

Alternative Futures and Popular Protest, 2025

30th Anniversary Edition



Supported by the Department of Sociology at the University of
Manchester

Programme Overview

Monday	12:00-13:00	Registration
	13:00-14:40	Sessions 1A, 1B, 1C, 1D
	14:40-15:00	Comfort Break
	15:00-17:00	Plenary: Climate Justice Movements
	17:00-18:00	Wine Reception, HBS Foyer
Tuesday	09:00-10:40	Sessions 3A, 3B, 3C, 3D
	10:40-11:00	Comfort Break
	11:00-12:30	Sessions 4A, 4B, 4C, 4D
	12:30-13:30	Lunch Break, HBS Foyer
	13:30-15:10	Sessions 5A, 5B, 5C, 5D, 5E
	15:10-15:30	Comfort Break
	15:30-17:15	Plenary: Palestine Solidarity
Wednesday	09:00-10:40	Sessions 7A, 7B, 7C, 7D
	10:40-11:00	Comfort Break
	11:00-12:30	Sessions 8A, 8B, 8C, 8D

Social Meals

If you would like to attend any of our social meals, please be sure to register via this google form: <http://bit.ly/3HRBolf>. Times and locations are as follows, with more information coming on our website very soon: <https://www.movements.manchester.ac.uk/afpp/>

Monday, 6.30pm: [Kim's Kitchen](#), 49 Old Birley St, Hulme, Manchester. M15 5RF

Tuesday, 5.30pm: [Sandbar](#), 120 Grosvenor St, Manchester. M1 7HL

Wednesday, 1pm: [Platt Fields Market Garden](#), Platt Fields Park, Fallowfield, Manchester. M14 6LT

Introducing the Working-Class Movement Library

WORKING
CLASS
MOVEMENT
LIBRARY

The Working-Class Movement Library is an independent library and archive covering 200 years of working-class history. The library supports research, organising and community projects and offers tours, events and exhibitions. WCML staff will be attending AFPP during Tuesday lunchtime and are offering a tour to delegates on Wednesday afternoon. To register your interest, please use the google form linked above: <http://bit.ly/3HRBolf>.

Session 1A | Room G6 | Chair: Kevin Gillan

Protests as Resonant Events: Examining the Role of Music in the 2019 Chilean Uprising

Daniela Fazio Vargas (University of Manchester)

Abstract: Taking inspiration from the idea that protests are "eventful" and, therefore, capable of producing cognitive, relational, and emotional impacts on their participants (Della Porta, 2008), my research seeks to comprehend how music helps sustain political transformation through "resonant events." For this, it takes the Chilean Social Uprising as a case study. Social Movement scholars, particularly frame theorists, have resorted to the metaphor of resonance when explaining the alignment process (see Snow et al., 1986; Benford & Snow, 2000). Still, building different theoretical traditions (Miller, 2015; Rosa, 2019), and drawing on 47 interviews with demonstrators participating in the Chilean uprising, my work argues that part of the transformative power of music derives from the solidarity it produces, capable of continuing after the movements fade away but also resonates through time.

By emphasising the idea of eventfulness, my project seeks to explore the transformative effects of protests, which can be of particular relevance in contexts where, like the Chilean one, many institutional setbacks led to a general perception of failure. The term "event" alludes to explosive moments captured in a short duration, capable of modifying the space of possibilities, thereby making it possible to imagine alternative orders. Thus, the collective concerts during protests acted as "laboratories of experience" where alternative realities could come into play. Further, music fostered a sonic solidarity capable of bringing together people who, despite not crossing their paths before, were all fighting (and singing) for the same thing, but also contributed to developing transhistorical solidarity, mobilising memories and making people resonate with past and future struggles.

Keywords: event, eventful protests, resonance, music, sonic solidarity

El Bogotazo or the construction of the photographic image of disaster.

Richard Gerald-Rondón (Architectural Association School of Architecture)

Abstract: This essay interrogates the spatial and visual dynamics of the 9th of April 1948, widely known as El Bogotazo, a mass uprising that profoundly disrupted Bogotá's political and urban fabric. As a moment of rupture, this event not only reconfigured public life but also reframed the city's trajectory towards a form of modernity entangled with Cold War geopolitics and US security doctrines. Foregrounding the intersections of photography, print media, and urban space, the essay examines how the visual economy of El Bogotazo mediated both the spectacle of violence and the political undercurrents of modernisation. The analysis draws on period photographs and publications to unpack their dual role: as instruments of state-sanctioned narratives and as archives of contested spaces. These images, rather than

mere documentation, are read as sites of negotiation, revealing the spatial logic of repression and resistance that animated the urban landscape. By situating these photographs within a framework of “disaster imagery,” the essay moves beyond conventional readings of violence as event, proposing instead a lens that captures the phenomenology of spatial trauma. This lens illuminates how the city itself became a battleground of symbolic and material power, where modernisation unfolded not as progress but as a choreography of control, rupture, and insurgency. Through the photography-space-violence triad, El Bogotazo is reinterpreted as a paradoxical episode of urban transformation—one that exposed the fragility of state authority while inscribing new forms of political agency into the fabric of the city. Ultimately, this essay challenges conventional historiographies of post-war urbanism by demonstrating how visual and spatial mediums both construct and contest the politics of memory in the context of social upheaval.

Keywords: El Bogotazo, Spatial Modernity, Disaster Representation, Political Memory

Climate activism as dialogical counterculture: building bridges between Extinction Rebellion Finland and institutionalized art world

Sini Mononen (University of Helsinki), Heidi Partti (University of the Arts Helsinki)

Abstract: Climate activists are often portrayed as disruptors threatening societal stability. For example, actions by Just Stop Oil, Extinction Rebellion, and Next Generation, such as throwing liquids on the protective glasses of paintings or interrupting orchestral performances, have been criticized as aggressive and unconstructive (Niceforo 2024).

Similar perceptions extend to the climate movement Extinction Rebellion Finland (XR Finland). However, while movement harnesses disruptive strategies such as roadblocks, it can be understood to have committed to ecofeminist values, compassion, and ethics of care (Adams & Gruen 2014). Moreover, the movement actively integrates arts and music into its core strategy, engaging people from diverse artistic backgrounds. Through workshops, panel discussions, and collaborations with Finnish art institutions, XR Finland aims to point out the societal interdependency and to articulate the common goals of sustainability, cultural and ecological continuity and preservation (Oulanne & Mononen 2024).

Despite the collaborations, the relationship between XR Finland and art institutions, particularly higher music education, appears somewhat contradictory. Interviews with music professionals in XR Finland revealed disillusionment with music studies for their disconnect from the questions of the current risk society. For the interviewees, XR bridges artistic pursuits and global concerns, addressing gaps left by music education institutions shaped by individualistic, human-centered ideals and the focus on musical content and aesthetic experiences at the cost of wider societal issues.

In this presentation, we explore the relationship between XR Finland and Finnish arts institutions. In addition to discussing XR Finland in terms of an ecofeminist practice and dialogical counterspace aiming to build bridges between different parties, we will

contextualize the criticism pointed out by the activists of XR Finland towards Finnish art world in general and the field of music (education) in particular.

This presentation is based on a collaboration conducted within the context of an ongoing research project, Sounds for Change (Research Council of Finland), focusing on music as activism in Finnish climate movements.

Keywords: climate activism, ecofeminism, higher music education, ethics of care, XR Finland

Session 1B | Room G7 | Chair: Jenna Condie

The Jina Uprising: A Feminist Reimagining of Resistance in Iran

Firoozeh Farvardin (Department of Political Science, University of Vienna)

Abstract: The Jina uprising, sparked by the death of Jina (Mahsa) Amini in 2022, marks Iran's most significant and enduring revolutionary momentum in recent history. Initiated on resistance to compulsory hijab and broader intersectional forms of oppression, the uprising embodies distinctly feminist imaginaries and practices in reclaiming life. Unlike previous major protests limited to major cities, e.g., the green movement, the Jina uprising's decentralized, neighborhood-based model also redefines urban protest in Iran.

A hallmark of this revolutionary momentum was its subversion of conventional urban spaces. Acts of defiance—such as removing veils, cutting hair, and dancing publicly—transform the spaces of everyday life interactions, e.g., streets, neighborhoods, and digital platforms, into arenas of resistance. These performative protests reclaim spaces long denied to feminized bodies while also challenging processes of "genderification" that exclude women from certain spaces. The neighborhood-based and situation-making nature of the protests fosters "intimate" bonds among protesters and generates viral moments that sustain (trans)national solidarity. The "nonmovements" perspective provides a valuable framework for understanding everyday life politics in Iran, particularly to shed light on survival strategies in pre-Jina uprising contexts. However, in the years leading to the Jina uprising, everyday life politics moved beyond these subtle, non-confrontational actions to embrace visible collective resistance. Central to this shift is a "care-full" strategy, where dissidents actively prioritize care for one another, their communities, and shared environments. These care-driven connections transcend local scales, forging solidarity across physical and digital realms in the past decade. This shift transcends the conventional binary of prefigurative and contentious politics, relying instead on shared, care-driven networks.

Based on (cyber)ethnography and interviews with protesters/activists, the paper argues that the Jina uprising reimagines (urban) resistance and struggles, marking a transformative moment in Iran's history. Its decentralized, care-oriented networks and reclaimed urban spaces offer a new vision for future-oriented feminist practices and visions.

Keywords: Politics of Care, Contentious Politics, Prefigurative politics, Urban Protests, New Feminisms

Mobilising Care Against Crises: Framing Care In Social Activism in Hungary, Czechia, and Poland

Luca Sára Bródy (Södertörn University, Sweden & HUN-REN KRTK, Hungary), Michaela Pixová (Södertörn University, Sweden & Institute of Sociological Studies, Czechia) & Elżbieta Korolczuk (Södertörn University, Sweden & University of Warsaw, Poland)

Abstract: While many movements remain focused on single issues – such as environmental organisations prioritising ecological concerns and feminist groups emphasising women's rights – a growing number of collectives are seeking to bridge divides between climate, housing, labour, food sovereignty, feminist and LGBTQ+ movements. In this article we explore how activists in Hungary, Czechia and Poland are meeting the challenges of building coalitions that address complex, overlapping crises while working across inter—and intra-group differences. We note that in response to the ongoing debates about the need for a profound social change, especially of societal nature relations, activists in these three countries are increasingly mobilising care as a central framework for addressing interconnected crises. We examine how activists frame care as a value and practice to foster solidarity, bridge ideological divides, and counter technocratic depoliticisation. Through care, movements aim to build inclusive coalitions that address not only environmental and social justice concerns, but also the democratic rollbacks and socio-economic challenges that shape their contexts. By analysing these framing strategies, our research highlights the transformative potential of care as a relational and political force in a post-socialist context, offering a framework for building alliances capable of responding to the multifaceted crises of our time. Simultaneously, we also point to limitations and pitfalls of this framing strategy, resulting from its gendered connotations and the ways in which neoliberalism is conducive to devaluing caring practices.

