http://www.ecn.org/chainworkers/chainw/chainworker.htm
Chainworkers Archive 2	Webzine 2002-2004	http://www.ecn.org/chainworkers/chainw/homepage.htm
Chainworkers Archive 3	Webzine 2004-2006	http://www.ecn.org/chainworkers/dev/
Chefduzen	Forum	http://chefduzen.de
Chefduzen	Forum	http://chefduzen.de
Do or Die	Online version of magazine Do or Die, of Earth First! (English)	http://www.eco-action.org/dod/
eipcp.net	Web journal	http://eipcp.net/
Euromayday Aachen	Euromayday campaign website (Aachen)	http://aachenmayday.blogsport.de
Euromayday Hamburg	Euromayday group website (German)	http://www.nadir.org/nadir/kampagnen/EuroMayDay-hh
Euromayday Portal	Euromayday portal website	http://www.euromayday.org/
Noborder Network	Campaign Website	http://www.noborder.org
European Social Forums	Cross-movement website	http://www.fse-esf.org
Facebook	Social network platform (commercial)	http://www.facebook.com/
Flickr	Photo platform (commercial)	http://www.flickr.com/
Freedom Press	Project Website (English)	http://www.freedompress.org.uk
Für eine linke Strömung (FELS)	Group website (German)	http://fels.nadir.org/
Global Project	Multimedia Platform	http://globalproject.info
Hackitectura	Group website (Spanish)	http://www.hackitectura.net/
Hackmeeting	Project website (English)	http://www.hackmeeting.org
Indymedia Estrecho	Cross-movement multimedia platform (regional)	http://estrecho.Indymedia.org/
Indymedia Germany	Cross-movement multimedia platform (country-wide)	http://de.Indymedia.org/
Indymedia Global	Cross-movement multimedia platform (worldwide)	http://Indymedia.org
Indymedia Italy	Cross-movement multimedia platform (country-wide)	http://italy.Indymedia.org/
Indymedia London	Cross-movement multimedia platform (local)	http://london.Indymedia.org/
Indymedia UK	Cross-movement multimedia platform (country-wide)	http://www.Indymedia.org.uk/
Kanak Attak	Group Website (mainly German)	http://www.kanak-attak.de

Table 6: Websites and online platforms used for general reference throughout this dissertation

Table 6 continued

Name of Platform	Description	URL
Labournet Germany	Online Platform (German)	http://labournet.de
Labournet UK	Online Platform (English)	http://www.labournet.net
Libcom	Cross movement online platform (English)	http://libcom.org/
Mega Infarkt	Campaign Website (German)	http://megainfarkt.org
metamute	Online version of magazine mute (English)	http://www.metamute.org/
Mir reichts - nicht	Euromayday campaign website (Hamburg, Berlin)	http://www.mirreichts-nicht.org
myspace	Social network platform (commercial)	http://www.myspace.com/
Precarity Webring	Euromayday project website (English)	http://precarity-map.net/
Preclab	Group website (German)	http://www.preclab.net
ReLOAd	Group website (Italian)	http://reload.realityhacking.org
This Tuesday	Weblog platform (Frassanito network)	http://thistuesday.org
Urban 75	Community forums (English)	http://www.urban75.com
Wombles	Group Website (English, offline in April 2011)	http://www.wombles.org.uk
Youtube	Video platform (commercial)	http://www.youtube.com/

Table 6: Selection of online platforms and websites used throughout this dissertation

Table 7: Online Sources 1999 - 2010

This is a selection of the 680 online sources I used for this thesis. Unless indicated otherwise, they were accessed on 28. November 2010. Entries are ordered by place of reference, date of upload and author. In the chapters, these sources are referenced by ID (for instance S_23).

ID	Author	Title	Extent of Work	Date/Year	Place	Publisher	URL
S_1	Aachen Mayday	Euromayday-parade and protests against the award of the „Karlspreis". 1st of May	Call to Action	2008	Aachen	Blogsport	http://aachenmayday.blogsport.de/deutsch/#Aufruf
S_2	Euromayday	euromayday aachen - karlspreis-protest 2008	Campaign website	2008	Aachen	Euromayday Portal	http://euromayday.karlspreis.info/, alternative URL: www.protest.karlspreis.info
S_3	Euromayday	Karlspreis Protest: DGB-Demo "Gute Arbeit muss drin sein"	Report	2008	Aachen	Euromayday Portal	http://euromayday.karlspreis.info/component/option,com_ev entlist/Itemid,8/func,details/did,10/lang,es/
S_4	Jusos Aachen	Jusos rufen zur Teilnahme an der DGB-Maikundgebung auf	Article	30/06/1905	Aachen	Group website: Jusos Aachen	http://www.jusos-aachen.de/?p=744
S_5	Dunker, Darius	Bündnis ruft zu Protesten gegen Karlspreisverleihung auf	Call to Action	18/01/2008	Aachen	Links im Westen	http://linkswest.de/243
S_6	Foti, Alex	Euromayday 008 in Aachen: Anarchosocial vs Cathonational Europe!	Report	07/02/08	Aachen	Mailing list: Nettime-l	http://www.nettime.org/Lists-Archives/nettime-l-0802/msg00009.html
S_7	FAU Aachen	Dokumentation: Euromayday-Parade und Karlspreis-Proteste am 1. Mai in Aachen [Update]	Documentation	10/04/2008	Aachen	Group website: FAU Aachen	http://www.fau-aachen.net/termine/dokumentation-euromayday-parade-und-karlspreis-proteste-am-1.-mai-in-aachen-20080410.html
S_8	Euromayday	Euromayday 008 Press Release	Press release	14/04/2008	Aachen	Project website: europefrombelow	http://europefrombelow.cafebabel.com/en/post/2008/04/09/EUROMAYDAY-008-PRESS-RELEASE
S_9	0mayday fucks charlemagne	mayday protests mar charlemagne prize of eu elites in aachen	Report	01/05/2008	Aachen	Indymedia UK	http://www.indymedia.org.uk/en/2008/05/397988.html
S_10	((i)) liege	[Emd aachen] compte-rendu	Report	02/05/2008	Aachen	Indymedia Germany	http://de.indymedia.org/2008/05/215389.shtml
S_11	Web-editor	Migrants / Media / Metropolis. New labour struggles in the global city	Announcement	2008	Amsterdam	Project website: De Balie	http://www.debalie.nl/artikel.jsp?podiumid=media&articleid=208188
S_12	Wintercamp	Archive for the 'Creative Labour' Category	Video, Documentation	2009	Amsterdam	Project website: Wintercamp	http://networkcultures.org/wpmu/wintercamp/category/creati ve-labour/
S_13	osfa c	Mapa EuroMayDay / versión 1.0	Artwork	14/04/05	Andalucia	Indymedia Estrecho	http://estrecho.indymedia.org/newswire/display/12949/index. php, 18.6.2008
S_14	Detari c:	audios mayday...ritmo precario	Audio: Band Superprecarias	10/01/06	Andalucia	Indymedia Estrecho	http://estrecho.indymedia.org/newswire/display/18435/index. php, 18.6.2008
S_15	hc voigt	29.2.: Tag der Santa Precaria	Graphics	29/02/08	Austria	Wordpress	http://santaprecaria.wordpress.com/2008/02/29/292-tag-der-santa-precaria/
S_16	Ideas en la calle	"MayDay: los teletubbies se rebelan" (una crítica a la militancia alternativa)	Article	02/05/2005	Barcelona	Indymedia Barcelona	http://barcelona.indymedia.org/newswire/display_any/17522 2

ID	Author	Title	Extent of Work	Date/Year	Place	Publisher	URL
S_17	alien8	milano und barcelona	Report	09/05/2005	Barcelona, Milan	Mailing list: Euromayday Hamburg	https://lists.nadir.org/mailman/private/euromayday-hh/2005-May/000204.html
S_18	Netzwerk Dichtmachen	Netzwerk Dichtmachen	Self Presentation	2007	Berlin	Wordpress	http://dichtmachen.wordpress.com/werwirsind/
S_19	Zahltag Berlin	Keiner muß allein zum Amt	Campaign website	2009	Berlin	Blogsport	http://zahltagberlin.blogsport.de/
S_20	Meyer, Jörg	Babylonisches Prekariat. Ex-Beschäftigter von Kino in Mitte beklagt Arbeitsbedingungen / Geschäftsführung dementiert	Article	16/07/2008	Berlin	Neues Deutschland	https://www.neues-deutschland.de/artikel/132145.babylonisches-prekariat.html?sstr=Kirkpatrick
S_21	Schumacher, Juliane	Kino verliert Showdown vor Gericht	Report	16/07/2008	Berlin	taz	http://www.taz.de/1/berlin/artikel/1/kino-verliert-showdown-vor-gericht/
S_22	AG Scheiss-Streik	Scheiss-Streik auf den Euro-Maydays in Bremen und Berlin	Report	01/04/2009	Berlin	Campaign website: Scheiss-Streik	http://www.jenseits-des-helfersyndroms.de/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=67:scheiss-streik-auf-den-euro-maydays-in-bremen-und-berlin&catid=2:pressespiegel&Itemid=13
S_23	Wangerin, Claudia	Keiner muß allein zum Amt. Arbeitslosengeld II: »Solidarischer Begleitschutz« für Behördengänge soll Schule machen	Article	29/04/2009	Berlin	Junge Welt	https://www.jungewelt.de/loginFailed.php?ref=/2009/04-29/053.php
S_24	Prekäres Babylon	Film des Freundeskreises Videoclips	Video	22/02/2010	Berlin	Campaign website: Berlin cinema workers	http://prekba.blogsport.de/2009/02/22/film-des-freundeskreises-videoclips/
S_25	Peter Nowak	Mayday-Demo fällt aus	Article	15/03/2010	Berlin	taz	http://www.taz.de/1/berlin/artikel/1/mayday-demo-faellt-aus/
S_26	FelS - Für eine linke Strömung	Back to the lab(our)!	Article	05/04/2010	Berlin	Group website: FelS	http://fels.nadir.org/de/417/maydaylab2010
S_27	FelS - Für eine linke Strömung	1.Mai dieses Jahr mit Mayday-Labor	Announcement	01/05/2010	Berlin	Group website: FelS	http://fels.nadir.org/de/erstermai
S_28	Labournet	Filmtheater Babylon Berlin	Documentation	24.1.2009-3.3.2010	Berlin	Labournet Germany	http://labournet.de/branchen/medien-it/babylon.html
S_29	Flood, Andrew	Reports on Bradford MayDay '98	Report, photos	05/05/1998	Bradford	Blackened	http://flag.blackened.net/revolt/inter/mayday98.html
S_30	Gregor Samsa	NoLager-Netzwerk weiterhin aktiv	Article	2005	Bremen	Campaign website: Euromayday Bremen	http://www.mayday-bremen.de/node/5
S_31	nie mehr vor mittag	Euromayday Bremen: Was für eine Premiere!	Report	01/05/2009	Bremen	Indymedia Germany	http://de.indymedia.org/2009/05/248950.shtml
S_32	Kuddel	flashmob im Schlecker XL	Call to Action	23/11/2009	Bremen	Forum: Chefduzen	http://www.chefduzen.de/index.php?topic=20169.msg188368
S_33	Aktiver im Mayday-Bündnis	Bremen: Flashmob bei Schlecker XL	Report	29/11/2009	Bremen	Indymedia Germany	http://de.indymedia.org/2009/11/267446.shtml