Keywords: Care, Social movements, Environmentalism, Activism, Intersectionality, Post-socialism

The Shaheen Bagh movement and its care-focused aesthetic politics

Alisha Ibrar (University of Manchester)

Abstract: This paper examines the Shaheen Bagh movement (2019, India) of the elderly Muslim dadis (grandmothers) through the lens of a care-focused aesthetic politics, situating it within the broader framework of political aesthetics and relational ethics. Drawing on Jacques Rancière's concept of the "distribution of the sensible" and James Thompson's theorisation of the aesthetics of care, the study foregrounds the embodied, relational, and sensory practices that defined the protest. While the paper does take note of the ethics of care in practice at the site, the analysis, more particularly, delves into the quotidian, sensory dimensions—its "smellscapes,"

"soundscapes," and tactile practices—that transformed a sterile state-controlled highway into a vibrant site of resistance and solidarity.

The dadis of Shaheen Bagh enacted care through repeated acts of communal cooking, Qur'anic storytelling, and singing, materialising an alternative aesthetic order that resisted Hindutva modernity's exclusionary politics. These practices not only addressed the physical and emotional well-being of the protesters but also disrupted the State's hegemonic sensory logic, articulating an inclusive politics of visibility, audibility, and relational belonging. By creating a "sensoryscape" of resistance, the dadis challenged the moral and aesthetic hierarchies that marginalised Muslims and other minorities, offering an embodied counter-narrative to systemic oppression.

Central to this inquiry is the temporality of care, which, as Thompson and other care ethicists argue, actualises its transformative potential through sustained engagement. The dadis' endurance and repetitive acts of care reconfigured the ethical and sensory dimensions of political life, fostering a shared sensorial framework that bridged community and resistance. This paper argues that the Shaheen Bagh protest constitutes a rare instance of "politics" in Rancière's terms—a disruption of domination by those historically excluded—while demonstrating how care-based aesthetic politics can reshape social imaginaries, disrupt aesthetic injustices, and foster long-term ethical and political transformation.

Keywords: Care, aesthetics, sensoryscape, aesthetic injustice

Movements, Myth, or Mist? Exploring Perceptions of Chinese LGBTQ+ 'Movements' in a Demobilized Context

Ada Wang (University of Oxford)

Abstract: Recent years have witnessed increasing challenges for lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and queer (LGBTQ+) organizing in China. In such a demobilized context, people in the groups and organizations often navigate cautiously to avoid political sensitivity and unacceptance. While scholarly definitions of 'social movements' abound, how do organizers within these groups and organizations understand the term? Do they believe 'movements' still exist in such a restrained environment? What shapes their perceptions?

This study addresses these questions by drawing on 18 months of fieldwork and semi-structured interviews with 61 participants involved in LGBTQ+ groups and organizations. The findings reveal that the sensitivity of the 'movements' has led many to substitute it with 'LGBTQ+ nonprofit' and adopt a different set of language. Consequently, participants hold diverse views on whether the movements exist or what constitutes a 'movement.' The shrinking environment also leads to pragmatical thoughts and actions, rather than reflections on what one is participating in. Movement generation, participation length and depth, positions, and career plan impact whether individuals identify with the 'movement.'

Keywords: LGBTQ+ organizing, demobilized context, China, movement perceptions

Students of the Street: Understanding Bangladesh's Road Safety Movement and July Uprising

Anupam Debashis Roy (University of Oxford)

Abstract: This paper examines the dynamics of student-led movements in Bangladesh, focusing on the Road Safety Movement (RSM) of 2018 and the July Uprising of 2024, to understand how social movements thrive or falter under authoritarian regimes. Drawing on interviews, surveys, regression analyses, and theoretical frameworks from social movement studies, the study highlights the critical role of transformative events, framing tasks, and social movement organizations (SMOs) in sustaining protests. The RSM, despite effective framing, demobilized due to heavy-handed repression, lack of transformative events, and the absence of a strong SMO. In contrast, the July Uprising, fuelled by feelings of indignation and humiliation, successfully resisted repression through strong SMO leadership, effective framing, and the ability to adapt to state coercion. Some key transformative events made sure that the July Uprising did not demobilise under repression, but led to further mobilisation. The paper argues that the relationship between repression and mobilization is curvilinear for the RSM but J-shaped for the July Uprising, with transformative events acting as crucial turning points. By comparing these movements, the study sheds light on the conditions under which student-led protests can challenge authoritarianism, offering insights into the interplay of repression, framing, and organizational structures in social movements.

Keywords: Bangladesh, Road Safety Movement, political sociology, social movements, protests

Urban struggles in Sweden: in need of new approach?

Dominika V. Polanska (Södertörn University, Sweden) & Lisa Kings (Södertörn University)

Abstract: How do residents in cities fight for their rights? Loud and visible parts of urban struggles are usually the type of images that come to mind when we talk about urban struggles. How do urban dwellers organize and what do they do between demonstrations and mediatized actions, beyond the public eye? In our work we focus on the practices of the tenants' movement and the urban justice movement demonstrating the ability of members of marginalized communities in contemporary Sweden to resist and act together for the improvement of living conditions in cities. We propose an approach that is embedded and based on a processual, practice-oriented, and relational understanding of urban resistance. An approach that is going beyond the limited focus on outcomes and/or successes of urban movements, including small-scale mobilizations, service-oriented forms of action, unsuccessful actions, and everyday informal events, that can or not comprise and embed more publicly and highly visible action repertoires of mobilized groups in cities. Our contribution is twofold, in empirical terms, our work is, to our knowledge, the first attempt at synthesizing the history of Swedish urban struggles over a longer period. Secondly, we develop a conceptual approach to urban struggles combining

social movement framework with the approach of resistance studies to how action is done and its dynamics, explicitly recognizing the role of methodology for theory building, stressing the connection of theory making with the level of practice. The approach we propose has thus two interrelated dimensions: 1) the conceptual, as it goes beyond the most evident expressions of collective action in cities and their organizational forms, and 2) the methodological, as it requires specific methodology allowing for observing the less visible or mundane aspects of collective action and how they are interrelated with actions carried out in the public.

Keywords: urban struggles, resistance, urban movements, participatory methodology, Sweden.

The urban space in Colombian protests as layer of political identity

Omar Andres Campos Rivera (University of Manchester)

Abstract: This research proposes that the urban space contributes to the characterization of urban social movements. For this purpose, it makes a cartographic spatial analysis of the National Strike of 2021 in Bogota and Cali (Colombia), which was carried out by mapping the places and types of protest actions through a review of press and social networks, followed by contrast with data of multidimensional poverty, access to transport and relation to official urban divisions. The results show spatial patterns that allow to see strategies of spatial occupation of the protest, as well as a decentralization of actions that characterizes citizen agency. The main characteristic is the great variety of locations that cover almost all urban territories in the two cities. Another characteristic is that, although protests take place throughout the city, they follow patterns of dispersion and concentration, the most prominent of which are: concentrations in centers and peripheries -not in urban transition spaces- and the systematic location on main roads, especially those with mass transportation services. The latter suggests that the transportation infrastructure functions as a symbolic materialization of the state to which the protests respond. On the other hand, the role of poverty in the definition of places is more associated with proximity than with intersection, this in order to have greater visibility. The last characteristic is the importance of the consolidation of places of protest as a way of characterizing emerging urban social movements, in terms of their interaction with territorial limits and edges. This is due to the evidence of a process of territorial identity construction facilitated by protests, seen in interviews to protesters done by the press at the time.

Keywords: Urban Social Movements, Urban Space, Colombia, Spatial Analysis

The Estallido Social from the perspective of the protesters of the Paro Cívico de 1993: the development of a stock of legacies for urban protests in Bogota, Colombia

Carolina Cepeda-Másmela (Universidad Javeriana-Bogotá)

Abstract: The social outbreak (estallido social) between 2019 and 2021 marked a turning point in the mobilization in Colombia. Although the country has a rich history of social and political organization, protests of national scope, long duration and with a heterogeneous participation are not frequent, making the estallido social a process

that transformed traditional repertoires, created new targets for protests and changed the imaginaries about social protests, political participation and popular power.

Bogota was one of the cities with more protests and innovations in repertoires of mobilization during this period, being the young people from working-class and poorest neighborhoods key protesters. Some of those neighborhoods have a strong tradition of social and political organization, as the locality of Ciudad Bolivar where a huge civic strike (paro cívico) took place in October 1993 in a context of material and political vulnerability to get recognition and improve their living conditions.

This paper aims to explore the relation between the two moments stating that it is possible to observe a process of building a stock of legacies (Rossi, 2017), both in the locality and the city, that has contributed to change the social imaginaries about social protests, political participation and the role of disruptive repertoires in the interaction with more powerful interlocutors such the local and national authorities. In so doing, combines two strategies: first, it makes a press review of both moments to identify demands, agendas and main actors; second, it uses several interviews and focal-groups with leaders and protesters from the paro cívico and the estallido social in the locality to understand how people relate and interpret both moments according to their experiences.