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S_34	DieLINKEBremen	Flashmob bei Schlecker XL in Bremen	Video	29/11/2009	Bremen	Youtube	http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=VQnBijbvzgU&feature=player_embedded
S_35	Mayday-AktivistInnen	Bremen: Wieder Flashmob bei Schlecker	Report	07/02/2010	Bremen	Indymedia Germany	http://de.indymedia.org/2010/02/272654.shtml
S_36	Euromayday Alliance Bremen	Euromayday Projects	Collection	since 2009	Bremen	Campaign website: Euromayday Bremen	http://www.mayday-bremen.de/taxonomy/term/2/all
S_37	Schnews	Casual Killers	Article	04/09/1998	Brighton	Schnews 182	http://www.schnews.org.uk/archive/news182.htm
S_38	hasi	Euro-Mayday-Aktion in Brüssel: Blockade ERT	Report	14/04/2006	Brussels	Indymedia Germany	http://de.indymedia.org/2006/04/144148.shtml
S_39	Foti, Alex	final notes on mayday 006 european press conference in Brussels	Report	18/04/2006	Brussels	Mailing list: osdir	http://osdir.com/ml/culture.internet.rekombinant/2006-04/msg00033.html
S_40	Sanktprekarius:	Sankt Prekarius. Prozession Köln	Report, photos	2005	Cologne	Campaign website: Sankt Prekarius	http://www.sanktprekarius.tk/
S_41	Pilgerinnen und Pilger des St. Prekarius:	Prozession zu Ehren des St. Prekarius in Köln	Report	o.J. (2005)	Cologne	Campaign website: Megainfarkt	http://megainfarkt.org/praxis/stprekarius.html
S_42	Euromayday Ruhr	Alle Infos zum Euromayday Ruhr	Collection	28/04/2010	Dortmund	Indymedia Germany	http://de.indymedia.org/2010/04/279324.shtml
S_43	FAU Moers	1000 Menschen auf dem Euro-Mayday in Dortmund	Report	02/05/2010	Dortmund	Indymedia Germany	http://de.indymedia.org/2010/05/279834.shtml
S_44	n.A.	1000 TeilnehmerInnen beim ersten Euromayday Ruhr	Report	02/05/2010	Dortmund	Campaign website: Euromayday Ruhr	http://euromayday.noblogs.org/post/2010/05/02/1000-teilnehmerinnen-beim-ersten-euromayday-ruhr/
S_45	Indymedia Ireland Editorial Group	EuroMayday in Dublin	Indymedia Feature Report	01/05/2004	Dublin	Indymedia Ireland	https://www.indymedia.ie/article/64730
S_46	James R - The Mayday Get Up Stand Up Block	Join The Get Up Stand Up Bloc At The Trades March And Help Organise The Unorganised	Call to Action	20/04/2005	Dublin	Indymedia Ireland	http://www.indymedia.ie/article/69495
S_47	Joe Black	It happened in the Phoenix Park all in the month of May'	Article	23/04/2005	Dublin	Indymedia Ireland	http://www.indymedia.ie/article/69521
S_48	EuroMayDay Network	Middlesex declaration of Europe's Precariat 2004	Call to Action	2004	EMD Network	Euromayday Portal	http://www.euromayday.org/2005/middle.php
S_49	Euromayday Network	Find the Mayday near you	Graphics	2005	EMD Network	Euromayday Portal	http://www.euromayday.org/2005/middle.php
S_50	Euromayday Network	Euromayday 007	Graphics	2007	EMD Network	Euromayday Portal	http://www.euromayday.org/2007/
S_51	EuroMayDay Network	Posters	Posters	2010	EMD Network	Euromayday Portal	http://euromayday.org/propaganda.php
S_52	Precarity Webring	p_wr	Website	2006	Europe	Project website: Precarity Webring	http://precarity-map.net/

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S_53	Noborder network	Call for a second European day of action For freedom of movement and the right to stay	Call to Action	31/01/2005	Europe	Project website: Noborder Network	http://noborder.org/actionday2005/display.php?id=323
S_54	noborder network	For freedom of movement and the right to stay. European call to action for the 2nd of april 2005	Call to Action	10/02/2005	Europe	Melting Pot	http://www.meltingpot.org/articolo4794.html
S_55	Frassanito network	Precarious, Precarization, Precariat?	Article	14/03/2005	Europe	Weblog: This Tuesday	http://thistuesday.org/node/93
S_56	Noborder network	Overview of actions & events	Reports	22/03/2005	Europe	Project website: Noborder Network	http://www.noborder.org/archive_item.php?id=334
S_57	Noborder network	actionday reports from the rest of europe	Reports	08/04/2005	Europe	Project website: Noborder Network	http://www.noborder.org/archive_item.php?id=337
S_58	Frassanito network	Movements of Migration	Newspaper	26/06/2005	Europe	Project website: Noborder Network	http://www.noborder.org/esf04/display.php?id=318
S_59	Frassanito	Euromayday and Freedom of Movement - Statement of Frassanito-Network	Statement	18/10/2005	Europe	Weblog: This Tuesday	http://thistuesday.org/node/120
S_60	JosephKay	The Middlesex Declaration	Video	09/11/2009	Europe	xtranormal	http://www.xtranormal.com/watch/5660181/
S_61	Euromayday Geneva	Poster Geneva 2010	Posters	2010	Geneva	Campaign website: Euromayday Geneva	http://euromaydaygeneve.files.wordpress.com/2010/04/mayday-1er-affiche2.png
S_62	Labournet	Schlecker Campaign Archive	Collection: Schlecker	2000	Germany	Labournet Germany	http://www.labournet.de/branchen/dienstleistung/eh/schlecker.html
S_63	Wagner, Silke	Protection Marriage: Marrying for the purpose of residential security	Artwork: Art Project, Bremen 2003	2003	Germany	Wagner, Silke	http://www.schutzehe.com
S_64	Ver.di	Conference Website	Website	2005	Germany	Project Website: Conference	http://www.neverworkalone.de/index.htm
S_65	ManOfConstantSorrow	Gate Gourmet: Erst Heathrow, jetzt hier...	Forum	2006	Germany	Forum: Chefduzen	https://www.chefduzen.de/index.php?topic=4169.15
S_66	Euromayday 05	Le Monde Precaire	Newspaper	01/05/2005	Germany	kanak attak website	http://www.kanak-attak.de/ka/down/pdf/emd05_web.pdf
S_67	Haste nich jesehen	Mayday, Mayday !! All over in Europe	Report, photos	04/05/2005	Germany	Indymedia Germany	http://de.indymedia.org/2005/05/114705.shtml
S_68	Gregor Samsa	Vom Dschungel auf den Euromayday	Report	20/05/2005	Germany	Group website: nolager, ak 495	http://www.nolager.de/blog/node/307
S_69	FAU Duisburg	Erfolgreiche Aktion gegen Streikbruch in Du	Report	13/01/2006	Germany	Indymedia Germany	http://de.indymedia.org/2006/01/136422.shtml
S_70	Euromayday	Überflüssige und prekäre Superheldinnen	Call to Action	15/05/07	Germany	Labournet	http://www.labournet.de/diskussion/wipo/seattle/g8-07/superhelden.html
S_71	Nowak, Peter	Krise der Mayday-Bewegung. Das Bündnis von Wischmop und Laptop hat seinen Zenit überschritten	Article	14/04/2010	Germany	Neues Deutschland	http://www.neues-deutschland.de/artikel/169021.krise-der-mayday-bewegung.html

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S_72	Dichtmachen	Cinemaxx Aktion Berlin 2007	Report	dec 2007	Germany	Campaign website: Dichtmachen	http://dichtmachen.wordpress.com/werwirsind/cinemaxx-aktion-berlin-2007/
S_73	Labournet	Zahltag! Schluss mit den ARGE Schikanen	Collection: Zahltag	since 2007	Germany	Labournet Germany	http://www.labournet.de/diskussion/arbeit/aktionen/zahltag.html
S_74	Gesellschaft für Legalisierung	Gesellschaft für Legalisierung	Website	2003	Hamburg	Project website: GfL	http://www.rechtauflegalisierung.de/
S_75	nolager	Euromayday 2005	Collection	2005	Hamburg	Group website: nolager	http://www.nolager.de/blog/taxonomy/term/51
S_76	euromayday	die Einladung zum 1. Euromayday in Hamburg: Wie in Hamburg alles anfing	Call to Action	01/01/2005	Hamburg	Campaign website: Euromayday Hamburg	http://www.nadir.org/nadir/kampagnen/euromayday-hh/de/2005/04/226.shtml
S_77	Jan Mango	Schöner wär's... mit Yomango+Hamburg Umsonst	Report	15/02/2005	Hamburg	Indymedia Germany	http://de.indymedia.org/2005/02/107058.shtml
S_78	Redaktion	MayDay Parade in Hamburg	Announcement	20/03/2005	Hamburg	Campaign website: Euromayday Hamburg	http://www.nadir.org/nadir/kampagnen/euromayday-hh/de/2005/03/62.shtml
S_79	frank	Terminkalender	Announcement	28/03/2005	Hamburg	Mailing list: Euromayday Hamburg	https://lists.nadir.org/mailman/private/euromayday-hh/2005-March/000033.html
S_80	clown	Rebel Clowning zum Euromayday	Announcement, Photos	16/04/2005	Hamburg	Campaign website: Euromayday Hamburg	http://www.nadir.org/nadir/kampagnen/euromayday-hh/de/2005/04/129.shtml
S_81	Euromayday Circle Hamburg	Euromayday überall...	Artwork	16/04/2005	Hamburg	Campaign website: Euromayday Hamburg	http://www.nadir.org/nadir/kampagnen/euromayday-hh/de/2005/04/131.shtml
S_82	Let's go	DrumDanceShoutPaint ... Diligent Resistance	announcement	16/04/2005	Hamburg	Indymedia Germany	http://de.indymedia.org/2005/04/11969.shtml
S_83	Radical Cheerleader	Do, 20h: Pink und Silver Treffen HH	Announcement	18/04/2005	Hamburg	Campaign website: Euromayday Hamburg	http://www.nadir.org/nadir/kampagnen/euromayday-hh/de/2005/04/139.shtml
S_84	hobbyfotograf	Paraderoute / Fotos zur Orientierung (1)	Photos	24/04/2005	Hamburg	Campaign website: Euromayday Hamburg	http://www.nadir.org/nadir/kampagnen/euromayday-hh/de/2005/04/160.shtml
S_85	hobbyfotograf	Paraderoute / Fotos zur Orientierung (2)	Photos	24/04/2005	Hamburg	Campaign website: Euromayday Hamburg	http://www.nadir.org/nadir/kampagnen/euromayday-hh/de/2005/04/180.shtml
S_86	redaktion	Paraderoute / Stadtplan	Article	24/04/2005	Hamburg	Campaign website: Euromayday Hamburg	http://www.nadir.org/nadir/kampagnen/euromayday-hh/de/2005/04/156.shtml
S_87	euromayday mobile	Weitere Bilder vom euromayday mobile	Photos	26/04/2005	Hamburg	Campaign website: Euromayday Hamburg	http://www.nadir.org/nadir/kampagnen/euromayday-hh/de/2005/04/205.shtml

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S_88	nolager bremen	nolager goes euromayday...	Report	28/04/2005	Hamburg	Campaign website: Euromayday Hamburg	http://www.nadir.org/nadir/kampagnen/euromayday-hh/de/2005/04/231.shtml
S_89	Pressebeobachter in	Artikel in 'Neues Deutschland' zum Euro-May-Day	Article	29/04/2005	Hamburg	Campaign website: Euromayday Hamburg	http://www.nadir.org/nadir/kampagnen/euromayday-hh/de/2005/04/232.shtml
S_90	Carsten Hansen	Flächendeckender Zirkus	Article	30/04/2005	Hamburg	taz	not known
S_91	~#~flo~#~ 01.05.2005	Erste Eindrücke vom Euro-Mayday in HH	Photos	01/05/2005	Hamburg	Indymedia Germany	http://de.indymedia.org/2005/05/113797.shtml
S_92	AntiLager-Gruppe des Flüchtlingsrats Hamburg	Rede vor der "Zentralen Erstaufnahme-Einrichtung" für Flüchtlinge auf der Bibby Altona. Euromayday Hamburg 1. Mai 2005	Documentation	01/05/2005	Hamburg	Group website: nolager	http://www.nolager.de/blog/node/242
S_93	euromayday	Euromayday Hamburg - bilder	Photos	01/05/2005	Hamburg	Indymedia Germany	http://de.indymedia.org/2005/05/113869.shtml
S_94	nolager	call english: NoLager goes Euromayday: 1st of May 2005 in Hamburg	Call to Action	01/05/2005	Hamburg	Group website: nolager	http://www.nolager.de/blog/node/232
S_95	Rothaut	EuroMayDay in Hamburg	Report, photos	01/05/2005	Hamburg	Indymedia Germany	http://de.indymedia.org/2005/05/113886.shtml
S_96	zed	Foto - Grande successo Euro Mayday Germany	Report, photos	01/05/2005	Hamburg	Indymedia Italy	http://italy.indymedia.org/news/2005/05/783351.php
S_97	emd	Hamburg Mayday Parade (eng.)	Report	02/05/2005	Hamburg	Campaign website: Euromayday Hamburg	http://www.nadir.org/nadir/kampagnen/euromayday-hh/de/2005/05/239.shtml
S_98	Euromayday Hamburg	EuroMayDay in Hamburg und anderswo	Indymedia Feature Report	02/05/2005	Hamburg	Indymedia Germany	http://de.indymedia.org/2005/04/111804.shtml
S_99	euromayday webredaktion	Hamburger Mayday Parade 2005	Report, photos	02/05/2005	Hamburg	Campaign website: Euromayday Hamburg	http://www.nadir.org/nadir/kampagnen/euromayday-hh/de/2005/03/89.shtml
S_100	Kai von Appen	"Hamburg aktiv" (1.Mai-Bericht taz-hh)	Article	02/05/2005	Hamburg	Campaign website: Euromayday Hamburg	http://www.nadir.org/nadir/kampagnen/euromayday-hh/de/2005/05/238.shtml
S_101	paul	euromayday - vom heiratswagen	Report, photos	02/05/2005	Hamburg	Indymedia Germany	http://de.indymedia.org/2005/05/114247.shtml
S_102	Paul_A	aphrodisiaka (engl.)	Report	02/05/2005	Hamburg	Campaign website: Euromayday Hamburg	http://www.nadir.org/nadir/kampagnen/euromayday-hh/de/2005/05/241.shtml
S_103	`-->><<--`	HH: Studis rocken 1. Mai	Report, photos	03/05/2005	Hamburg	Indymedia Germany	http://de.indymedia.org/2005/05/114427.shtml
S_104	AutorIn	Hamburg, 1. Mai: Die fetten Jahre sind vorbei	Report, photos	03/05/2005	Hamburg	Indymedia Germany	http://de.indymedia.org/2005/05/114596.shtml
S_105	AutorIn	Hamburg, 1. Mai: Die fetten Jahre sind vorbei	report, audio	03/05/2005	Hamburg	Indymedia Germany	http://de.indymedia.org/2005/05/114471.shtml
S_106	Dirk Hauer	Auftakt-Rede zum Euromayday am 01. Mai 2005 in Hamburg	Documentation	03/05/2005	Hamburg	Labournet Germany	http://www.labournet.de/diskussion/arbeit/realpolitik/prekaer/hauer3.html