Keywords: Social mobilization, social organization, stock of legacies, Colombia, estallido social, paro cívico

Session 1D | Room G33 | Chair: Elise Imray Papineau

Young Chinese feminists organising in Japan: The transformation of political subjectivity through social movement participation

Yushuang Yang (Ritsumeikan University, Japan)

Abstract: In the past few years, diasporic Chinese feminist groups have emerged on social media and organised various offline protests and events in cities of democratic countries, including Japan, while such activities are severely prohibited in China. Unlike earlier generations of diasporic Chinese activists, young feminists not only protest about Chinese domestic issues but also advocate for local and global movements. Existing literature contends the transformative effect on individuals through social movement participation. This study conducts participatory observation in several feminist gatherings and interviews with Chinese feminists, presenting their reflections on their personal experiences before and after social movement participation in Japan. This study constructs the analysis through the concept of “political subjectivity,” which is closely related to belief, worldview, sense of belonging, and identity, and argues that diasporic young Chinese feminists’ political subjectivity is shaped by the intersection of opportunities/limitations for activism in new residence country, experiencing agency with allies, interaction with different authorities, and concerns over safety. This study concludes with the potential impacts that such activism could bring to resistance in residence country and beyond.

Keywords: political subjectivity, diaspora, feminist activism, identity

‘The World We Re-met’: the reinterpretation, renovation and reproduction of protest cultures

Ji-Eun Ahn (University of Edinburgh)

Abstract: This paper aims to explore how protest cultures have been reinterpreted, renovated and reproduced in South Korea through the case study of Candlelight Vigils. Candlelight Vigil (Chotbuljipoe) or Candlelight Cultural Festival (Chotbulmunhwaje) has been routinised as a predominant form of public protest in South Korea since the early 2000s, of which the nonviolent tactic allowed a wide range of participants to take to the streets (J. Ahn, 2024). Given that confrontational and violent repertoires were primarily deployed in the anti-dictatorship movements of the 1970s and 80s, and gradually lost ground after the democratic transition in 1987, this nonviolent form of protest represents one of the significant tactical innovations. Furthermore, the Candlelight Vigils demonstrate that the decentralized, flexible and horizontal networks on the Internet have enabled individuals not only to mobilise themselves but also to create, nurture and diffuse protest cultures outside the membership of traditional social movement organisations. Meanwhile, as the festive features have become more emphasised in the Candlelight Vigils over time, a variety of cultural practices have permeated and influenced the protest cultures. For instance, during the ongoing Candlelight Vigil calling for President Yoon to step down, hundreds of thousands of protesters are waving hand-held light sticks, each representing a K-pop fandom with its own unique size, shape and colour, instead of candlelight, and dancing to K-pop songs, such as Girls’ Generation’s ‘Dasi Mannan Segye (which, if translated literally, means ‘The World We Re-met’)’. Drawing on a comparative case study of the 2016-17 vigil calling for the impeachment of President Park and the 2024 vigil calling for the impeachment of President Yoon, this study investigates how the elements of protest cultures have been reinterpreted, renovated and reproduced in post-democratic South Korea. In doing so, we will discuss how symbolic meanings in protest cultures are transmitted and transformed across generations.

Keywords: Candlelight Vigils, protest cultures, repertoires of protests, democracy, K-Pop fandom, South Korea

Shifting temporality: representation and governance in digital social movements

Claire Crawford (University of Cambridge)

Abstract: As many theorists of the digital have noted, time works differently in digital space. However, there is a lack of satisfactory engagement with postcolonial theorising of temporality in the study of digital social movements. In arguing that “clock time” has been usurped by “timeless time”, for example, Castells (2012) historicises and universalises the experience of the US-based Occupy movement, at the expense of social movements that have had different experiences of the shifting temporality of the digital. I thus ground this paper in conversation with the debate about the temporality of modernity: Anderson (1983)’s observation that politics (and capital) exist within “empty homogenous time” and Chatterjee (2003)’s critique of this as a

historicist imagining. It is a theoretical misnomer to consider that the changing temporality of the digital is evenly distributed: the effects are felt differently in different contexts, and this distribution is mediated by (colonial, capitalist) power.

For social movement organisers, the shifting temporality has been both a useful tool and – less discussed – presents greater risk. As a tool (or ‘repertoire of contention’), social media content’s (semi-)permanence allows for greater reach, and acts as institutional memory for the movement. Several scholars have detailed the potential and successes of digital activism and digital organising (Gerbaudo, 2012; Chaudhuri & Fitzgerald, 2015). The ability to spread organisational deliberation across time (and space) allows movements to ensure greater internal representation. Conversely, these same attributes allow for greater surveillance, and thus governance, of movements and their activists. Informed by my own digital fieldwork with feminist activists in northern India, the paper presents empirical illustration of these new mechanisms of both representation and governance. It argues for greater attention to postcolonial theories of temporality in creating new conceptual frameworks for understanding contemporary digital politics through social movement research.

Keywords: Digital movements; digital activism; temporality; postcolonial theory; governance; representation

Monday, 15:00–17:00

Patterns of Climate Disobedience 2018-2025

Plenary | Cordingly Lecture Theatre

Chair: Peter Cox (University of Chester)

Discussant: Brian Doherty (Keele University)

This session focuses on experiences and analysis of the cycle of climate disobedience that began in the UK in 2018. It is based around a dialogue between academics who have researched UK climate disobedience in this period from different perspectives, and activists who share their first-hand experiences to reflect and consider future directions.

From Tell the Truth to Truth-Telling: Climate Disobedience in the English Courts, 2019-2025

Graeme Hayes (Aston University)

Abstract: In this talk, I discuss the evolution of court strategy over the course of the current/recent climate protest cycle, from the plea hearings of Extinction Rebellion activists to the trials of Just Stop Oil defendants. I argue that XR’s initial activism was characterised by constructing the courts as a democratic space, where ‘telling the

truth' could find a potential institutional echo. From 2021 onwards, however, the potential of the courts as a site where justifying disobedience could be legally heard has been progressively closed off. In response, defendants have innovated tactically, including through JSO's adoption from spring 2023 of a resistant 'truth-telling' as an act of non-compliance with the courts. These innovations and resistances remain nevertheless subject to the power of the courts, whose disciplinary function has evolved to a more clearly repressive one.

Climate Disobedience as Prophetic Action: Learning from the intersection between religion and climate activism

Gemma Edwards & Finlay Malcom (University of Manchester) with Rev'd Mark Coleman

Abstract: We examine the learnings that can be taken about the recent cycle of climate disobedience from a consideration of the intersection between religion and climate activism. We focus on Christians variously involved in Extinction Rebellion, Insulate Britain, and Just Stop Oil in 2018-2025, and who participated in surveys and interviews. We look at the ways in which the Christian prophetic tradition adds a distinctive framing to climate activism and lends a moral resilience to civil disobedience understood as embodied 'truth telling' and 'action without desire' (Dear, 2022). We reflect on what it contributes to understandings of XR to view it as a secular version of the prophetic imagination (Williams, 2021), and how disobedience by those of faith may change in the face of legal obstacles. In this respect, the latter part of the talk turns to activist reflections from Rev'd Mark Coleman on the cycle of climate disobedience and its future directions from a faith perspective.

From spy journalists to tech surveillance – We are policed out of climate protest

Lex, Climate Action Support Pathway

Abstract: Although environmental, animal rights and anti-war groups have been overpoliced for decades, the recent additions to police powers, collaboration with right-wing press and new technology have made it ever more risky to think about protesting. The Orwellian thought crime – meant to have only existed in fiction – has led to tens if not hundreds of arrests in just the past few years. What safeguards are there for grassroots organising and communities who protest? Who saves us from the police state?

Panel Biographies



Brian Doherty, is an Emeritus Professor of Political Sociology at Keele University. He has worked with and published on many environmental movements, including green parties, UK roads protests in the 1990s, Friends of the Earth International and Extinction Rebellion (with Graeme Hayes and Clare Saunders). He is currently working on a study of criminal trials of protesters with Graeme Hayes, Steven Cammiss and Jo Gilmore.



Graeme Hayes is Reader in Political Sociology at Aston University. His teaching and research focus on environmental protest, civil disobedience, and the criminal trials of activists for their participation in disruptive non-violent direct action. His most recent books are *Breaking Laws: Violence and Civil Disobedience in Protest* (Amsterdam UP, 2019, with Isabelle Sommier and Sylvie Ollitrault), and *La Désobéissance civile*, now in its third edition with Presses de Sciences Po. He is a former Editor of both *Environmental Politics* and *Social Movement Studies*.



Gemma Edwards is a Senior Lecturer in Sociology at the University at Manchester. She has researched the high-risk activism of suffragettes and is currently involved in an AHRC project on religion and climate activism. Publications include the book *Changing Climate, Changing Religion* (Routledge, forthcoming, with Peter Scott, Celia Deane-Drummond and Finlay Malcolm), 'Mapping Suffragettes Political Journeys' in the *Routledge Companion to British Women's Suffrage* (2024, ed. Krista Cowman), and *Social Movements and Protest* (2014, CUP).



Finlay Malcolm is a Research Associate at the University of Manchester. His work currently investigates movements of environmental activism and advocacy amongst religious groups in the UK. He has published on topics including environmental activism, the epistemology of groups and networks, democratic reform, and the ethics of trust and faith. He is the co-author of the monographs *Changing Climate, Changing Religion* (Routledge, forthcoming, with Peter Scott, Celia Deane-Drummond and Gemma Edwards), and *A Philosophy of Faith* (Routledge, 2022 with Michael Scott).



Reverend Mark Coleman is a priest in the Church of England. He was Vicar of Rochdale and served as the Bishop of Manchester's Borough Dean until his early retirement in 2020. He is an active supporter of Christian Climate Action, Extinction Rebellion, Insulate Britain, and Just Stop Oil. Mark has been arrested 18 times, and been imprisoned twice for his protest. He remains subject to several High Court injunctions. He intends to serve the public good through nonviolent resistance, community building and truth-telling.



Lex is an international activist who left the legal profession to pursue justice and total liberation through democratic means. Disillusioned by increasing corruption in UK law, Lex has found that the only legitimate route to justice is through people-powered organising and nonviolent direct action. They are the co-founder of Climate Action Support Pathway (CASP) which works to support those who have taken action. Today, they work with different movements and groups to empower activists in the courtroom and to expose the violence and corruption of the elite.

Session 3A | Room G6 | Chair: Josh Bunting

Education rights and teaching controversial issues: Considering the relationship between schools and social movements in Hong Kong and Thailand

Helen Hanna (University of Manchester)

Abstract: This presentation considers school-based education in Hong Kong and Thailand against the backdrop of significant youth-led social movements. Focusing on the school subject of citizenship education, it explores how the curriculum has changed over time in response to social unrest, and how social movements might also be influenced by schools.

Education has long been a focal point of government resources in societies experiencing division, social movements and unrest. Citizenship education has received particular attention, not least because it is a site which is considered by politicians and policy-makers to be the solution for contemporary societal ills, and a mechanism for socialisation into the type of citizen the state wishes to create. This presentation argues that citizenship education offers the possibility of teaching of politically controversial issues – long considered essential to a democratic society in ‘Western’ states – even in schools in illiberal and hybrid societies, and explore how that can be framed as an education right. In Hong Kong, it looks at the ‘Scholarism’ movement, which began in 2012 as a protest against a proposed change to Moral and National Education, with young activists eventually joining the wider pro-democracy movement. In Thailand, it looks at the ‘Bad Student’ Movement of 2020, that started as a protest against strict school rules, and spilled over into joining wider protests in support of democratic and monarchical reform. In both societies, the social movement elicited a violent state response, with some of the activists now incarcerated. The presentation ends more hopefully, considering the potential for the curriculum and teachers to support social movements for social justice in such societies, and for young people themselves taking the lead through harnessing the power of social media to connect across space and time.

Keywords: school, citizenship education, Hong Kong, Thailand, rights

The Anti-Patriarchy Movements Led by Chinese Female Students in Japan: A Study of the Magazine of The New Chinese Woman in the Late Qing Dynasty

Jin Dou (Ritsumeikan University)

Abstract: This study focuses on the anti-patriarchy movement initiated by Chinese women in Japan during the early 20th century. The acquisition of educational rights for Chinese women in the public sphere (outside the traditional inner chambers) can be traced back to the late Qing Dynasty (1870s-1910s). During this period, the first cohort of female students traveled to Japan, marking the earliest instance of Chinese women studying abroad. Driven by a desire to elevate the social status of their fellow

women, the movements initiated by early Chinese women studying in Japan often exhibited a “trinity” characteristic: first, forming women’s associations; second, publishing women’s magazines; and finally, returning to China to establish women’s schools. Through these movements, they translated and transferred knowledge gained in Japan back to China, thereby sowing the seeds of a new conceptualization of the “gender order.” At the same time, they proposed a series of ideas and initiatives opposing the patriarchal social system that upheld male superiority over women. The primary source of analysis for this study is the Magazine of The New Chinese Woman, the most widely circulated women’s publication founded by Chinese female students in Tokyo in 1907, analyzing the identities and perspectives of its contributors. Based on this analysis, the study elucidates how late Qing Chinese female students envisioned the existence of the “New Woman” and explored the possibilities of a redefined gender order. One of the magazine’s contributors, Qingru Sun, compiled a ten-volume Female Instructor’s Lecture based on her studies at Seijo Women’s School in Tokyo from 1906 to 1907. This research will also examine and analyze these lectures, illustrating how female students, represented by Qingru Sun, disseminated gender knowledge learned in Japan back to China, and outlines the realities of the anti-patriarchy movements during the late Qing Dynasty.

Keywords: Anti-patriarchy movement, Anti-patriarchy movement, Chinese female students in Japan, Knowledge transfer and dissemination, Gender order redefinition, Women’s magazines, Women’s associations

Persistent Masking as Social Movement Development and Learning

Kaela Jubas (University of Calgary)

Abstract: In this paper, I discuss a narrative inquiry with 17 adult persistent maskers—those who persevered with indoor masking through spring 2023—based in the two western Canadian cities. Although anti-maskers have been positioned as a new social movement, similar attention has not been paid to those who continued to mask after public health spokespeople, politicians, and others who championed masking in earlier phases of the COVID-19 pandemic dropped masking from discourse and practice. This analysis extends my thinking about masking as an example of public pedagogy—the education that happens outside formal classrooms through everyday encounters and experiences (Sandlin et al., 2011). Masking functions as both a response to public pedagogues and a form of public pedagogy that conveys something to maskers and non-maskers alike. In this paper, I wonder whether masking can function similarly with regard to social movement development and learning, as it marks both alignment with existing social movements (e.g., disability rights, workers’ rights, citizen science, public health) and a burgeoning social movement in itself.

Considering masking as movement, I employ a cultural analysis and attend to “three basic categories of cultural factors: ideations, artifacts, and performances” (Johnston, 2009, p. 6). Although they differed in their masking and associated practices (e.g., extensiveness of masking, supplementation of masking with other measures) and rationales (e.g., self-protection, protection of acquaintances, social obligation),

participants shared key understandings and beliefs about the importance of masking and the failure of public health officials. As artifacts, masks spurred holistic learning that had cognitive (e.g., efficacy), sensory (e.g., physical comfort), and affective (e.g., aesthetics) dimensions. Always public, masking has become a social performance that is, for the masker, informed by ideational and artifact-related learning and, for non-maskers, interpreted in juxtaposition to a range of ideational messages that they have encountered and absorbed or rejected.

Keywords: social movement learning, masking, cultural analysis, public pedagogy

The kitchen-work of collaborative research: recipes for transformative methodologies

Michaela Pixová (Södertörn University, Stockholm)

Abstract: Despite the long tradition of qualitative research and participatory approaches in social sciences, issues concerning collaborative methodologies in research are often located at the bottom of the knowledge hierarchy. We want to place them at the centre of social movement research and direct the attention to the processes of collaboration through which transformative knowledge is produced. We propose the metaphor of ‘kitchen-work’ to focus on how ‘recipes’ for collaborative research and its ‘cooking’ are done together with collective actors in aiming for a more equitable and sustainable society. The metaphor illustrates methodological approaches where preparatory, relational and often invisible work is done in research with collective actors. Using classification of methodologies within, against and beyond academia, we distinguish several recipes for research collaboration with collective actors and provide practical suggestions on how collaborative research projects could be ‘cooked’ together.

Keywords: collaborative methodologies, activist research, neoliberal academia, social movements, Eastern Europe

Session 3B | Room G7 | Chair: Chris Saltmarsh

Forging Multispecies Justice Alliances

Heather Alberro (University of Manchester)

Abstract: Contemporary environmental mobilisations in the Global North have, thankfully, become more intersectional (Thomas 2022) in their diagnostic and prognostic framings since their earlier iterations in the 1970s (Bari 1992; Alberro 2023). Activist groups like Earth First!, Extinction Rebellion and Just Stop Oil (JSO)—though they remain predominantly white and middle class (Hayes et al 2020; Bell 2021)—increasingly avow the inextricable links between social and ecological wellbeing, in part due to the growing influence of global discourses around climate justice (Claeys et al 2017). However, in this paper I argue that many key ecological mobilisations in the global north, particularly Just Stop Oil and Extinction Rebellion, remain limited in their transgressive capacity due to (1) the persistence of singular (and at times apolitical) diagnostic and prognostic framings, which impede the forging

of active alliances with BIPOC and working-class communities at the front lines of environmental devastation, and (2) a pervasive anthropocentrism, rooted in a longstanding legacy of Western dualisms (Nature/culture, human/animal). Through multispecies-justice (Celermajer et al 2022; Chao et al 2022) and decolonial-ecological (Ferdinand 2021) lenses, I enquire: whether the other-than-human in movement visions of better, more sustainable futures? How ought contemporary ecological mobilisations to mitigate the socio-ecological injustices associated with new waves of (neo)extractivism of rare earth minerals (Zografos 2022) for powering global Net Zero transitions? How can we better unite struggles for land sovereignty, climate justice, biodiversity, food and financial justice in an effort to build multispecies alliances for liberated futures? I suggest that a crucial starting point is for environmental mobilisations in the Global North to become more thoroughly (re)politicised, intersectional, and multispecies.

Keywords: Ecotopia, Multispecies justice, radical environmental movements, decolonise

Unmasking sustainable development: Eco-development as a potential solution from the South to the Global Environmental Crisis.

Javiera Estenssoro (University of Bristol)

Abstract: The research analyses the inherent contradiction between capitalism and the environment and questions the efficacy of sustainable development, imposed by the Global North, as a solution to the Global Environmental Crisis. From an anti-capitalist and anti-colonialist perspective, it argues that this hegemonic approach is flawed because the inherent antinomy between capitalist logic and the environment. The thesis proposes the theory of eco-development as an alternative theory to sustainable development. Eco-development is a theory which has emerged from the Global South, and which seeks a real balance between the satisfaction of human needs and nature, moving away from the market logics that have perpetuated exploitation and environmental degradation. This study draws mainly on anti-colonial theories, especially those of Latin American scholars and on anti-capitalist theories to understand and challenge the hegemony of Western thought in development practices and its impact on the configuration of a world system that marginalises countries in the Global South.

Keywords: Capitalism, Global Environmental Crisis, sustainable development, eco-development, Global North, Global South, neoliberalism

Resisting capitalist pressures against Indigenous Peoples: Ambivalent coalitions in the case of the Philippines

Karin-Ulrike Nennstiel (Hokusei-Gakuen-University)

Abstract: With the end of formal colonialism in many places, former roles of colonizers were taken over by domestic elites without substantive structural changes or improvements in the conditions of those having been exploited for decades or even

centuries. This holds true in particular with regard to minorities and indigenous peoples (IP) in all parts of the world.

Based on field work and expert interviews, the paper aims to explore ambivalent support for IPs in the Philippines, focusing on the situation of the Aita living on Boracay island and on Aeta (Ayta) people in Zambales (Luzon). Boracay was discovered by the US tourism industry in the 1970s, and the Aita continuing to live on the island today are fighting to retain at least a slight part of what has been acknowledged as their ancestral domain. In Zambales, the sustainable lifestyle of the Aeta was threatened by powerful investors interested in copper mining.

Critical of missionaries and their century-long role in colonization, in both of the empirical case studies, the author found a group of nun missionaries, to turn into active – and in one case, eventually successful – supporter of the IP. Social workers, on the other hand, intending to help indigenous people escape from poverty and marginalization, have tended to try to convince young individuals to leave their community and give up their indigenous lifestyles in exchange for the chance to climb up the social ladder in the capitalist mainstream society. Summing up, the paper focuses on the question of how capitalist dynamics are influencing the respective roles of different groups of missionaries and social workers, and vice versa, including the effects thereof on the survival of IP in their communities.