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S_107	emd milano	Mayday in Mailand: Gli Imbattibili	Report, photos	03/05/2005	Hamburg	Campaign website: Euromayday Hamburg	http://www.nadir.org/nadir/kampagnen/euromayday-hh/de/2005/05/246.shtml
S_108	kein mensch ist illegal-hanau	euromayday in hamburg, das war spitze!	Report	03/05/2005	Hamburg	Campaign website: Euromayday Hamburg	http://www.nadir.org/nadir/kampagnen/euromayday-hh/de/2005/05/251.shtml
S_109	labournet	Euromayday 2005 in Hamburg	Photos	03/05/2005	Hamburg	Labournet Germany	http://www.labournet.de/diskussion/arbeit/realpolitik/prekaer/euromayday05/index.html
S_110	UwS, DwF	Euromayday in Hamburg	Report, photos	03/05/2005	Hamburg	Indymedia Germany	http://de.indymedia.org/2005/05/114451.shtml
S_111	fj	arranca!-artikel: Der Ausbruch	Article	08/05/2005	Hamburg	Campaign website: Euromayday Hamburg	http://www.nadir.org/nadir/kampagnen/euromayday-hh/de/2005/07/267.shtml
S_112	Arbeitsgruppen	Ergebnisse der "öffentlichen Versammlung"	Documentation	31/01/2006	Hamburg	Campaign website: Euromayday Hamburg	http://www.nadir.org/nadir/kampagnen/euromayday-hh/de/2006/02/295.shtml
S_113	EuroMayDay circle Hamburg	Die Unbesiegbaren: Superhelden der Prekarisierung	Translation	15/03/06	Hamburg	Campaign website: Euromayday Hamburg	http://www.nadir.org/nadir/kampagnen/EuroMayDay-hh/de/2006/03/315.shtml
S_114	EuroMayDay on air	'EuroMayDay on air' auf fsk | 93,0 Mhz und 101,4 im Kabel	Program (Radio)	16/03/06	Hamburg	Campaign website: Euromayday Hamburg	http://www.nadir.org/nadir/kampagnen/euromayday-hh/de/2006/03/314.shtml
S_115	EuroMayDay on air	EuroMayDay on air' auf fsk | 93,0 Mhz und 101,4 im Kabel	Announcement	16/03/2006	Hamburg	Campaign website: Euromayday Hamburg	http://www.nadir.org/nadir/kampagnen/euromayday-hh/de/2006/03/314.shtml
S_116	Euromayday Hamburg	Plakate etc. aus anderen Städten: Milano, Berlin, Liège, Sevilla, ...	Posters	11/04/2006	Hamburg	Campaign website: Euromayday Hamburg	http://www.nadir.org/nadir/kampagnen/euromayday-hh/de/2006/04/347.shtml
S_117	radiogruppe	euromayday on air: Radio-Beiträge zum Download	Audio	14/04/06	Hamburg	Campaign website: Euromayday Hamburg	http://www.nadir.org/nadir/kampagnen/euromayday-hh/de/2006/04/400
S_118	pg:	Button-Vorlagen für vier "Unschlagbare" (Imbattibili)	Graphics	22/04/06	Hamburg	Campaign website: Euromayday Hamburg	http://www.nadir.org/nadir/kampagnen/euromayday-hh/de/2006/04/420.shtml
S_119	spider mom und dario fo:	"bezahlt wird nicht" - Superhelden im FrischeParadies	Collection: Corporate media reports	28/04/06	Hamburg	Campaign website: Euromayday Hamburg	http://www.nadir.org/nadir/kampagnen/EuroMayDay-hh/de/2006/04/452.shtml
S_120	SpiderMum	Euromayday HH: Superhelden im FrischeParadies	Report, photos, call to action	28/04/06	Hamburg	Indymedia Germany	http://de.indymedia.org/2006/04/145010.shtml
S_121	EuroMayDay Circle Hamburg b	Aufruf zur Parade im 'Psycho-Test'-Format	Call to Action, Graphics	30/04/06	Hamburg	Campaign website: Euromayday Hamburg	http://www.nadir.org/nadir/kampagnen/euromayday-hh/de/2006/04/416.shtml
S_122	annigross	Euromayday Hamburg Trailer 2006	Video	20/10/2006	Hamburg	Youtube	www.youtube.com/watch?v=tpFRVZGKBL8

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S_123	g.	erster Plakatentwurf 007	Posters	25/03/2007	Hamburg	Campaign website: Euromayday Hamburg	http://www.nadir.org/nadir/kampagnen/euromayday-hh/de/2007/03/539.shtml
S_124	Peter Parker:	Foto-Mitmach-Aktion: "Oute Dich als Superheld!"	Report, photos	29/03/07	Hamburg	Campaign website: Euromayday Hamburg	http://www.nadir.org/nadir/kampagnen/euromayday-hh/de/2007/03/544.shtml
S_125	Operaistorix:	Hafenstrasse, Hamburg, Germany - Mural 2006	Video	10/04/07	Hamburg	Youtube	http://de.youtube.com/watch?v=YHei3NkPnb0
S_126	Petra Parker und Clark Kent:	Foto-Mitmach-Aktion, die 2.: "Oute Dich als Superheld!"	Report, photos	30/04/07	Hamburg	Campaign website: Euromayday Hamburg	http://www.nadir.org/nadir/kampagnen/euromayday-hh/de/2007/04/613.shtml
S_127	Euromayday Hamburg	Euromayday Multimedia-Pools - Contribute!	Announcement	04/05/2007	Hamburg	Campaign website: Euromayday Hamburg	http://www.nadir.org/nadir/kampagnen/euromayday-hh/de/2007/05/690.shtml
S_128	Petra Parker b:	Foto-Aktion, die 3.: "Oute Dich als SuperheldIn!"	Report, photos	26/05/07	Hamburg	Campaign website: Euromayday Hamburg	http://www.nadir.org/nadir/kampagnen/euromayday-hh/de/2007/05/705.shtml
S_129	FelS - Für eine linke Strömung	"Make the G8 Precarious!"-Aufruf	Call to Action	28/05/2007	Hamburg	Campaign website: Euromayday Hamburg	http://www.nadir.org/nadir/kampagnen/euromayday-hh/de/2007/05/720.shtml
S_130	annigross	euromayday 2007	Video	11/06/2007	Hamburg	Youtube	http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4Yfqs-vDuJc
S_131	EuroMayDayHamburg	euromayday.hamburg's photostream	Photos	01/03/2008	Hamburg	Flickr	http://www.flickr.com/photos/26287242@N06/
S_132	Euromayday Hamburg	moderation Redebeiträge 08	Documentation	Apr-08	Hamburg	Wiki: Euromayday Hamburg	https://wiki.nadir.org/emd/published/moderation+Redebeitr%C3%A4ge+08
S_133	Euromayday Hamburg	Hamburger Euromayday-Aufruf 2008	Call to Action	22/04/2008	Hamburg	Campaign website: Euromayday Hamburg	http://www.nadir.org/nadir/kampagnen/euromayday-hh/de/2008/04/744.shtml
S_134	Euromayday Hamburg	Euromayday 2008 schwärmt aus	Report, photos	24/04/2008	Hamburg	Campaign website: Euromayday Hamburg	http://www.nadir.org/nadir/kampagnen/euromayday-hh/de/2008/03/727.shtml
S_135	annigross	euromayday 2008 in Hamburg	Video	02/05/2008	Hamburg	Youtube	http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5mXYzHlZXc4
S_136	prekär	1. Mai Hamburg: Euromayday 2008	Report	02/05/2008	Hamburg	Indymedia Germany	http://de.indymedia.org/2008/05/215366.shtml
S_137	Euromayday Hamburg	Plakate 009	Posters	27/03/2009	Hamburg	Facebook	http://www.facebook.com/album.php?aid=65598&id=58179507155&ref=mf
S_138	Euromayday Hamburg	robo	Posters	27/03/2009	Hamburg	Facebook	http://www.facebook.com/album.php?aid=64616&id=58179507155&ref=mf
S_139	Euromayday Hamburg	Aufruf_Mission Statement 009	Call to Action	01/04/2009	Hamburg	Campaign website: Euromayday Hamburg	http://www.nadir.org/nadir/kampagnen/euromayday-hh/de/2009/04/802.shtml
S_140	Euromayday Hamburg	Foto-Love-Stories 009 (Entwürfe)	Graphics, Leaflet	01/04/2009	Hamburg	Facebook	http://www.facebook.com/album.php?aid=66336&id=58179507155&ref=mf

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S_141	Euromayday Hamburg	5Tage5Nächte Euromayday 009	Announcement	16/04/2009	Hamburg	Campaign website: Euromayday Hamburg	http://www.nadir.org/nadir/kampagnen/euromayday-hh/de/2009/04/803.shtml
S_142	annigross	EUROMAYDAY AFTER PARTY 009 in Hamburg	Video	28/04/2009	Hamburg	Youtube	http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Efo6ofuN7Tc&feature=related
S_143	Udo Herzog	Udo Herzog's photostream	Photos	01/05/2009	Hamburg	Flickr	http://www.flickr.com/photos/udo/archives/date-taken/2009/05/01/
S_144	annigross	Euromayday 2009 in Hamburg	Video	02/05/2009	Hamburg	Youtube	http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RlV4pPTwgx4
S_145	hafencitynews	Euromayday in der HafenCity	Video	02/05/2009	Hamburg	Youtube	http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8pDcSSue-XQ
S_146	EuroMayDay circle Hamburg	n-1 Prekarisierung und kollaborative Intelligenz	Announcement	01/06/2009	Hamburg	Facebook	http://www.facebook.com/event.php?eid=87102096823
S_147	Alice	Euromayday 010/ Das grrinsen der Prekarität	Article	05/01/2010	Hamburg	Personal weblog: Alice	http://www.tricorp.de/?p=1072
S_148	r2d2	Hamburg: „Recht auf Stadt"-Bewegung (Teil 1)	Indymedia Feature Report	03/02/2010	Hamburg	Indymedia Germany	http://de.indymedia.org/2010/02/272428.shtml
S_149	r2d2	Hamburg: „Recht auf Stadt"-Bewegung (Teil 2)	Article, Photos	16/02/2010	Hamburg	Indymedia Germany	http://de.indymedia.org/2010/02/273504.shtml
S_150	Schäfer, Christoph	The city is our factory	Announcement	01/03/2010	Hamburg	Website	http://www.saloon-la-realidad.com/christophschaeferprojekte/thecityisourfactory/thecityisourfactory.html
S_151	Euromayday Hamburg	die premiere - euromayday 2005 [HQ]	Video (2005)	01/04/2010	Hamburg	Facebook	http://www.facebook.com/video/video.php?v=1344163338515&ref=mf
S_152	Alice	Förderung, die ich fordere - Chronology	Chronology	11/04/2010	Hamburg	Personal weblog: Alice	http://www.tricorp.de/?p=1002
S_153	Euromayday Hamburg	Aufruf 2010: SIMCITY - Hamburg Edition	Call to Action	20/04/2010	Hamburg	Facebook	http://www.facebook.com/album.php?aid=163219&id=5817950715#!/photo.php?pid=3661350&id=5817950715&ref=fbx_album
S_154	Euromayday Hamburg	Aufruf	Call to Action	20/04/2010	Hamburg	Wiki: Euromayday Hamburg	https://wiki.nadir.org/emd/published/Aufruf
S_155	Euromayday Hamburg	Betriebsversammlungen im Unternehmen Stadt	Announcement	21/04/2010	Hamburg	Campaign website: Euromayday Hamburg	http://www.nadir.org/nadir/kampagnen/euromayday-hh/de/2010/04/812.shtml
S_156	Euromayday Hamburg	Stadt geht los - Euromayday 010	Announcement	21/04/2010	Hamburg	Campaign website: Euromayday Hamburg	http://www.nadir.org/nadir/kampagnen/euromayday-hh/de/2010/04/810.shtml
S_157	Euromayday Hamburg	Sim City	Artwork	21/04/2010	Hamburg	facebook	http://www.facebook.com/pages/Euromayday-Hamburg/5817950715?v=photos&sb=4#!/photo.php?fbid=382511497155&set=a.382511212155.163219.5817950715&pid=3661350&id=5817950715
S_158	m-ion	Euromayday Hamburg die sechste	Article	28/04/2010	Hamburg	Indymedia Germany	http://de.indymedia.org/2010/04/278953.shtml
S_159	Euromayday Hamburg	EMD Plakate 2010	Posters	30/04/2010	Hamburg	Facebook	http://www.facebook.com/album.php?aid=163364&id=5817950715

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S_160	Euromayday Hamburg	Sticker-Kampagne 2010	Stickers	30/04/2010	Hamburg	Facebook	http://www.facebook.com/album.php?aid=163163&id=5817950715 5
S_161	Social Design Notes	MayDay Posters	Report, posters	01/05/2010	Hamburg	Backspace	http://backspace.com/notes/2010/05/may-day-posters.php
S_162	m-ion	Euromayday Hamburg and its media production	Article	04/05/2010	Hamburg	Indymedia UK	http://www.indymedia.org.uk/en/2010/05/450456.html
S_163	r2d2	Hamburg: „Recht auf Stadt"-Bewegung (Teil 3)	Article, Photos	15/05/2010	Hamburg	Indymedia Germany	http://de.indymedia.org/2010/05/281505.shtml
S_164	r2d2	Hamburg: „Recht auf Stadt"-Bewegung (Teil 4)	Article, Photos	30/08/2010	Hamburg	Indymedia Germany	http://de.indymedia.org/2010/08/288819.shtml
S_165	Meike Bergmann	Euromayday 2010	Photos	May 2010	Hamburg	facebook	http://www.facebook.com/pages/Euromayday-Hamburg/5817950715 5?v=photos&sb=4#!/album.php?aid=2048460&id=1178770834
S_166	Afrika-hamburg.de	Zwischen Einleben und Abschiebung: Impressionen afrikanischen Lebens im Hamburger Stadtteil Altona.	Documentation	n.d.	Hamburg	Project website: Afrika Hamburg	http://www.afrika-hamburg.de/migration.html
S_167	EuroMayDay circle Hamburg	Collaborative Work Platform		since 2006	Hamburg	Wiki: Euromayday Hamburg	https://wiki.nadir.org/emd/published/HomePage
S_168	Euromayday	Euromayday group pool	Collection: Photos	since 2007	Hamburg	Flickr	http://www.flickr.com/groups/euromayday/pool
S_169	EuroMayDay circle Hamburg	Euromayday Hamburg	Social network group page	since 2009	Hamburg	Facebook	http://www.facebook.com/pages/Euromayday-Hamburg/5817950715 5?ref=nf
S_170	Alice	Tricorp Weblog		since 2010	Hamburg	Personal weblog: Alice	http://www.tricorp.de/
S_171	nolager	Nolager Website	Campaign website		Hamburg	Group website: nolager	http://nolager.de/
S_172	da geht was!	Berlin EuroMaydayWeek vom 22.- 30.04. (Update)	Announcement	21/04/2005	Hamburg/ Berlin	Campaign website: Euromayday Hamburg	http://www.nadir.org/nadir/kampagnen/euromayday-hh/de/2005/04/148.shtml
S_173	glocal group Hanau	Hanau 3d	Announcement	01/03/2005	Hanau	Project website: social centre Metzgerstrasse	http://metzgerstrasse-hanau.org/frame.html? http://metzgerstrasse-hanau.org/3d/kalender.html#1.5.
S_174	red.hanau	Uns reichts – nicht! Mini-Euromayday in Hanau geht in die erste Runde. Ein Bericht	Report	25/03/2008	Hanau	linksnavigator	http://www.mayday.linksnavigator.de/node/13
S_175	MayDay Hanau	Super-AlltagsheldInnen sind Leute wie du und ich	Artwork	15/04/08	Hanau	Linksnavigator	http://www.linksnavigator.de/drupal/mayday/alltagsheldInnen
S_176	red.hanau	Die allerkleinste Euro-Mayday-Parade in Hanau trotzt dem Wetter	Report	06/05/2008	Hanau	linksnavigator	http://www.mayday.linksnavigator.de/node/5
S_177	red.hanau	Mini-Euro-May-Day 2010 in Hanau	Call to Action	02/04/2010	Hanau	linksnavigator	http://www.sf-hanau.linksnavigator.de/node/204
S_178	SF	Mini-EuroMayDay in HU	Report	02/05/2010	Hanau	Indymedia Germany	http://de.indymedia.org/2010/05/279989.shtml
S_179	Irish Repuplican	Wombles not welcome here!	Report	04/05/2004	Ireland	Indymedia Ireland	http://www.indymedia.ie/article/64829

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S_180	Guerriglia marketing	Corporate Background	Self Presentation	2002	Italy	Guerigliamarketing.it	http://www.guerrigliamarketing.it/corporate/background.htm
S_181	Guerriglia marketing	Espropri Proletari. Un'opportunità unica per far conoscere la tua azienda.	Public Relations	2004	Italy	Guerigliamarketing.it	http://www.guerrigliamarketing.it/ep/en/index.html
S_182	Noborder network	actionday reports from Italy	Reports	07/04/2005	Italy	Project website: Noborder Network	http://www.noborder.org/archive_item.php?id=339
S_183	Phrack Inc.	An overview of the italian underground (1994-2007)	Article	n Y	Italy	Phrack magazine	http://www.phrack.com/issues.html?issue=65&id=15
S_184	Serpica Naro	Serpica Naro is a Metabrand	Interview	n.Y.	Italy		http://www.serpicanaro.com/files/metabrand/serpica_naro_eng.pdf
S_185	Autistici/Inventati	The Autistici/Inventati Collective	Self Presentation	n Y	Italy/Milan	Group website: Autistici/Inventati	http://www.autistici.org/en/who/collective.html
S_186	Euromayday	Freeters' Union – Organizing the Precariats in Japan	Video	2008	Japan	Euromayday Portal	http://www.euromayday.org/blog/?p=1235
S_187	Communiqué Action Autonome	1er mai 2010 à Lausanne	Call to Action, Poster	08/04/2010	Lausanne	Group website of Autonome.ch	http://www.autonome.ch/1er-mai-2010-Appel-Lausanne
S_188	Clare Zine	Claremont Road / The end of the beginning, a celebration of creativity	Leaflet	1995	London	Website	http://www.20thcenturylondon.org.uk/server.php?show=conObject.6401&search_word=&catId[6][0]=00200600200c&current_browser_object=6
S_189	Euston N30 Reporting	RALLY AT EUSTON STATION	Report	1999	London	spc.org	http://bak.spc.org/N30london/
S_190	allsorts (mailing list)	GUERRRILLA GARDENING - RTS MAYDAY ACTION - THIS IS NOT A PROTEST!	Documentation	2000	London	Urban 75	http://www.urban75.org/mayday/001.html
S_191	Indymedia UK	The largest UK street media project yet…	Collection	2000	London	Indymedia UK	http://www.indymedia.org.uk/newsite/index2.php3
S_192	n.A.	Mayday 2000	Campaign website	2000	London	freespeech.org	http://web.archive.org/web/20001026070617/www.freespeech.org/mayday2k/index2k.htm
S_193	n.A.	Mayday 2000 Conference	Announcement	2000	London	freespeech.org	http://web.archive.org/web/20001026203212/www.freespeech.org/mayday2k/conference.htm
S_194	n.A.	call to global day of action on mayday 2000	Call to Action	2000	London	nadir	http://www.nadir.org/nadir/initiativ/agp/free/m2k/index.htm
S_195	n.A.	May 1st 2000: Mayday 2K, London	Documentation	2000	London	Urban 75	http://www.urban75.org/mayday/index1.html
S_196	Reflections collective	Reflections on Mayday	Brochure	2000	London	freespeech.org	http://web.archive.org/web/20001026203226/www.freespeech.org/mayday2k/reflect.htm
S_197	Wombles	London Mayday 2001: Mayday Monopoly	Article	2001	London	Group website: Wombles	http://www.wombles.org.uk/article20060337.php
S_198	urban 75	Brixton: 121 Centre. urban75 remembers one of Brixton's finest squatted community centres	Article	2003	London	Urban 75	http://www.urban75.org/brixton/features/121.html

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S_199	Mayday Collective	Mayday Cancelled! Comments from some members of the mayday collective	Article	2004	London	spc.org	http://diy.spc.org/ourmayday/
S_200	Mute	Precarious Reader	Magazine Special Issue	2004	London	Metamute	http://www.metamute.org/?q=en/node/416
S_201	Wombles	93 Fortess Road - 2004	Documentation	2004	London	Group website: Wombles	http://www.wombles.org.uk/article20060593.php
S_202	Wombles	Ex-Grand Banks - 2004	Documentation	2004	London	Group website: Wombles	http://www.wombles.org.uk/article20060594.php
S_203	Wombles	93, Fortess Rd	Photos	2004	London	Group website: Wombles	http://www.wombles.org.uk/image/tid/49
S_204	London May Day Organising Committee	TUC Mayday Archive 2005	Photos	2005	London	Project website: Londonmayday	http://www.glatuc.org.uk/GlatucGallery/index.php?applicableyear=2005
S_205	Maydaymonopoly.Net	May Day Monopoly Game Guide to Anti-Capitalist Actions in London	Announcement	2005	London	Urban 75	http://www.urban75.org/mayday01/monopoly.html
S_206	Precarity assembly	Mayday London	Call to Action	2005	London	Campaign website: Euromayday London	http://web.archive.org/web/20060713224744/ourmayday.revolt.org/precarity.info/maydaycall.htm
S_207	Precarity assembly	Claim back our products, our labour, our time & our rights	Report	2005	London	Campaign website: Euromayday London	http://classic-web.archive.org/web/20051230115254/ourmayday.revolt.org/precarity.info/index.htm
S_208	Wombles	WOMBLES Collective statement, G8 2005	Self presentation	2005	London	Group website: Wombles	http://www.wombles.org.uk/article20060340.php
S_209	Wombles	Discussion: Social Centres - What Next?	Announcement	2005	London	Group website: Wombles	http://www.wombles.org.uk/article200610363.php
S_210	Wombles	G8 2005 - Scotland	Report	2005	London	Group website: Wombles	http://www.wombles.org.uk/actions/g8/g82005
S_211	London noborders	Statement from London noborders for mayday London 2006	Call to Action	2006	London	Campaign website: Euromayday London	http://web.archive.org/web/20060713204729/ourmayday.revolt.org/precarity.info/noborders.htm
S_212	n.A.	Reclaim the Streets & Liverpool Dockers March April 1997	Video	2006	London	Google Video	http://video.google.com/videoplay?docid=-8887728435228317110&hl=en-GB#
S_213	Precarity assembly	Mayday Parade	Call to Action	2006	London	Campaign website: Euromayday London	http://classic-web.archive.org/web/20060713185457/ourmayday.revolt.org/precarity.info/index.htm
S_214	Agustin	reclaim_the_streets	Video	2007	London	Google Video	http://video.google.co.uk/videoplay?docid=4537872385598571306&ei=MrhpSavFMoqGjQLHtviuBA&q=reclaim+the+streets&dur=3#
S_215	Carrotworkers' Collective	Carrotworkers' Collective	Weblog	2008	London	wordpress	http://carrotworkers.wordpress.com/