Keywords: Indigenous Peoples, capitalist pressure, missionaries, social workers, Philippines

Session 3C | Room G32 | Chair: Claire Crawford

Serbia's "Movement Society": How the Student Movement Led Non-Institutional Resistance to Its Peak

Filip Balunovic (Institute of Philosophy and Social Theory, University of Belgrade)

Abstract: The concept of "movement society" developed to describe two related, but not identical phenomena: first, that more people seemed to be using what had previously been seen as unconventional forms of political action; and second, that as these forms continued to be used, they were becoming conventionalized (Tarrow 1994,117). Over the past ten years, Serbia appears to have transformed into precisely that: a "movement society." The recent wave of student protests and activism has made this designation unequivocal and undeniable. Among the various possible focal points, this article adopts a macro perspective, seeking to illuminate the structural factors that have contributed to these developments. Beyond the authoritarian tendencies that emerged after the ruling SNS took power in 2012, along with widespread corruption and nepotism, my central argument is that Serbia's evolution into a "movement society" has been significantly shaped by the lowering of the electoral threshold from five to three percent. This was a critical juncture that ultimately laid bare the true nature of the government.

Protests and non-institutional political engagement, namely, tend to become more conventionalized in contexts where institutional access is restricted. In countries like Turkey or Greece, high electoral thresholds or majoritarian electoral systems prevent smaller political organizations from entering institutions. As a result, street protests and non-institutional "direct social actions" become the primary means of political expression for underrepresented segments of the population. In Serbia, the lowering of the electoral threshold was intended to reduce or soften non-institutional resistance that had developed before, by encouraging the dissatisfied to leave the streets and enter parliament through their representatives. However, the effect was quite the opposite. Rather than signaling a genuine opening of political institutions this move by the government only reinforced Serbia's authoritarian trajectory. It became evident that institutional presence did not equate to true political representation. Instead, the ruling SNS, led by an authoritarian president and backed by an oligarchic elite, rendered institutional engagement increasingly futile.

Therefore, young people, led by students, became the driving force behind the strongest and most effective rebellion against the government and failing institutions in the past 13 years. Although lowering the electoral threshold initially appeared to "soften" street resistance, this superficial institutional opening ultimately backfired on the ruling political elite. The dishonesty of the move became evident, and non-institutional resistance surged to its peak following an event that fully exposed the corruption of the system in its entirety.

The 'People' and the politics of Assembly

Udeпта Chakravarty (New School for Social Research)

Abstract: This paper aims to contribute to democratic theory, collective identity and social movement theory by examining how—drawing on the works of Hardt and Negri, and Judith Butler—the politics of Assemblies generate and constitute the political subjectivity of 'the people.' The foundational principle of modern liberal Republics – 'sovereignty of the people' – is both a mythic ideology but also its normative grounds of legitimacy. It is the normative grounds of legitimacy because all constitutionally legitimate authority is exercised in the name of the 'people.' All politics seeks to be authorized by this subject. It is mythic because any 'people' is fictional and has no determinate empirical reference and It is ideological because the 'people' is a unity that subsumes division and conflict internally. 'People' is thus a politico-discursive battleground of modern politics. Much of the contemporary sociological and political theory scholarship concerning the "people" occurs through the analytic of 'populism.' And social movement literature on collective identity has very rarely interrogated the master subjectivity of politics: 'the people.' I contend that there are other, non-populist, political modalities of subjectification of 'people.' Specifically, I want to suggest that there is an assemblyist modality of subjectification of the 'people' that is visible empirically in many anti-governmental social movements where bodies assemble to claim and durably occupy public space. These assemblies discursively constitute and performative enact the collective subjectivity of 'people'; a 'people' that is emergent and always a process in opposition. Social movement literature on collective identity

doesn't look at the dynamics, utterances and performative practices of such assemblies to understand how assemblyism is a distinct non-populist mode of identity formation. I will give an account of the elementary aspects of the assemblyist modality—its dynamics and practices of identity creation.

Keywords: People, Assemblies, Populism, Social Movements

Amplifying Voices Through Alternative Means: Facebook's Role in Strengthening Social Movements in Angola

Israel Campos (University of Leeds)

Abstract: This study explores the role of Facebook as a communication platform for revolutionary and reformative social movements in Angola, emphasizing its importance in fostering democratic participation. By examining the strategies and tactics these movements employ to engage with stakeholders, the research highlights the significance of Facebook in contexts where traditional media are tightly controlled. The study adopts an explanatory sequential mixed-methods approach. First, a content analysis was conducted on the Facebook pages of two reformative movements, EcoAngola and Associação Angola Rescue, and two revolutionary movements, Movimento Cívico Mudei and Movimento Vamos Sair de Angola. Second, semi-structured interviews were held with communication managers from these organizations. Using an interdisciplinary framework grounded in communication theories, civic participation, and social movement studies, the findings reveal that Facebook serves as a vital tool for information dissemination and digital mobilization. Moreover, the reliance on Facebook is driven by limited access to traditional press due to state media control. This research contributes to the understudied field of social media's role in Angolan social movements, providing insights into their digital practices and the broader implications for activism in restrictive political environments.

Session 3D | Room G33 | Chair: Meng Kou

Ordinary Criminals or Political Revolutionaries? Hunger Strikes in Colonial Indian Prisons, 1929-1933

Kamalpreet Kaur (University of Manchester)

Abstract: This paper will explore how different penal, legal, and moral realities were constituted in the late colonial period around the perennial question of 'what it meant to act politically' (Agamben, 2005). What is crucial to my argument is how these realities that structured the idea of being a political actor in this time were tied to two entirely different commonsensical approaches to the placement of violence/non-violence, moral perversity/moral virtue, selfishness/selflessness, extraordinary/mundane in the domain of the political. These two discursive models, one that belonged to the colonial formation and the other to the anti-imperial forces, would make it easier to speak about the depoliticisation of violent political critique and the continuous efforts to sublimate its moral effects. The argument will focus on the Lahore Conspiracy Case prisoners, who went on a hunger strike to subvert the

significant powers of the colonial juridical order that categorised them as ordinary criminals. The word 'political prisoner' does appear in a number of official documents, but the colonial state usually subsumed it within other wider categories to dilute any implications resulting from permitting it in official penological discourses. Whereas the legal form inscribed the revolutionaries' conspiratorial crimes as containing elements of 'moral turpitude', the public hailed these insurrectionary actions as patriotic. The shift away from legally recognising the political offender was to continually limit how the idea of politics was defined, modulated and authorised in this period. Any radical political act that was intricately connected to violence had to be repositioned and sublimated by becoming a marginal category within the frame of 'special class prisoners'. The aim was to produce categories, at times more vague than precise, carrying legislative weight and sanctioned by the colonial carceral discourse, even though these ideas remained perpetually alienated from public opinion.

Keywords: Political Prisoners, Hunger Strikes, Colonial Penology, Resistance

'Brown'-ing the way out of Caste Privilege: The erasure of caste in feminist movement spaces

Bhavani Kunjulakshmi (Maynooth University)

Abstract: This paper explores whether it is possible to develop a sisterhood grounded in solidarity when the safety of racialised, DBA and Muslim organisers are compromised. DBA refers to Dalit, Bahujan and Adivasi communities that are oppressed by caste hierarchy justified by the ideology of Brahmanism. When decentering the emotions and opinions of the most marginalized communities is considered a necessary sacrifice for a movement to be effective in achieving its goals, it becomes important to ask who the movement is for and whose interest it is serving. Some feminists argue that the movement can only be effective in achieving its goals by overlooking internal differences and oppressions. In effect the argument is that decentring the emotions and analysis of the most marginalized person amongst the people of marginalized gender identities is a necessary sacrifice. But in this case it becomes important to ask who the movement is for and whose interest it is serving. The changes brought about by such movements might help feminists from dominant groups succeed within the oppressive structure while the structure itself isn't dismantled. White supremacy and Brahmanism have always had a symbiotic relationship, first in the context of colonised South Asia and now, globally; and Zionism has been their common friend. This is visible in the way a shared handbook is used for the occupation of Palestine and Kashmir, in the weaponization of white tears and savarna tears to demonise Muslim/DBA men or in the hypersexualisation of Black and DBA femininities. However, that is only a tip of the iceberg and the roots of this pattern are visible in the grassroots movement spaces of feminism. When we identify and address the reproduction of oppressive structures within movement spaces, powerful voices tell us that this is a case of the revolution devouring its own children. But then what exactly do they mean by revolution, and who is it for?

Keywords: Black feminism, Dalit feminism, social movements, gender

From Mau Mau to Gen-Z protests in Kenya: Lessons for contemporary social movements

Peninah Wangari-J (University of Manchester and the Racial Justice Network) & Njuki Githethwa (University of Johannesburg)

Abstract: The Kenya Land and Freedom Army (KLFA), popularly known as the Mau Mau movement was an anti-colonial liberation struggle in Kenya. It was conceived and birthed in the late 1940's and was active until Kenya gained its independence in 1963. It was an uprising and revolt that was led by the African people in Kenya who could not bear the weight or ignore any longer the injustice and oppression meted them by British colonialism. The movement which organised and mobilised underground and was undetected before emergence in 1952 employed a sophisticated web of action with multiple roles, methods and tactics including the most significant one which was the armed resistance.

The movement inspired many oppressed and colonised nations globally. Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o points out that the Mau Mau movement was among the first native liberation movements which managed to stop and reverse white settler colonialism and occupation across the world.

June 2024 saw a wave of protests in Kenya by the youth, led by the GenZs, who were frustrated with the state of affairs in the country under an incompetent leadership. The protests which were viewed as tribeless, leaderless, partyless and fearless, had national reach with protests erupting in many cities and towns in Kenya. The uprising continues to date.

Keywords: Mau Mau movement, Colonialism, Coloniality, anticolonial resistance, liberation struggles, Gen-Z Kenya.

Shame, violence and the stigma machine: Reckoning with the ethics of forensic psychiatry

Piyush Pushkar (University of Manchester)

Abstract: The medical specialty of forensic psychiatry aims to minimize future violence by focusing on individual perpetrators, thus overlooking the root causes of violence. This paper examines forensic psychiatry's complicity with the carceral apparatus of the state, highlighting that marginalized individuals are disproportionately involved with the justice system and consequently, forensic psychiatry.

Drawing on the works of James Gilligan and Frantz Fanon, I critique the narrow focus of forensic psychiatry. Gilligan formulates shame and humiliation as key drivers of violence. Although he recognises that certain demographic groups experience more shame, he fails to recognise the societal structures that contribute to that shame, and the work such shaming does to keep marginalised people down. Gilligan's model prioritizes reducing violence but does not consider that overcoming social injustices like inequality and discrimination might necessitate violence. Furthermore, Fanon's view was that violence can be a means of reclaiming dignity and overcoming colonial alienation. Fanon's approach suggests that violence might be both strategically and psychologically necessary for the oppressed.

Fanon advocates for collective resistance to build group consciousness and reconstitute individual humanity. Organising as a people allowed a group consciousness to be built, through which the humanity of each individual could be reconstituted. Part of this process was Fanon's sociogenic approach, which turned the clinical gaze on its head. Rather than listing a patient's symptoms to understand their diagnosis, Fanon instead sought to address the structural causes of suffering and engage with institutional change beyond the clinic to better serve patients. I argue that contemporary psychiatry should adopt a sociogenic approach, which may mean stepping outside the clinic and into the messy world of institutional change.

Keywords: Fanon, forensic psychiatry, shame, sociogenic, violence

Session 4A | Room G6 | Chair: Cláudia Araújo

Dilemmas of the Climate Movement

Chris Saltmarsh (University of Sheffield)

Abstract: International political economy (IPE) has become increasingly concerned with global energy transition but its focus on states and markets precludes serious consideration of the climate movement as a purposive actor. Social movement studies has paid much more attention to climate movement organisations but has a) neglected analysis at the movement-level and b) been criticised for the lack of a political economy perspective. This paper contributes to both literatures by bringing in study of the climate movement as a (contradictory) whole. It considers the climate movement as an actor capable of providing the political force to incite hitherto absent decarbonisation and associated political-economic transformations. Furthermore, it theorises the climate movement as a unique formation in the ecology of social movements particularly considering its idiosyncratic dialectical pattern of development. The paper compares organisational cases (Greenpeace, 350.org and Extinction Rebellion), each representative of a period of movement history, between the UK and US, to build out a general theory of climate movement development through time.

The fundamental basis of the climate movement's unique development trajectory is the unique nature of climate change as an issue in capitalism. Climate change's idiosyncrasies produce a series of dilemmas for climate movement organisations along four dimensions: organisational structure, politics, strategy, and framing. The interplay between contradictory responses to these dilemmas within and between organisations produces predominant characteristics of the climate movement as a whole in different periods. As such, the climate movement is more or less impactful in the realm of world politics at different points. Previously, it has successfully contributed to shifts in global ecological consciousness, constructing international institutions and reconfiguring global markets. The weight of its contradictions have rendered it relatively impotent at present with an uncertain future regarding its potential to positively impact the political economy of global energy transition.

Keywords: climate movement, capitalism, energy transition, Greenpeace, 350.org, Extinction Rebellion

The Failure of Fridays for Future in Singapore: How a Climate Movement Can Succeed Under Authoritarian Environmentalism

James Everett Hein (National University of Singapore) & Claire Low Qian Ling (Force of Nature)

Abstract: While much scholarly attention on Greta Thunberg's Fridays for Future has focused on climate mobilization in Western countries, few have examined these

mobilizations in an Asian context. This paper uses a mixed-methods approach to uncover why climate strikes did not work in Singapore and the kinds of campaigning that did influence the Singaporean government to commit to net zero emissions by 2050. Our findings show that legal constraints suppressed Fridays for Future in Singapore, yet Climate Rally Singapore and the World Wildlife Fund found a political opportunity and discursive opportunity structure that was open to their net zero campaigning. This was achieved through careful glocalization of framing and tactics utilizing social media. Such environmental movement success signals a broadening of political opportunities that shifts Singapore away from the authoritarian environmentalism that has existed in the quasi-democratic state.

Keywords: authoritarian environmentalism, repression, glocalization, framing, tactics, climate movement

Activating parent-led climate action communities through caring economies: a pilot study of kids' clothing and toy swaps

Jenna Condie (Western Sydney University)

Abstract: As the climate crisis intensifies, new social movements are emerging that mobilise specific communities to drive systemic change and ensure a safe, livable future. While youth-led climate activism has garnered significant research attention, parent-led and intergenerational climate action within families and communities remain underexplored. Yet, parents represent a crucial and growing force in the climate movement, actively organising and advocating for bold climate action. This pilot study explores how parents' everyday caring practices become powerful mechanisms for environmental and social justice. Situated on unceded Dharug and Gundungurra lands in so-called Australia, this research examines a quarterly kids' clothes and toy swap initiative organised by Blue Mountains Parents for Climate (P4C). These swaps have gained significant popularity due to their ability to attract large numbers of families, reduce waste, and discourage overconsumption. Swapping represents more than simple resource exchange; it embodies possibilities for community resilience, climate action and intergenerational care (intersection of parenting and climate action). By prioritising relationships and sustainability over profit, these initiatives challenge dominant consumerist models and demonstrate innovative approaches to addressing climate challenges. The study employs a mixed-methods approach, incorporating participant observation, photography, online surveys, and a design justice workshop. Central to the research is an activist-scholarship approach that recognises research as inherently political and committed to community and planetary well-being. By amplifying the work of local parent-led climate groups and highlighting innovative community-driven strategies, the study seeks to provide actionable insights for climate justice. Ultimately, this research illuminates how parents are participating in collective action and mutual aid, transforming personal concern into systemic change, and nurturing a culture of care that extends beyond their own families to broader social, political and environmental contexts.

Keywords: parenting; community economy; everyday activism; caring; climate action; mutual aid

Voices Against Speculation. The Controversies of a Non-participatory Transition to Sustainability in Sardinia

Nicholas Atzei (Sapienza University of Rome)

Abstract: The European Union policies on sustainability outline the crucial role of local community participation as an essential prerequisite to guarantee the equity of transition processes. However, as the experiences of various regions show, a strong discrepancy emerges between the discourses around people involvement and the practices, which are instead constituted to the detriment of communities and based on the exploitation of territories. This research integrates ecological and community-based approaches taking a critical look at the controversies, and the related conflictual tensions that emerged in Sardinia's energy transition. Like other European areas, the Italian island could become a sacrifice zone for the colonial logic of resource extractivism. In this landscape of energy injustice, many citizens across Sardinia, organize themselves in strong opposition to speculative procedures, demanding a more participatory and just transition. By integrating multiple approaches to social movements scholarship, this study can make a concrete contribution to the analysis of the situated actions of local opposition in the context of Sardinia, and to the role of these organizations in promoting democratic participation and public debate on energy justice. A holistic view can also better emphasise the interrelationships between community and territory, by enabling alternative narratives to emerge. Moreover, working from a community-based perspective on the issue of social movements allows the practice of participation to be placed at the center of the development of a justice-oriented sustainable transition path.

Keywords: Sustainable Transition, Speculation, Energy Justice, Land use conflict, Participation

Session 4B | Room G7 | Chair: Akangshya Bordoloi

Intersectional Activism Challenges Mainstream Movements: The Case of Disabled Queer Activists in Taiwan

Shanshan Ouyang (Ritsumeikan University)

Abstract: This study examines how intersectional activism by disabled queer activists challenges mainstream LGBT+ movements and disability rights movements in Taiwan. Previous research have noted that LGBT+ people with disabilities who participate in social movements often face the dilemma of prioritising one identity while compromising another (Corbett 1994; Ayesha, 1999). Disability studies scholar have pointed out that disability and queer histories have similarities, if not always parallels, and those who share both identities may be best qualified to articulate the connections between them (Sandahl 2003). Positioned at the intersection, these individuals experience multiple layers of oppression yet have the potential to transform these

experiences into emancipatory forces. This research focuses on how these forces materialize within social movements and promote social change. In Taiwan, LGBT+ people with disabilities have begun to raise their voices within social movements, asserting their identity as “殘酷兒” (“Disabled+Queer” in English) since 2008. This study draws upon on interview data from disabled queer activists and fieldwork observations of pride parades and disability demonstrations. The findings show that the visualization of “Disabled+Queer” experiences draw attention to the oppression arising from “assimilation” and “ableism” within LGBT+ movements. Their sustained participation in pride events has compelled organizers, it has led the organizers to focus on accessibility issues and improve them year on year. Concurrently, disabled queer activists organized marches and advocated for the sexual rights of people with disabilities, addressing gaps ignored by the mainstream disability movement. By bridging the LGBT+ and disability rights movements, disabled queer activism challenges the notion of singular minority identities. This intersectional activism encourages mainstream movements to reflect on their inclusivity and diversity practices, demonstrating intersectionality’s transformative potential as a strategy for social change. This study emphasizes the importance of centering marginalized voices to foster inclusivity within broader social movements.

Keywords: disabled queer, LGBT+ movements, disability movements, intersectionality, Taiwan

Reflections on the achievements and challenges of Ni Una Menos and ROSA in combatting violence against women in Argentina and Ireland

Brogan Gallagher (Maynooth University)

Abstract: Between 2016 and 2020, the Argentinian social movement organisation (SMO), Ni Una Menos and the Irish SMO, ROSA, led pivotal protests that shaped public policy on violence against women (VAW) in their respective countries. This paper reflects on the lasting impacts of these mobilisations, alongside the political shifts that have undermined or challenged their successes. While Ni Una Menos achieved substantial policy changes in Argentina, many of these gains have been rolled back in the face of shifting political landscapes. In Ireland, despite numerous reports and political commitments, institutional barriers persist, raising questions about the long-term effectiveness of these gains.

In this paper, I explore how research can support social movements by analysing outcomes and helping clarify the nature of the barriers faced by SMOs. How can research help distinguish between short-term institutional wins and the broader challenges of radical change? Drawing on insights from the global feminist movement, I examine the strategic limitations encountered by Ni Una Menos and ROSA. Both SMOs have adopted anti-capitalist positions central to their agendas, but their influence on policy has been constrained by existing power structures dominated by liberal feminists and the increasing prominence of right-wing ideologies.