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S_216	Squatting Europe Kollective	The SQEK: Squatting Europe Research Agenda v. 0.9	Outline	2009	London	Personal Website	http://www.miguelangelmartinez.net/IMG/pdf/2009_SQEK__7_Dec_.pdf
S_217	Freedom Press	Freedom Bookshop	Documentation	2010	London	Project Website: Freedom Press	http://www.freedompress.org.uk/news/bookshop/
S_218	London May Day Organising Committee	TUC Mayday Archive	Photos	2010	London	Project website: Londonmayday	http://www.londonmayday.org/home.php
S_219	Squatting Europe Kollective	Program: Squatting Europe Meeting	Program	2010	London	Personal Website	http://www.miguelangelmartinez.net/IMG/pdf/London_Program_Proposal-5_Miguel.pdf
S_220	roadalert	LIVERPOOL DOCKERS' MYSTERY TOUR 29th September	Announcement	18/09/1997	London	Project website: Weeds	http://www.wussu.com/roads/r97/r9709186.htm
S_221	Black Flag	Mayday 2000 A Festival of Anarchist Ideas and Action	Call to Action	14/11/1999	London	Blackened	http://flag.blackened.net/global/aamayday2000.htm
S_222	imc uk	Why Mayday? - background, history and issues	Article	Apr-00	London	Indymedia UK	http://www.indymedia.co.uk/newsite/why.php3
S_223	HUgo Bery	UK, MAYDAY 2000 conference - London and worldwide	Announcement	20/04/2000	London	a-infos	http://www.ainfos.ca/00/apr/ainfos00358.html
S_224	Natasha Walter	From Seattle to guerrilla gardeners on May Day, the activists are learning to do joined-up protest	Article	22/04/2000	London	Campaign website: RTS London	http://rts.gn.apc.org/mayday2k/ind0422.htm
S_225	nfn	London meeting: Gate Gourmet & the Struggles Ahead	Announcement	04/10/2000	London	Indymedia UK	http://www.indymedia.org.uk/en/2005/10/324928.html
S_226	urban 75	Button Factory raided	Report	01/04/2001	London	Forum: Urban 75	http://www.urban75.org/mayday01/001.html
S_227	wombles	May Day Monopoly Game Guide to Anti-Capitalist Actions in London	Report	08/04/2001	London	Urban 75	http://www.urban75.org/mayday01/monopoly.html
S_228	ginger	Today I was a womble	Report	02/05/2001	London	Indymedia UK	http://www.indymedia.org.uk/en/2001/05/3825.html
S_229	Stephen Castle, Andrew Grice	We won't give an inch to anarchist 'circus', vows Blair	Article	17/06/2001	London	The Independent	http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/europe/we-wont-give-an-inch-to-anarchist-circus-vows-blair-674341.html
S_230	imc London	MayDay2002 Time Line	Report	01/05/2002	London	Indymedia UK	http://www.indymedia.org.uk/en/2002/05/29763.html
S_231	imc-uk	International MayDayReports	Reports	01/05/2002	London	Indymedia UK	https://www.indymedia.org.uk/en/2002/05/29750.html
S_232	imc London	Mayday 2002: Festival of Alternatives	Report	02/05/2002	London	Indymedia UK	https://www0.indymedia.org.uk/en/2002/05/103584.html
S_233	IMC	Time Line Mayday 03 London	Report	02/05/2003	London	Indymedia UK	http://www.indymedia.org.uk/en/2003/05/66485.html
S_234	libcom	Mayday 2001 - Mayday Monopoly	Article	13/10/2003	London	Libcom	http://libcom.org/library/mayday-2001
S_235	rkn	So Mayday then…	Online Discussion	01/01/2004	London	Libcom community forums	http://libcom.org/forums/organise/so-mayday-then
S_236	Libcom	Mayday 2004	Collection	10/01/2004	London	Libcom	http://libcom.org/features/mayday

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S_237	kriptick	Tenth anniversary of the siege of Wanstonia M11 link rd	Article, Photos	16/02/2004	London	Indymedia UK	http://www.indymedia.org.uk/en/2004/02/285484.html
S_238	kriptick	Tenth anniversary of Operation Roadblock against the M11 link road	Article, Photos	18/03/2004	London	Indymedia UK	http://www.indymedia.org.uk/en/2004/03/287260.html
S_239	features imc-uk	MayDay 04: Against Borders and Precariousness!	Indymedia Feature Report	10/05/2004	London	Indymedia UK	http://www.indymedia.org.uk/en/2004/05/290379.html
S_240	Kriptick	Direct action road protest veterans delegation to Dept for Transport	Article, Photos	22/07/2004	London	Indymedia UK	http://www.indymedia.org.uk/en/regions/london/2004/07/295124.html
S_241	Beyond ESF	Beyond ESF - Programme & Timetable	Announcement	10/10/2004	London	Project website: Noborder network	http://www.noborder.org/archive_item.php?id=319
S_242	captain mission	yah what?	Comment	25/10/2004	London	Indymedia UK	http://www.indymedia.org.uk/en/2004/10/300042.html
S_243	WOMBLES	Calling all temp workers, wage slaves, job seekers....	Announcement	01/12/2004	London	Indymedia UK	http://www.indymedia.org.uk/en/2004/12/302175.html
S_244	imc london	Londoners Demonstrate for Freedom of Movement and the Right to Stay	Report	03/04/2005	London	Indymedia London	http://www.indymedia.org.uk/en/regions/london/2005/04/308256.html
S_245	ionnek, r7	UK Noborder Demos Join Europeans for Free Movement and Right to Stay	Indymedia Feature Report	03/04/2005	London	Indymedia UK	http://www.indymedia.org.uk/en/2005/04/308307.html
S_246	You	MAYDAY 2005	Report	24/04/2005	London	Indymedia UK	https://www.indymedia.org.uk/en/2005/04/309719.html
S_247	Flex	[LONDON: A Special Annoucement From EuroMayday]	Call to Action	25/04/2005	London	Indymedia UK	http://www.indymedia.org.uk/en/2005/04/309775.html
S_248	Riddler	Mayday2005	Comment	28/04/2005	London	Indymedia UK	https://www.indymedia.org.uk/en/2005/04/309719.html?c=on
S_249	==	Mayday Festival	Report	01/05/2005	London	Indymedia UK	http://www.indymedia.org.uk/en/2005/05/310305.html
S_250	1 of imc london	euromayday in hackney central	Report	01/05/2005	London	Indymedia UK	http://www.indymedia.org.uk/en/2005/05/310306.html
S_251	features	Mayday 2005 - Euromayday and More	Indymedia Feature Report	01/05/2005	London	Indymedia UK	https://www.indymedia.org.uk/en/2005/04/309995.html
S_252	rikki	Hackney Tesco Invasion Mayday Pics (1 of 3)	Report	01/05/2005	London	Indymedia UK	http://www.indymedia.org.uk/en/2005/05/310404.html
S_253	rikki	Police violence in the park - photos from London Mayday	Photos	01/05/2005	London	Indymedia UK	http://www.indymedia.org.uk/en/2005/05/310359.html
S_254	andrea	after mayday	Report	02/05/2005	London	Indymedia UK	http://www.indymedia.org.uk/en/2005/05/310536.html
S_255	Guido	Pictures of the London Mayday PRECARITY action.	Photos	02/05/2005	London	Indymedia UK	http://www.indymedia.org.uk/en/2005/05/310462.html
S_256	imc london	Euromayday: Precari@s Take Over Hackney Tesco Supermarket	Indymedia Feature Report	02/05/2005	London	Indymedia London	http://www.indymedia.org.uk/en/regions/london/2005/05/310556.html
S_257	rikki	first set of tesco occupation pics still missing from earlier post	Photos	02/05/2005	London	Indymedia UK	http://www.indymedia.org.uk/en/2005/05/310480.html
S_258	rikki	tesco occupation pics missing from earlier post (2of2)	Photos	02/05/2005	London	Indymedia UK	http://www.indymedia.org.uk/en/2005/05/310443.html
S_259	Voluntary Slave	More London Euromayday pics	Photos	02/05/2005	London	Indymedia UK	http://www.indymedia.org.uk/en/2005/05/310558.html

ID	Author	Title	Extent of Work	Date/Year	Place	Publisher	URL
S_260	antonymous	Yet more photos from Mayday precarity action	Photos	03/05/2005	London	Indymedia UK	http://www.indymedia.org.uk/en/2005/05/310645.html
S_261	appleman	Mayday 2005 Video: Train to Hackney	Video	03/05/2005	London	Indymedia UK	http://www.indymedia.org.uk/en/2005/05/310626.html
S_262	appleman	Mayday 2005 Photos: Train, Supermarket & Bubble	Photos	03/05/2005	London	Indymedia UK	http://indymedia.org.uk/en/2005/05/310574.html
S_263	appleman	Mayday 2005 Video: Highbury and Islington Station	Video	03/05/2005	London	Indymedia UK	http://www.indymedia.org.uk/en/2005/05/310603.html
S_264	Precarious Imcista	Personal Account of EuroMayDay Action in London	Report	03/05/2005	London	Indymedia UK	http://www.indymedia.org.uk/en/2005/05/310628.html
S_265	precarity assembly	euroMAYDAY London - Report!	Report	03/05/2005	London	Indymedia UK	http://www.indymedia.org.uk/en/regions/london/2005/05/310584.html
S_266	appleman	Mayday 2005 Video: Police Create "Bubble" Trapping Protestors - Hackney	Video	04/05/2005	London	Indymedia UK	http://www.indymedia.org.uk/en/2005/05/310697.html
S_267	Skippy	MAYDAY APPEAL	Photos	04/05/2005	London	Indymedia UK	http://www.indymedia.org.uk/en/2005/05/310678.html
S_268	cpp	MAYDAY tesco action video	Video	08/05/2005	London	Indymedia UK	http://www.indymedia.org.uk/en/2005/05/310950.html
S_269	noborder	actionday reports from the United Kingdom	Collection	08/05/2005	London	Project website: Noborder Network	http://www.noborder.org/archive_item.php?id=335
S_270	jack white	EU summit protests in Dublin - Mayday 2004	Article	17/05/2005	London	Libcom community forums	http://libcom.org/forums/ireland/eu-summit-protests-in-dublin-mayday-2004
S_271	Captain Mapp	Battle of the Beanfield Talk - London	Announcement	29/05/2005	London	Indymedia UK	http://www.indymedia.org.uk/en/2005/05/312025.html
S_272	Andy Worthington	Battle of the Beanfield 20th anniversary - Events	Announcement	02/06/2005	London	Indymedia UK	https://www.indymedia.org.uk/en/2005/06/312412.html
S_273	Dan Jakopovich	Gate Gourmet Workers: "It's not over yet!"	Report	11/10/2005	London	Indymedia UK	http://www.indymedia.org.uk/en/2005/10/325389.html
S_274	Steven	Mayday 1999 - On the tube	Article	13/10/2005	London	Libcom	http://libcom.org/library/mayday-1999-on-the-tube
S_275	Steven	Mayday 2000 - Guerrilla Gardening	Article	13/10/2005	London	Libcom	http://libcom.org/library/mayday-2000
S_276	Guido	Furious Gate Gourmet workers march in Southall	Report, Photos	06/12/2005	London	Indymedia UK	http://www.indymedia.org.uk/en/regions/london/2005/12/329383.html
S_277	BorderLands hackLab	borderlands hacklab zine - v0.2	Brochure	23/01/2006	London	San Diego Hacklab	http://deletetheborder.org/files/sdhl-zine-halfsheet.pdf
S_278	precarity assembly	Mayday 1st May 006	Call to Action	01/04/2006	London	Campaign website: Euromayday London	http://web.archive.org/web/20060713185457/ourmayday.revolt.org/precarity.info/index.htm
S_279	Mayday'er	MAYDAY 2006 (London) - HIT THE STREETS!	Call to Action, stickers	05/04/2006	London	Indymedia UK	https://www.indymedia.org.uk/en/2006/04/337648.html
S_280	Autonomous Mayday	800 people on the Autonomous Bloc at Mayday London	Report, photos	01/05/2006	London	Indymedia UK	https://www0.indymedia.org.uk/en/2006/05/339379.html
S_281	imc'ista	London Mayday Soundscape	Report	01/05/2006	London	Indymedia UK	https://www0.indymedia.org.uk/en/2006/05/339362.html
S_282	rkn	How was your Mayday?	Online Discussion	01/05/2006	London	Libcom community forums	http://libcom.org/forums/libcommunity/how-was-your-mayday-01052006

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ID	Author	Title	Extent of Work	Date/Year	Place	Publisher	URL
S_283	streetlawyer	Austin Saxby - Mayday 2001 Judgement	Report	30/06/2006	London	Indymedia UK	http://www.indymedia.org.uk/en/2006/06/343933
S_284	Jason Royce	Battle of the broad bean field (15 pics)	Article, Photos	23/08/2007	London	Indymedia UK	http://www.indymedia.org.uk/en/2007/08/379513.html
S_285	Wombles	Background to the WOMBLES group, 2000-2006	Documentation	01/03/08	London	Group website: Wombles	http://www.wombles.org.uk/article20060318.php
S_286	?	20 years on: Legacy of the Miners' Strike	Article	02/02/2004	Indymedia UK	Indymedia UK	http://www.indymedia.org.uk/en/2004/02/284767.html
S_287	Spaßmaschine	The underground is going down the tube - Anarchist Communist Federation	Leaflet (1989)	26/07/2009	London	Libcom	http://libcom.org/history/underground-going-down-tube-anarchist-communist-federation
S_288	Counter Cartographies Collective	3Cs meets Carrotworkers	Article	31/01/2010	London	Wordpress	http://countercartographies.wordpress.com/2010/01/31/3cs-meets-carrotworkers/
S_289	red snapper	It was 20 years ago today :-)	Article, Photos	31/03/2010	London	Indymedia UK	http://www.indymedia.org.uk/en/2010/03/448395.html
S_290	56a Infoshop	a radical social centre and bookshop since 1991	Website	15/12/2010	London	Project Website: Infoshop	http://www.56a.org.uk/
S_291	Reclaim the Streets London	RTS Action Archive	Chronology	1995-2003	London	Campaign website: RTS	http://rts.gn.apc.org/archive.htm
S_292	Simon Jones Campaign	Simon Jones Memorial Campaign	Campaign website	1998 - 2008	London	Campaign website: Euromayday London	http://www.simonjones.org.uk/
S_293	Precarity assembly	Calling all...	Self Presentation	March 2005	London	Campaign website: Euromayday London	http://web.archive.org/web/20050312224344/http://www.precarity.info/
S_294	Precarity Assembly	Social Struggles against precarity ongoing in France	Report	March 2006	London	Campaign website: Euromayday London	http://web.archive.org/web/20060713185510/ourmayday.revolt.org/precarity.info/news.htm
S_295	Cartoon Archive	The Wombles Song	Lyrics		London	Cartoon Archive	http://www.thecartoonarchive.com/Wombles.php
S_296	Urban 75	Excerpt from The Battle of the Beanfield, edited by Andy Worthington	Article		London	Urban 75	http://www.urban75.com/Action/beanfield.html
S_297	transmitter	Mayday Sur 07 - Brief Chronology	Report	15/05/2007	Malaga	Indymedia UK	https://uk.indymedia.org/en/2007/05/370769.html
S_298	josip	Mayday in Maribor	Report	05.05.2008	Maribor	Puscii	http://balkans.puscii.nl/?q=content/mayday-maribor
S_299	Chainworkers	Reportage Mayday parade	Photo Report	2001	Milan	Chainworkers webzine, archive	http://www.ecn.org/chainworkers/chainw/mayday/mayday_z/report.html
S_300	Chainworkers	Galleria Mayday 002	Photos	2002	Milan	Chainworkers webzine	http://www.ecn.org/chainworkers/chainw/md2002/galleria/index.html
S_301	Chainworkers Archive	Mayday Parade 2002	Report with Links	2002	Milan	Chainworkers webzine, archive	http://www.ecn.org/chainworkers/chainw/md2002/index.htm
S_302	Mayday Milan	Neoliberalism Is Burning. Let's drown it in the Peaceful Ocean of Mayday Parade 003	Call to Action	2003	Milan	Chainworkers webzine	http://www.ecn.org/chainworkers/chainw/mayday003/autonomo_anglo.htm
S_303	Chainworkers	Precariopoli	Artwork: Boardgame	2004	Milan	Euromayday Portal	http://www.euromayday.org/mayday004/milano/precariopoli.html

ID	Author	Title	Extent of Work	Date/Year	Place	Publisher	URL
S_304	LOA HaCkLab	I corsi al LOA Hacklab sono finiti	Announcement	2004	Milan	Group website: LOA	http://www.autistici.org/loa/web/main.html
S_305	Chainworkers	Gli Imbattibili	Artwork	27/06/05	Milan	Chainworkers webzine	http://www.chainworkers.org/IMBATTIBILI/
S_306	Chainworkers Crew, Radiohacktive	Europe`s Funkiest Conspiracy ...	Report	2005	Milan	Chainworkers webzine	http://www.chainworkers.org/node/230
S_307	ReLOAd	Sold out. L'esperienza di reload ha chiuso i battenti	Announcement	2006	Milan	Group website: Reload	http://reload.realityhacking.org
S_308	Chainworkers	Almanac of Precariomancy	Artwork: Tarot	2007	Milan	Platform: precaria.org (Italy)	http://cartomanzia.precaria.org/index-eng.html
S_309	CUB	Poster	Posters	2008	Milan	Euromayday Portal	http://euromayday.org/propaganda08/poster/italy/CUB/poster_emd08CUB.jpg
S_310	Ned Rossiter	Interview with Zoe Romano	Video	2009	Milan	Vimeo	http://vimeo.com/4163121
S_311	Milano Indymedia	materiale per ftr mayday	Mailing List	20-Apr-03	Milan	Indymedia mailing list archive	http://archives.lists.indymedia.org/imc-milano/2003-April/005984.html
S_312	Priore, Massimiliano	2° puntata: PORTA CICCA - PORTA TICINESE	Article	29/03/04	Milan	Website La toponomastica	http://www.nomix.it/rubrica_toponomastica.php?puntata=2
S_313	Chainworkers Crew	Tutti Santi Tutti Stronzi	Video	30/10/2004	Milan	Chainworkers webzine	http://chainworkers.org/node/295/play
S_314	reload	lab_precario --- Laboratorio Stile Precario	Announcement	06/12/2004	Milan	Group website: Reload	http://reload.realityhacking.org/detail.php?cat=3&subcat=sprecario&id=546
S_315	emd Milano:	Mayday in Mailand: Gli Imbattibili	Report, photos	03/05/05	Milan	Campaign website: Euromayday Hamburg	http://www.nadir.org/nadir/kampagnen/EuroMayDay-hh/de/2005/05/246.shtml
S_316	Redazione Digicult	Call for International help against eviction of COX18	Article	29/01/2009	Milan	Nettime-I	http://mail.kein.org/pipermail/nettime-I/2009-January/001190.html
S_317	Zoecat	Dopo 10 anni di post su questo sito ci prendiamo una pausa	Announcement	18/01/2010	Milan	Chainworkers webzine	http://www.chainworkers.org/node/707
S_318	Pulma Tommy	Super Nonna	Video	02-May-10	Milan	Youtube	http://il.youtube.com/watch?v=9RHUp7sgVIU&feature=related
S_319	imc lombardia	Mayday: Il Primo Maggio dei Precari d'Europa in Rivolta	Indymedia Feature Report	28/04/2006	Milan	Indymedia Lombarda	http://www.italy.indymedia.org/features/lombardia/#bottom
S_320	Heelens	Foto euromayday006	Photos	May. 02, 2006	Milan	Indymedia Italy	http://italy.indymedia.org/news/2006/05/1060625.php
S_321	CUB	Archivio Fotografico della CUB	Photos	2001-2005	Milan	Project website of CUB	http://www.maydayparade.eu/
S_322	Chainworkers Archive	ChainWorkers = MEDIA+UNION ACTIVISM	Self Presentation	2002-2004	Milan	Chainworkers webzine, archive	http://www.ecn.org/chainworkers/chainw/who.htm
S_323	CUB Lombardia	Mayday Parade 2005 e 2004	Photos	2004, 2005	Milan	CUB Lombardia	http://www.cublombardia.it/MayDay-Parade.htm
S_324	Euromayday at Milano	Milano Euromayday 006 - Il Primo Maggio dei Precari d'Europa in Rivolta	Announcement	Apr. 26, 2006	Milan	Indymedia Italy	http://italy.indymedia.org/news/2006/04/1056332.php

ID	Author	Title	Extent of Work	Date/Year	Place	Publisher	URL
S_325	dal corriere	Primo Maggio: tutto pronto a Milano per l'Euro Mayday Parade	Announcement	Apr. 30, 2005	Milan	Indymedia Italy	http://italy.indymedia.org/news/2005/04/782812.php
S_326	Teatrix	Teatrix al teatro alla Scala	Photos	Apr. 30, 2005 at 10:28 PM	Milan	Indymedia Italy	http://italy.indymedia.org/news/2005/04/783048.php
S_327	***	Deposito Bulk >>> 1997-2006 - Una storia semplice	Report	Feb. 28, 2006	Milan	Indymedia Italy	http://italy.indymedia.org/news/2006/02/1006467.php
S_328	Ascii	Report from the plug and politix event in Barcelona (3-4 dec 2004)	Report	n Y	Milan	Group website: Ascii	http://scii.nl/ascii-was-here/ascii-at-plug-n-politix-barcelona/opening-meeting/
S_329	Chainworkers	Some Background	Self Presentation	n Y (1999-2002)	Milan	Chainworkers webzine, archive	http://www.ecn.org/chainworkers/chainw/english.htm
S_330	Chainworkers Archive	Mayday Posters 2001-2006	Posters	no Year	Milan	Chainworkers webzine	http://www.chainworkers.org/MAYDAY/index.html
S_331		Euromayday Pool, Milan	Photos		Milan	Flickr	http://www.flickr.com/search/groups/?q=milan&w=37474462@N00&m=pool
S_332	Euromayday Milan/Barcelona	MAYDAY, MAYDAY!! Why precari@s, intermittents, cognitari/e are rebelling across NEUROPA...	Call to Action	2004	Milan/Barcelona	Euromayday Portal	http://www.euromayday.org/mayday004/lang_eng.html
S_333	Counter Cartographies Collective	Genealogies of recent autonomous movements in Spain just prior to the emergence of global movements	Article	16/08/2007	Spain	Wordpress	http://countercartographies.wordpress.com/2007/08/16/genealogies-of-recent-autonomous-movements-in-spain-just-prior-to-the-emergence-of-global-movements-2/
S_334	guest in Terrassa	Euromayday in Terrassa: The Precarious are Rebelling!	Report, photos	02/05/08	Terrassa	Indymedia UK	http://www.indymedia.org.uk/en/2008/05/398063.html
S_335	Euromayday	Chiki-Chiki Precario, Euromayday'08	Video	02/04/2008	Terrassa	Youtube	http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TiWTlSrgALU
S_336	Euromayday Tübingen	2007 Euromayday	Collection	2007	Tübingen	Campaign website: Euromayday Tübingen	http://tuebingermaydayparade.twoday.net/topics/2007/
S_337	alan lodge [tash]	Travellers / Hippies/Festivals on BBCfour on Thursday	Article, Photos	21/10/2004	UK	Indymedia UK	http://www.indymedia.org.uk/en/2004/10/299693.html
S_338	Mandrax	Battle of Beanfield 20th Anniversary	Article	19/01/2005	UK	Indymedia UK	http://www.indymedia.org.uk/en/2005/01/304020.html
S_339	alan lodge [tash]	Anniversary of the 'Battle of the Beanfield': an exhibition 'Operation Solstice'	Article	10/04/2005	UK	Indymedia UK	http://indymedia.org.uk/en/2005/04/308800.html
S_340	alan lodge [tash]	Battle of the Beanfield' Jun85: Film Night & Exhibition: Nottingham	Article	24/04/2005	UK	Indymedia UK	http://www.indymedia.org.uk/en/2005/04/309655.html
S_341	richarddirecttv	Battle of the Beanfield Anniversary Screening - June 5th	Article	30/05/2005	UK	Indymedia Oxford	https://www.indymedia.org.uk/en/regions/oxford/2005/05/312067.html
S_342	Alan Lodge	The Travellers Situation	Article	31/05/2005	UK	Indymedia Westcountry	http://www.indymedia.org.uk/en/regions/westcountry/2005/05/312109.html
S_343	woot!	Massive UK Teknival goes ahead in Wales - May Bank Holiday Weekend	Article	31/05/2005	UK	Indymedia UK	http://www.indymedia.org.uk/en/2005/05/312259.html

ID	Author	Title	Extent of Work	Date/Year	Place	Publisher	URL
S_344	SchNews - Tash	Battle of the Beanfield - 20 Years on :: SchNews500	Article	03/06/2005	UK	Indymedia Oxford	http://www.indymedia.org.uk/en/regions/oxford/2005/06/312477.html
S_345	infos	Middlesex Declaration of Europe's Precariat	Call to Action	25/10/2005	UK	Indymedia UK	http://www.indymedia.org.uk/en/2004/10/300042.html
S_346	commoner	Strike! The miners strike remembered 22 years on	Article	06/03/2006	UK	Indymedia Sheffield	https://sheffield.indymedia.org.uk/2006/03/335233.html
S_347	schmoo	summer solstice: remembering the battle of the beanfield	Article	22/06/2006	UK	Indymedia UK	http://www.indymedia.org.uk/en/2006/06/343291.html
S_348	Andy Worthington	Remember the Battle of the Beanfield	Article	01/06/2009	UK	The Guardian	http://www.guardian.co.uk/commentisfree/libertycentral/2009/jun/01/remembering-the-battle-of-the-beanfield
S_349	viziondanz	Summer Solstice @ Stonehenge Time stops for a moment on the shortest night	Article	10/06/2009	UK	Indymedia UK	http://www.indymedia.org.uk/en/2009/06/432050.html
S_350	Libcom	Top ten worst things done in the name of anarchism	Article	x.10.2005	UK	Libcom	http://libcom.org/news/top-ten-worst-things-done-in-the-name-of-anarchism-01102005
S_351	Counter Cartographies Collective	Fifteen Ironies of Research work and Militancy	Article	15/08/2007	World	Wordpress	http://countercartographies.wordpress.com/2007/08/15/fifteen-ironies-of-research-work-and-militancy/

Timeline: Media Activism and Social Centres in Milan (1990-2010)

1990 Social centre *Pergola Tribe* squatted in Isola neighbourhood

1997 Social centre Laboratorio Studentesco Occupato Autogestito (LSOA) *Deposito Bulk* squatted in an abandonned school in Via Don Sturzo, literally two steps away from Città della Moda. The 'Fashion district' encompasses three old districts: Garibaldi, Gioia and Isola. Bulk was described as a student social centre and the political centre of the more experimental part of the movement in Milan: "Bulk (i Bulkaniani) was seminal for Milano's movement, for me and many others to this day."