By engaging with these questions, this paper aims to contribute to ongoing discussions about how outcomes research can help movements navigate between immediate gains within current systems and the longer-term goals of radical social change.

Keywords: violence against women, feminism, anti-capitalist, policy, mobilisations

Grassroots women push for health justice policies: How immigrant women from the French Antilles and West Africa fight against inequalities in sickle cell disease treatment

Meng Kou (École Normale Supérieure de Paris)

Abstract: This study explores the experiences of female migrant activists from West Africa and the Antilles in France, focusing on their resistance to discrimination and confrontation with the intersecting forces of capitalism, patriarchy, and coloniality. These women, whose activism is often shaped by both personal and collective struggles, navigate complex systems of racial, gender, and socio-economic oppression. Central to their lives is the impact of sickle cell disease, a chronic illness prevalent among many West African and Antillean communities, which significantly influences both their family dynamics and activist work.

Sickle cell disease is a key factor in understanding the intersectionality of these women's activism. It highlights the intersection of healthcare inequalities and racialized experiences, as the disease is often underdiagnosed or poorly managed within the French healthcare system. This medical neglect is compounded by the broader legacies of colonialism and the marginalization of migrant communities in France. These female activists, many of whom are caregivers within their families, confront the dual challenges of managing the health needs of loved ones while also advocating for social justice, improved healthcare access, and the dismantling of structural inequalities.

Through their activism, these women not only resist the stigmatization and invisibility of both their communities and their health condition, but also challenge the broader structures of oppression. Their efforts reveal how activism can be a transformative practice that engages with multiple forms of oppression—capitalism, patriarchy, and coloniality—while simultaneously reshaping ideas of care, health, and community. This study underscores the importance of considering both personal and political dimensions of activism, illustrating how these migrant women are confronting systemic injustices on multiple fronts.

Keywords: female activists, migrant communities, sickle cell disease, intersectionality, coloniality, healthcare inequalities.

Faces of a “Maternal Revolution”: Scotland’s Iranian diaspora and a new visual culture of Martyrdom

Parisa Hashempour (The University of Edinburgh)

Abstract: From art murals to Instagram, the faces of women and girls killed in Iran during the Woman, Life, Freedom [WLF] protests are now ubiquitous amongst Scotland’s Iranian diaspora. An emerging visual culture — inflected with portraits of

‘WLF martyrs’ — contributes towards a new global ‘feminised’ conjuring of Iran, of revolution, and, I argue, of martyrdom itself, reorienting women and girls to sit at its narrative centre. In this feminist reimagining, WLF martyrs appropriate and subvert traditional Shi’i iconography which has been co-opted by the Islamic Republic through a veneration of Iran-Iraq war veterans. Embedded in the psyche and everyday lives of Iranians in Scotland, the faces of WLF martyrs have an affective, mobilising response for women engaged in processes of reclamation and resistance.

While Iran’s social fabric is saturated with militarised, masculinised depictions of martyrdom, the faces of Iranian women remain elusive. In Scotland, imaginaries surrounding Iranian women render her ‘faceless’, represented solely by symbols — the black chador or long flowing hair, signifying absence of hijab. By sharing and creatively (re)producing the likeness of WLF martyrs, diasporic Iranian women refuse anonymity, resist ‘facelessness’. Yet operating within known scripts of both Islamist patriarchal power structures and neo-Orientalist ideas surrounding Iranians in Scotland means relinquishing those same faces to narrative controls which may flatten the same women it seeks to represent.

This research is based on ethnographic fieldwork with 24 Iranian women in Scotland’s Central Belt over two years. Drawing on feminist and decolonial theories of face, its politics, and faciality, I investigate what a face does, what relations it generates, putting forward the face as a lens for understanding strategies of everyday resistance. Although scholarship on the body has received significant attention, a greater focus on face as an object of critical analysis widens the scope of social movements research with implications for understanding resistance strategies and gendered identity negotiations of racialised subjects in transnational contexts.

Keywords: resistance, everyday politics, imaginaries, gendered violence, race

Session 4C | Room G32 | Chair: Alexandre Nogueira Martins

The politics of research on real estate transformations: collective actions and knowledge production

Ioana Florea (Södertörn University, Stockholm and Common Front for Housing Rights, Bucharest) & Enikő Vincze (Babes-Bolyai University and Social Housing Now!)

Abstract: Our paper aims to provide ideas for collective action in confronting capitalism. These ideas stem from the research project “Class formation and re-urbanization through real estate development in an Eastern periphery of global capitalism” (REDURB, 2021-2023). Set in Romania, it allows us to reflect on the militant potential of academic research whose politics assumes a critical standpoint on how real estate development and capitalist transformations enable each other. We present how the REDURB project resulted from prior involvement in housing justice struggles of the research team members who were already committed to political activism. And the critical issues it uncovered that have to be addressed by social movements struggling for the right to housing and the city. These include the role of

the state and trans-state actors in creating the conditions of real estate development, de-risking real estate and financial investments, the privatization of urbanism and spatial planning, the privatization of the industrial sector leading to deindustrialization and land speculation, urban regeneration, de—and re-contextualization of real estate development by global and local actors. Thus, our research highlights that housing activism has to be organized at different scales, and actions should target both the state and trans-state political and economic decision-makers, as well as real estate capital intersected with capital markets. The lessons learned through REDURB reveal how activists may foresee changes in the real estate development models (e.g., the shift from build-to-sell to build-to-rent models) from observing global, European, and national monetary policies. Identifying long-term trends of economic policies impacting housing and urban development also helps activists figure out the current political intentions in the European housing sector. Equipped with such knowledge, housing activists can both define the immediate interventions needed to improve housing conditions and imagine non-profit alternatives to the capitalist production of housing and cities.

Keywords: housing activism, real estate development, capitalist transformations, militant potential of academic research

Strategic Geographies and The Contentious Rebirth of Social Housing in New York City

John Krinsky (The City College of New York, CUNY)

Abstract: In studies of contention, questions about strategy and questions of geography have long been understood as important concerns, but have been relatively underdeveloped, both separately and together. This paper develops a conception of “strategic geographies”—mostly removed from its current connotations in geopolitical conflict—as a way of understanding the development of New York City’s housing movement’s growing embrace, and reformulation of, “social housing.” Though housing that is not primarily oriented to the market, and is meant for long-term use and affordability has a long history in New York City, for the better part of fifty years, the city’s public policy became oriented toward market-mechanisms for meeting of official affordable housing goals. In this context, the increasingly coherent calls for social housing are a significant development in the housing movement and in housing politics more generally.

This paper first develops the concept of strategic geographies, as a way of grasping the multiple and reciprocal ways in which collective actors navigate relations across previously constituted scales. This will be done in conversation and in contrast specifically with several other approaches to collective contention. It then describes the geography of housing contention in New York City as an outcome of multi-scalar struggles around the control and cost of housing, with contradictory and ambivalent outcomes—and therefore, uncertainty that requires strategic navigation. Finally, it will account for the last dozen years or so of development of social housing demands and their spread and shifts within the local housing movement (including non-local elements, too), as at once: a strategic rejection of the intimate and individualizing

landlord-tenant relationship and of the alienated and quantified relationship of tenants and rentier-finance capitalism, and a still-contradictory construction of a voluntary-civic alternative in the context of the twilight of neoliberal governance.

Keywords: strategic geography, social housing, New York City, scale

The Political Socialization of Activism: Short-term Cultural Impacts of Participation in the Housing Movement in Spain

Oriol Barranco (Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, Spain), Robert González-García (Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona) & Lluís Parcerisa (Universitat de Barcelona)

Abstract: The few existing empirical studies on the personal cultural effects of participation in contentious social movements have mostly focused on the long-term consequences in the activists' lives and rarely on the short-term impacts and the socialising effects. Therefore, recently authors such as Fillieule and Neveu (2019) or Passy and Monsch (2019) have called for the need to address these issues. This communication addresses these areas by studying the case of participation in the Platform for People Affected by Mortgages (PAH) in Spain. Data obtained from three local groups of the movement in three cities (Barcelona, Sabadell, and Terrassa) are analysed. The data were gathered through ethnographic fieldwork carried out from the beginning of 2014 until the beginning of 2019, which used the following methods: three months of observation in each local group, analysis of institutional documents, five informative interviews with leaders, and fourteen biographical-episodic qualitative interviews with activists. These interviews were analysed through discourse analysis focused on detecting changes in political identities, interest in politics, and issues related to the movement's ideas and frames. The conclusion is that regular and active participation between one and two years in the PAH generates personal cultural changes, but in unequal intensities depending on the degree of cultural-ideological proximity previously held with the movement's ideas and the comfort or discomfort experienced with participation. People who had political ideas and housing lifestyles close to those defended by the PAH and who experienced a comfortable participation, undergo some changes and reinforce and refine their previous ideas. People who had distant ideas and an uncomfortable experience of participation undergo fewer changes. Finally, people who were culturally distant from the PAH but who had a comfortable experience of participation are the ones who change the most profoundly.

Keywords: Activism, cultural change, personal change, political socialization, Housing Movements

Single Parent Action Network: a legacy of intersectional solidarity and collective action at local, national and EU levels.

Tove Samzelius (Malmö University) & Sue Cohen (Honorary Fellow at Bristol University)

Abstract: This paper considers how motherhood and motherwork can empower the politics of the heart and inform the politics of the head; how agency develops when personal injustices are shared with others and given common cause; the potential for change when knowledge and passion experienced by mothers from diverse cultures

and backgrounds are channelled into collective leadership and intersectional solidarity. We take the Single Parent Action Network (SPAN) UK (1990 – 2016) as our case study, an organisation that grew from single parents living in poverty meeting in a bedroom in Bristol to share their housing problems, into a network supporting thousands of one-parent families, and taking collective action against poverty, racism and patriarchy at local, national and EU levels. The analysis is informed by our long history of working together in this multi-ethnic organisation, and the knowledge developed over many years through dialogue and praxis in the Freirian tradition, together with members of SPAN, grassroots groups, EU networks and activist-scholars. We consider how political solidarity, empowerment and change can develop organically from the bottom up within and among grassroots groups that negotiate, co-create, network and build intersectional coalitions, informed by a pragmatic approach to the challenges of single motherhood. An abiding legacy of SPAN is the lasting dialogue, and learning taken into other contexts and settings by SPAN members, intellectual thinking taking place outside of academia, and in collaboration with scholars, most recently through a participatory archiving project. Although the history of SPAN is complex and context specific, we suggest that as part of a broader feminist knowledge project, its legacy can play an important role in continuing to provoke us, and others, to think afresh and inform community activism as well as academic theorizing.