1998 First *Hackmeeting* in Italy. The idea for a Hackmeeting emerged from digital media initiatives and experiences during the 1990s such as ecn.org, stranonetwork, avana, and decoder.

1998 Social centre *Metropolix* squatted as a side squat of the first LSOA Bulk experience. It was an old and huge house owned by the council. It was used it as living quarters and became the first self-managed youth hostel ever. Metropolix was evicted at the very beginning of 2000. The Metropolix experience was one of the inspirations for the self managed hostel *Postello* in *Pergola Move*.

1999 Second Hackmeeting: The second Hackmeeting took place in the social centre LSOA Bulk.

1999 *LOA Hacklab* conceived: After the second Hackmeeting, nerds, activists, and curious newcomers who organized and took part in this event continued to work and experiment with technology, communication, digital rights and so on, and began to think about a dedicated space for these activities. But was not until the next 2 years in the new Bulk site that the experience really took flight.

1999 *Chainworkers* collective starts with a combination media and labour activism and establishes the Webzine *Chainworkers.org*.

1999 (Nov) Accompanying the protests against the WTO in Seattle, one social centre is decorated entirely with maps and information about Seattle. Some activists are not impressed.

2000 (Jan) Social Centre Bulk is evicted - a formative experience leading many to participate in the Chainworkers project and eventually to the idea for a Mayday parade.

2000 The collective of LSOA Bulk (also called Millenium Squat) moves to Via Niccolini near the *Monumentale*, a cemetery for the great artists and lords of Milan, only 1 km from the previous location. LOA Hacklab participates in the squatting, renovating, setting up and activities of the new squat and establishes the first Hacklab: "We set up a lab with machines to be hacked, free connection spaces and a classroom to hold courses, which will be some of our main activities for at least 2-3 years." The Hacklab attracted crowds of people, as nobody did Linux sysadmin courses for free at the time, especially not with a knack on security network and hacking.

2000 *Indymedia Italy* starts in 2000 as a tactical media website to cover the antiNATO mobilisation in Bologna. The initiators had no intention to continue the project afterwards. But Indymedia Italy managed to stay. The Hacklab network filled in the gaps. The Indymedia collective grew from 2 members to 30 in a weekend. Soon after that, the G8 protests in Genoa happened. They made Italy Imc what it has been, although most of the people who set it up initially did not want to go.

2001 IS A FATAL YEAR

2001 (March) *Autistici/Inventati* (A/I) servers set up. "The A/I experience comes mainly out of the Hacklab/Hackmeeting/Indymedia/ecn.org network. One group of young activists came from Florence, mainly connected to the CEcco Rivolta Squat and to the Sgamati online media activist group. Another group was the LOA Hacklab group from Milan. More people came from Bologna, Turin, Rome, and Naples. They started to discuss the idea of a self-managed server in 2000. After meeting around Italy at the side of demos or other initiatives, they decided to launch the project. A/I never had and never will have a physical space.

2001 *Indymedia Italy* turns from a tactical media intervention into an ongoing open publishing platform run by a collective. Italy IMC and Euromayday connect with each other in several ways. Many activ-

ists participate in both initiatives. This was a time where Italy Imc tended to be present to any major movement event.

2001 (May) Mayday Parade no 1 in Milan, starting from Porta Ticinese like in all ensuing years. Over the years, there were several social centres in Porta Ticinese, for instance Cox18 (via Conchetta 18) and Laboratorio Zero (evicted 2010).

2001 (18.-22.7.2001) Mass protests against G8 summit in Genoa.

2002 Firenze *European Social Forum*. Activists from Milan participate in the autonomous space *Hub*, which includes a *Polymedia Lab*.

2002 Mayday Parade no 2 in Milan

2003 Mayday Parade no 3 in Milan, participation from all over Italy and beyond. Precarity as a double-faced condition rather than only an imposition. Italy IMC sets up a street media centre and a web-radio live broadcast during the Mayday parade.

2003 LOA Hacklab leaves Bulk, partly out of political disagreement, partly out of the desire to become an independent collective. LOA enters a nomad phase. Trying to become a networked collective, they hold workshops and activities all over the squats in Milan. They installed, configured and established many tech/media places in Milan's social centres, including Conchetta, Garibaldi, Torchiera, PRK251, Circolo Anarchico Ponte della Ghisolfa. These places were then used by other collectives.

2003 Indymedia Italy decides to empower local IMCs. The Milano Indymedia group comprises people from several social centres, and shares a strong hacktivist approach. Milano IMC decided not to have an official physical location, but participated in the networked nomad location of LOA. Some places turned out to be particularly used. The social centre *Pergola* was home to a web-radio and an effort to produce pirate FM radio, in addition and competition to the existing movement radio hosted at *Leoncavallo*. *Connecta*, a free internet café was opened by a part of the Bulk collective together with Milano IMC and LOA Hacklab in another squat in the Isola district, *Garigliano* Social Squat. Milano IMC activity was closely linked to reLOAd activity and the collective responsible for Milano IMC activity lost most of its members and production when reLOAd ended in 2006.

2004 (29. February) *San Precario* is born. He appears at pickets in chainstores. The Saint of the Precarious will be present in all the ensuing Milan Mayday Parades. He will re-appear as Santa Precaria in Sevilla and Terrassa, also in Cologne and Austria. His prayer cards are translated into several languages and circulate in activist circles across Europe

2004 *ReLOAd* starts: After a year of nomad hacktivism, LOA Hacklab makes a fresh start. They call themselves ReLOAd and look for a place. They squat two places in the soon-to-be-gentrified Isola Neighbourhood, but are evicted. Meanwhile, the collective who squatted *Pergola Tribe* in 1990 is dissolving. They ask ReLOAd to take over. The offer is accepted. Pergola changes project and name and opens itself up. In April, Pergola Tribe becomes *Pergola Move*.

2004 *Pergola Move* starts in Via Angelo della Pergola, 5. Pergola is now run by Reload, together with the old Pergoal Tribe collective and many more groups: Within a year ReLOAd changes the experience of Pergola Tribe and begin to involve other associations and collective in the place.

2004 (March) euromayday.org domain registered, website goes on line in time for the first trans-urban Euromayday parade. Euromayday Netparade goes online.

2004 (May) Milan Mayday Parade no 4. Mayday becomes Euromayday as Barcelona joins the Mayday of the precarious with its own parade. In addition to reporting the parade, IMC and Hacklab people tried to broadcast stuff from one section of the parade to the others. IMC coverage was part of the Mayday parade until Indymedia began to recede around 2005.

2004 (June) Alternative hostel *Postillo* established in Pergola Move. In 2010, the hostel is still there, but run by different people with a different concept.

2004 (October) Precarity assembly at *Beyond ESF*, an autonomous space connected to ESF London. The Chainworkers and other people from Milan participated. They contributed to the *Greenpepper* magazine, the discussion *Precarity Ping Pong*, the *Precarity DVD*, and the Middlesex declaration.

2005 (Feb) Serpica Naro project born of chainworkers and ReLOAd to liven up Mayday 2005. Outstanding success. Serpica Naro will be present in all ensuing Euromayday Parades. After the 2005 intervention, the project continues as a partly international collective of alternative fashion production.

2005 Milan Mayday Parade no 5. "Europe's funkiest conspiracy!" 120000 participants. Euromayday parades in 19 European cities. *Imbattibili* collection albums produced. Designed for Milan, the Imbattibili figures will travel to other cities, and materialize, amongst others, as the band *Superprecarias* in Malaga, precarious superhero figures in Hamburg and a superhero block at the G8 protests in Heiligendamm.

2006 Bulk social centre leaves Millenium Bulk in exchange for 200.000 Euros

2006 (March) ReLOAd collective officially ends and leaves Pergola to what is left of Bulk collective.

2006 (May) Milan Mayday Parade no 6. Suvival Kit.

2006 (Dec) Imc Italy takes a break. Almost none of the original group of people bringing it to life 5 years earlier are involved at this point.

2006 *Intelligence precaria* is born as a network. *precaria.org* and intellingence precaria is an attempt of the chainworkers to grow into a network collective made up by the different collectives working on precarity in lombardia.

2007 (May) Milan Mayday Parade no 7. Tarot Cards. The network intelligence precaria starts action with the free newspaper *City of Gods* which are distributed throughout the city.

2008 People from Milan participate in a trans-urban Euromayday meeting in Berlin, which coincides with a preparation meeting of the ESF.)

2008 Euromayday Web Portal: A *Metablog* is installed. It displays content from several Euromayday websites via RSS feed.

2008 Websites Intelligence precaria and City of Gods merge into the precaria.org portal

2008 (May) Milan Mayday Parade no 8. Puzzle. Europe-wide Mayday actions in Aachen on the occasion of Karlspreis celebrations.

2008 (july) Imc Italy comes back online in a syndicated version after its break. Hardly any of the initial volunteers are still participating.

2009 (May) Milan Mayday Parade no 9. Theme: Crisis. Pedal-powered sound systems.

2010 (Jan) *Webzine chainworkers.org* is closed and turned into an archive.

2010 (May) Milan Mayday Parade no 10. Party people bring ever more sound-systems.

(Sources as indicated in chapter IV. Thanks to Blicero for detailed info, clarifications and double-checking in June 2010. Mistakes and inconsistencies are mine)

Euromayday London 2005: A Teichoscopic Perspective

A collage assembled from postings on Indymedia UK

Cast Viewing from a Wall:

People and Groups Who Reported of the Event

Rikki:	activist volunteer photographer and videomaker, posted after the event
Precarity Assembly:	organised the Euromayday event, initiated by the direct action group Wombles
Voluntary slave:	a participant from the Bethnal Green Contingent
Precarious Imcista:	volunteer of the imc London collective.
1 of imc London:	participant from the Highbury Contingent. Volunteer of the imc London collective.
Guido:	activist and professional news photographer
Skippy:	a participant who was arrested
Andrea:	a disgruntled would-be participant
Appleman:	uploaded three videos and a set of photos
Ccx	uploaded a video
Riddler	wrote a comment

Observed Actors

Samba Band:	a direct action group using Samba playing and dancing as a tactic at protest events
Security guard:	Is torn between keeping order and enjoying the performance
Supermarket staff:	support the action
Shoppers	read leaflets and dance
Police	thugs, bullies, officers, opponents
FIT Team`	police photographers
Community Officers	don't know what to do
Banner	40 m long, hints at the political content of the action
Soundsystem	is almost taken away by police
People of Hackney	support the action in unison
Participants:	don't loose their good spirits
Author	participated in the event, but missed the main action

Scenes

Scene 1: The Flexmob…

… gathered at two tube stations near Hackney central: Highbury and Islington and Bethnal Green. Despite police-inflicted obstacles, both contingents of the flashmob made their way to a large Tesco Supermarket at Hackney Central. The accounts focus on the operation of informing participants and their journeys to their respective meeting points and from there to the yet secret location by train, bus and foot.

Scene 2: The Supermarket…

… belongs to the Tesco chain of stores, scandalised for bad pay and restrictive policies. The large store is located in Hackney central, one of the most deprived areas of London. It is open for business on Sundays including Mayday Sunday.

Scene 3: The Police Cordon…

… also called a bubble, a kettle or a section 60. Used by police as a means of crowd control. Separates protesters from the public. Attracted much attention from activist photographers

Scene 4: March through Hackney…

… an improvised demonstration escorted by police

Scene 5: The Park…

… the longed-for refuge: a peaceful public place.

Scene 6: Reflections

Scene 1: The Flexmob

Rikki*: Today's May day st unt w as w idely advertised by the 'precarity' gr oup i n posters a nd l eaflets, b ut through the use of last minute texting and tight security over the project, the authorities were caught on the hop when activists entered t he large Tesco store on Morning Lane in Hackney this afternoon. Groups that met in different places managed to converge on the store, and occupied it for at least ten minutes before any police arrived.*

Andrea: *GIVING A S ECRET LOCATION! WELL DO NE!!! WHY SECRET LOC ATION! PROTEST S SHOULD NOT BE SECRETS! I W ANT TO GET INVOLVE, I WANT LOTS OF PEOPLE INVOLVE AND I WANT THIS WITHOUT ANY RISK OF BEING ARRESTED.*

Riddler*: Fla sh demo's a re so la st yea r. Wh at are ya gonna do, mass pillow fig hts or op era reco rded by BBC2.*

Precarity Assembly: *The location for action was kept secret until the last minute, and in the weeks lead- ing up to Mayday, we collected over 75 0 mobile phone numbers for a mass text out on the morning of the action. Such secrecy was necessary because of police tactics on previous Maydays, but we wanted the action to be as p ublic an d op en a s possi ble, he nce t he at tempts t o col lect as ma ny nu mbers as po ssible t hrough posters & the distribution of over 10,000 leaflets & special 'London for free' vouchers. Unfortunately, on the morning of the action our SMS email account was frozen (not sure if this was bureaucracy, crap technology or something more sinister!), but we still eventually managed to send texts to over 500 people (sorry to any- one who got it too late or not at all, we worked really hard to try and communicate with as many of you as we could – & we learnt how to do it better next time).*

Andrea: *I SE NT MY NUM BER TO B E INVOLVE IN MAYDAY PR OTEST, BUT I DID NOT GET AN Y MESSAGE BACK! TANX FOR NOT BEING INVOLVED!*

Voluntary Slave: *A text message brought us t o Bethnal Green. After a bit of a wait, during which a cop van turned up, we boarded a bus for Hackney. After a bit more of a wait, with the police hanging around in front of the bus, it b ecame apparent we weren't going to be moving any time soon, so the precarious multi- tude reclaimed our own labour power and started a stroll to Hackney. Unfortunately, by the time we made it to th e t arget, a massive po lice p resence had co rdoned off a samb a ban d, obviously terrified th at people might be having fun in the supermarket, rather than grimly spending like they ought to.*

1 of imc lon don: *I had a txt msg this morning, just before noon, inviting me to come to highbury and is- lington tube station. which i did, then passed a few met police and 2 of their vans and found a bunch of eu- romaydayers in highbury field s, walking back to the tube . Suddenly there were m any more police (...). It wasn't t hat ea sy t o get on t he tube, o ne pe rson was held back by p olice, an d at t he pl atform, there was a scuffle, seems that someo ne had wrapped a scarf rou nd his mo uth, and wa s fo rced to ta ke it o ff. pushing, hitting, suddenly a gang of about 40 met police sto rming down the platform. (...) The tube (...) wa s full but of course the met plc had to squeeze in. Quite brutal, shouting at people to move down the overcrowded tube, pushing.*

Appleman: *this clip illustrates probably one of the more surreal moments of the day, with both police and protestors scuffling and squashed together in a single carriage.*

Precarity Assembly : *By midday people w ere st arting t o make t heir w ay t o t he 2 meet -up p oints of Highbury & B ethnal G reen where sma ll bu t ag gressive contingents of cops w here met by t hose w ho were determined to make their w ay to t he action in Hackney central. At Highbury particularly, the level of trust, co-ordination and solidarity between people who were previously strangers was pretty amazing, as the 60 or so people a ssembled managed t o break thou gh police lines and barriers and free- ride th e tra in down to Hackney, and weather the punches and kicks from police to get off the train and run in unison down the road to the supermarket.*

1 of imc lon don: *We arrived in hackney central, running over the street, maki ng our way t o the tesco, running, followed by more police.*

Scene 2: In the Supermarket

Precarity Assembly: *The action in Tesco began at around 1.15pm when a group of activists already in the area made their way into the supermarket accompanied by a samba band. The band began playing and dancing round the aisles while hundreds of 'the story about Tesco' leaflets and Mayday 'London for Free' vouchers were given out to staff and shoppers, and speeches were made over a megaphone. A huge banner reading 'all we have to lose is our chainstores...' was unfurled, spanning the 20 or so checkouts. Shoppers danced and checkout staff stood up & took photos with their mobile phones.*

Rikki: *The pink sambaistas entered the store openly as a group, and started playing before security even noticed them. The manager asked them to leave, without success, and a scarily large security guy tried to block their progress, but the vibe was so good, that even he gave up and even jiggled a little. Meanwhile other activists had arrived and tried to unfurl the banner at the checkouts. At first, the security tried to stop them and there was a bit of scuffling, but as two community support officers and two police arrived the focus was on the band and the banner got unfurled.*

Rikki: *Shoppers and staff reacted very well to the stunt, as a large banner was unfurled "YOU HAVE NOTHING TO LOSE BUT YOUR CHAINSTORES". A protester with megaphone urged shoppers to take back something from Tesco's (who announced £2 billion profits recently).*

Precarity Assembly: *The initial cops on the scene were only a couple of community cops, who stood around not knowing what to do. Several of the staff expressed support for the action, and were aware that the action was in solidarity with them, although the manager initially panicked and tried to close the store.*

Precarity Assembly: *After about 15 minutes the Highbury contingent arrived, running into Tesco blowing whistles, closely followed by loads of cops who were ready to get heavy. The cops initially made a futile attempt to cordon people in an aisle, then resorted to dragging, punching and kicking people (particularly women) out of the store & trying to smash up the sound system. However, we were helped by at least one Tesco security guard trying to pull police off people, and many shoppers and staff expressed shock and disbelief at the violence of police actions.*

Scene 3: Police Cordon

Rikki: *After around fifteen minutes, the cavalry arrived (bigtime!!!). F.I.T. officers soon arrived with police photographers and the police heavies flooded in. Bystanders expressed shock and outrage at the over the top and heavy handed police tactics. Protesters comprised over around twenty sambaistas, a few dancers, and maybe another twenty or thirty activists involved. Seven vanloads of police stormed in and pushed the pink clad anti-capitalists out of the shop. I witnessed two quite violent arrests, with one person being pushed face down onto the ground. The protesters maintained their calm and non-violent tactics, regrouped in the carpark, held up the long banner, and danced awhile handing out leaflets before taking to the streets.*

1 of imc london: *Tesco. The door resembled the entrance to a high security building. lots of police guarding the entrance, but against who and what?*

Precarity Assembly: *Out in the car park, we were met by the Bethnal Green group (...) and loads more latecomers, and some members of the public managed to take full advantage of the disruption to normal shopping, and liberate goods from the store (helped by police not letting them back in to pay for stuff!). Holding the banner across the car park, our plan was to all parade down Mare street towards London Fields and have a party in the park. However, the police had other ideas. As we took the street next to the supermarket, police violently began to assault a samba dancer and others; and as we went to their rescue, they made a cordon around some people, later dragging others into the cordon. We were there for over an hour, but our spirits were high due to the continued solidarity of those on the outside shouting support and throwing us water and food, and by passers by shouting at the cops and cars hooting in support of us.*

Appleman: *Shortly following the Tesco demo, protestors and police exchange aggrevations (sic), followed by the police creating a "bubble" preventing protestors from leaving.*

Rikki: *The band were held in a small area on the pavement for a couple of hours. Fortunately, someone appeared on the roof of the 'SCOPE' shop and threw some bottles of water down to the band.*

1 of imc london: *London, 2.25pm. we are at Hackney Central, between the local tesco and Hackney Empire, in a small street called morning lane. a sambaband is playing playing playing. Maybe 30 Sambas and 60, 80 other people, surrounded by about the same number of met police, surrounded in turn by people with cameras taking pics and swinging. Bizarre. (...) One man has been arrested - pushed to the ground by police, and taken away*

1 of imc london: *Some people made it out of the strict police circle which seems to be a section 60 but was not announced as such. and where promptly caught by some met police, and forcefully pushed back into the circle.*

1 of imc london: *A woman passing by, hackney local, said: this is disgraceful, such a waste of time and money. I presume she meant the police action.*

Rikki: *After some negotiation, it was agreed they would be escorted to London Fields, and a massive police operation ensued to keep the small number of protesters enclosed as they did this. The lines of vans and huge numbers of cops effectively brought all local roads to a standstill.*

Scene 4: Marching through Hackney

Precarity Assembly: *We eventually (still surrounded by police and vans) managed our march down Mare street to London Fields and into the park.*

Rikki: *As they danced along Morning Lane, even more police reinforcements arrived. I counted twenty four vans, plus some ancillary vehicles including three top brass rangerovers. Two police photographers and the helicopter overhead witnessed the sight of all these cops pushing the (maximum 50) activists onto the pavement quite violently and corraling them in time-honoured fashion. Some people were pushed into the corral, and any remaining onlookers were kept away by further police lines. Shocked Hackneyites couldn't believe the over-reaction to what they saw as a harmless protest on a sunny afternoon.*

Precarious Imcista: *In what resembled a shoot from a spoof War movie, a weird procession of about 150 police followed by at least 15 police vans, accompanied some 80-100 protesters all the way to London Fields. Along the way, most people that had managed not to get penned in, continuously faced police officers pushing them whilst shouting into their faces "Get in! Now!'. Meanwhile the samba band started playing again, and the long banner was unfurled sideways creating a symbolic barrier between people and the police.*

Scene 5: Inside the Park

Precarity Assembly: *even inside the park, the cops still wanted trouble and some scuffles broke out with several people arrested. But we remained together and with support from people in the park (including a cricket team), we gathered to chant 'go home scum' & 'get out of our park' to the cops until they left; and we ended the afternoon as we'd hoped, all together, the band playing, a bit bruised but enjoying the sunshine and our Mayday celebrations.*

Precarious Imcista: *Finally, as the 'demonstration' was taken into the park, the cordon of police opened and people were let out. Taking advantage of a hot and sunny MayDay sunday, people set out to finally celebrate the day in the park. The banner was hung between two trees, the samba band kept playing, groups of people sat in circles talking, laughing, discussing the day's events ...*

Precarious Imcista: *all of a sudden, and again for no apparent reason but some obscure strategy, police started to arrest people once more. As it had happened earlier in the Tesco's action, police snatch squads moved into groups enjoying the day out in the park, and picked up people at will. Four more arrests took place in the park, all of which were resisted with the crowd angry at this sort of provocation. Due to the quick reaction and determination of some groups of people throughout the day, several protesters managed to escape being snatched.*

Scene 6: Reflections

Precarious Imcista: *The action showed that people is determined to regain control of their own lives, and to confront the 'logic' of capitalism with wit, joy, determination and conviction. It doesn't really matter if in Hackney there was, at times, more police than protesters. Because the reality shows another picture: that we are millions worldwide, and that we really are everywhere.*

Precarious Imcista: *Here in Europe, this sunday's Euro MayDay 05, saw thousands in many countries and cities: form Hackney to Barcelona, from Milano to Stockholm, and from Helsinky to Athens. All rebelling against the current precarious working and living conditions capitalism is trying to corner us into.*

Precarious Imcista: *So yes, officer, this is precisely what you are so afraid of, isn't it? As I said before, in Hackney's Tesco megastore there were millions, and all determined to reclaim back what is theirs. Are you going to arrest them all? You still don't get it, do you? We all only live once, and we refuse to live our lives second hand. You better understand it soon, because, after all, we all live under the same sky*

Guido: *The arrests and aggressive behaviour by the Police were met by an equal amount of determination/dignity/solidarity by the protesters inside and outside of the cordon. The demo was moved to London Fields were the party continued with the aid of the samba band. There was more Police aggression resulting in more arrests and solidarity/resistance. Eventually the cops withdrew after an afternoon of unecessary provocation and bullying. WELL DONE to everyone who turned out to protest, create, party and defy the intimidation.*

Rikki: *On the way to the park and at the park, minor scuffles broke out, and further arrests were made, bringing the total for the day to ten.*

Rikki: *Police used mayday as an excuse to act like bullies and thugs, but this time they kicked off in a park full of kids and families enjoying the glorious warm weather.*

Guido: *Some much for the claim in various newspapers that MAYDAY was no longer happening.......*

Andrea: *I DO NOT WHY IN ENGLAND THE MOVEMENT DOES NOT UNDERSTAND THAN IF U WANT TO OBTAIN CREDIBILITY U MUST GROWTH, BEING COMMUNICATIVE WITH PEOPLE*

Skippy: *A person was arrested on Mayday at the Tesco action and is looking for people who witnessed his arrest, and are wlling to write statements of what they saw, photographic and video evidence is welcome and much needed... Please send witness statements with a way of contacting you...people with images and video of the day can you please check your media if you have any recorded footage of this persons arrest...video evidence would be particularly helpful...if you can do anything to help you should get in touch via the email given...it is urgently needed, please please please please please please please please please please please please please please please please please as soon as possible...Regards Skippy*

Andrea: *WHAT IS HAPPENING NOW DURING THESE RADICAL PROTESTS IS JUST PATHETIC!!!*

Precarity Assembly: *The police will always attempt to stop Mayday and any other action we do, and continually attempt to destroy the movements we try to create. What is important is how we react and resist their repression, and to never give up. Mayday this year was a great example of people acting together in solidarity in the face of police aggression, and of our continued determination to take our struggle to the streets and communicate with people. As ever, the struggle continues...*

Sources: S_248, S_250, S_251, S_252, S_253, S_255, S_259, S_261, S_264, S_265, S_266, S_267. Format taken from Society and Caste. Edited by T. Edgar Pemberton