Keywords: Activist mothering, intersectional solidarity, grassroots, single parents, collective action, praxis

Session 4D | Room G33 | Chair: Peninah Wangari-J

A People's History of the Anti Nazi League

Geoff Brown

Abstract: The paper is based on a book, *A People's History of the Anti Nazi League, 1977-81*, to be published June 2025. The author is a Manchester-based scholar activist, politically and intellectually close to Colin Barker, co-founder of the conference. It looks at a movement that succeeded in stopping a substantial fascist organisation, a subject of some relevance in the current situation. The Anti Nazi League (ANL) succeeded because it mobilised large numbers to oppose every attempt by the National Front (NF), the main fascist organisations of the time, to establish itself as a political force. Over four years the NF was forced into the political shadows.

The ANL began with an agreement between the Socialist Workers Party and a number of left Labour MPs and left trade union leaders to build a mass leafleting campaign in the forthcoming general election. Neil Kinnock chaired the launch in the House of Commons. It quickly drew the support of hundreds of prominent actors, musicians, writers, academics and sports people as sponsors. Working closely with many anti-racist and anti-fascist groups, establishing three hundred ANL branches and groups in workplaces, schools, colleges and among football fans. Nine million leaflets were

distributed and seven hundred thousand badges were sold. Working with Rock against Racism (RAR), it organised a number of carnivals, each supported by tens of thousands of young people, black and white.

The book is based on a hundred in-depth interviews, It has drawn on materials in the National Archives, Bishopsgate Institute, Modern Records Centre, the Working Class Movement Library, the Labour Party, Communist Party and the National Union of Mineworkers archives, including correspondence between Brian Clough and Arthur Scargill as well as a number of privately held collections and documents posted by the Undercover Policing Inquiry.

Affective Strategies: How movements counter the authoritarian appeal

Aurel Eschmann (Activist/Independent)

Abstract: Authoritarianism operates most successfully on a visceral level, appealing to emotions and deep-rooted desires rather than convincing with the most compelling argument. But what are emancipatory alternatives and counterstrategies to authoritarian affects?

Drawing from contemporary approaches in critical theory as well as case studies from the anthology "Beyond Molotovs: A Visual Handbook of Anti-authoritarian Counterstrategies," this article develops analytical concepts to theorize on strategies employed by movement actors against authoritarian affects.

Theoretical starting points are concepts by Robin Celikates, Erich Fromm, Eva von Redecker Sarah Ahmed, Boike Rehbein and Erik Olin Wright. However, one of the central assertions of grounded theory is that fruitful theorizing requires more than empirical grounding but an acknowledgment of social practice as knowledge production. Hence, in a second step, by examining a number of case studies from the activist anthology "Beyond Molotovs: A Visual Handbook of Anti-Authoritarian Counterstrategies," the initial theoretical approach is critically investigated and refined. The aim is to develop analytical tools to better understand affective strategic approaches and utopian potentials of social movements, as well as the sociopsychological preconditions of resistance.

Keywords: affect, authoritarianism, critical theory, movements, real utopias

Anti-authoritarian strategies at the end of the end of history

Börries Nehe (International Research Group on Authoritarianism and Counter-Strategies, Rosal-Luxemburg-Stiftung and University of Potsdam) & Aurel Eschmann (Activist/Independent)

Abstract: The current meltdown of the liberal consensus in the Global North poses many important challenges to social movements, especially to those who oppose the authoritarian transformation. While spaces for political organization and expression are rapidly shrinking, the brutalization of politics and public discourse make it ever more difficult to propose alternative understandings. In this context, authoritarian ideologies often appeal less to the head – through arguments or logics – than they do

to the gut, by means of striking images, emotional performances, and the aestheticization of politics. How can we counter authoritarianism's emotional appeal? What does an anti-fascism for our times require?

With this in mind, we have edited "Beyond Molotovs: A Visual Handbook of Anti-Authoritarian Strategies", which came out with transcript Verlag this year, and which brings together more than fifty first-hand accounts from anti-authoritarian movements, activists, artists, and scholars from across the Global South. We're especially interested in strategies that address the affective dimension of authoritarianism, and while doing so, propose different ways of seeing, being and relating (ie, concrete utopias).

Based on the experience of coordinating the work on this book – for which we have received more than 130 proposals – we want to reflect on some of the key questions that guided us, and present some preliminary answers to them: what do we know about authoritarian affectivity and how do people and movements try to counter it? What strategies are most successful, and what exactly are they addressing? What do we learn about authoritarianism when looking at it from the standpoint of the struggles against it? What can activists in the North learn from struggles in the South?

In our book, we distilled six main strategic fields which will guide our reflections and exposition, and which allow for a more systematic reflection on anti-fascist organizing and interventions at a time where the liberal consensus no longer holds, and we urgently need to think of emancipatory answers to the multiple crisis.

Keywords: Antifascism, Authoritarianism, Affect, Art, Utopia

Tuesday, 13:30–15:10

Session 5A | Room G6 | Chair: Lucía Guerrero Rivière

Protest Policing in Portugal and Spain, 2000-2020: stewarding democracy or hindering democratic rights?

Cláudia Araújo (University of the Andes)

Abstract: This paper uses data from a protest event dataset to uncover tendencies in protest policing in Portugal and Spain between 2000-2020 and locate them in each country's protest arena. This is complemented by a critical discourse analysis of reactions to protest policing published in two main newspapers in each country, aiming at uncovering the master-discourse on protest control by each country's police forces. It reveals that neither the reported illegality of a protest event nor the actions of protesters appear connected to protest policing and asserts that protest policing is more prevalent and more intense in Spain, and more legitimised in political discourse, although with resistance from civil society. However, in the latest years of the series, Portugal witnesses an increase in both proportion and intensity of protest policing, corresponding to the entrance of the extreme-right in the national parliament and to a

change in discourse legitimising high intensity protest control. The implications of these findings for the quality of democracy in the Iberian Peninsula are discussed to argue that these developments are part of a global trend for the securitisation of protest, increasingly visible in public authorities' and governance institutions' responses to popular mobilisation.

Keywords: Protest policing; Democracy; Securitisation; Portugal; Spain

International solidarity, political altruism and mobilisation against the war in Palestine: five protest campaigns compared (France, Germany, Great Britain, Italy, Spain)

Angelo Galiano (University of Salento)

Abstract: The mobilization against the war in Palestine offers a compelling case for understanding the intersections between armed conflicts, international solidarity, and contemporary social movements. This study examines five protest campaigns in France, Germany, Great Britain, Italy, and Spain, focusing on how the war in Palestine has acted both as a mechanism of mobilization and as a terrain for the reconfiguration of solidarity practices and political altruism. Using the Israeli attack on Gaza following the October 7, 2023, events as a trigger, the research analyzes the role of protest campaigns in reshaping social and political networks, reflecting both national specificities and a broader global contentious dynamic.

The article explores the historical and theoretical roots of solidarity and political altruism in social movements, tracing their evolution from humanitarian aid to direct political action. Employing a Protest Event Analysis (PEA) methodology, the study systematically investigates 1,898 protest events, categorizing them by frequency, form, location, and claims. Findings reveal diverse mobilization strategies across the five national contexts, ranging from symbolic performances like die-ins in Great Britain to university encampments in Spain and Italy, and mass demonstrations, some escalating into confrontations, in Germany and France.

A key theme emerging from the study is the role of repression in shaping the protest landscape. While some governments attempted to curb demonstrations through legal restrictions and mass arrests, repression often fueled further mobilization, expanding the scope of grievances to include broader democratic rights. The war in Palestine thus functions as both an object of contention and a catalyst for new solidarities, illustrating the interconnectedness of local and transnational political struggles.

Ultimately, this study underscores how contemporary anti-war movements serve not only as resistance to military aggression but also as arenas for contesting political power, reconfiguring activist identities, and challenging global structures of violence and governance.

Keywords: Social Movements, Political Altruism, International Solidarity, War and Mobilization, Palestine, Anti-War Movements.

Fundamental British Values as a Tool to Criminalise the Palestinian Cause

Ümit Kemal Yıldız (The University Manchester)

Abstract: Since 7th October 2023, millions of people across the globe have demonstrated against the ongoing genocide in Gaza and in support of the Palestinian liberation struggle. Some of the largest demonstrations have taken place in England, where this struggle has also permeated everyday life, including schools, colleges, universities, and workplaces.

Recent reports by Amnesty International (2023) and Cage International (2023) underscore how the UK Government's Prevent duty has been instrumental in criminalising the Muslim minority. Introduced in 2007 as a response to the 11 September 2001 attacks in the USA and the 7 July 2005 bombings in the UK, the Prevent duty has disproportionately targeted this community under the guise of countering radicalisation and extremism. The Prevent strategy was framed as a solution to counter radicalisation and extremism (Yildiz, 2021) and more recently, it has focussed explicitly on individuals and groups supporting the Palestinian cause.

Education institutions are now the highest source of Prevent referrals. Alarming, 40% of those referred are between the ages of 11 and 15, with 5% being under 10 years old. A key tool used by educators to identify so-called extremism among young people is the perceived opposition to Fundamental British Values (FBVs) (HO, 2011). While the concept of FBVs has been historically used to criminalise Muslim youth, it is also increasingly employed to justify and normalise the criminalisation of Palestine supporters. For instance, during an interview, Nigel Farage, leader of the far-right Reform Party, described Muslim youth attending a pro-Palestinian demonstration as 'extremist' because they allegedly rejected FBVs (Sky TV, 2024). Such rhetoric reflects how FBVs are weaponised to delegitimise political activism and dissent, particularly when it challenges state policies and narratives.

This paper will argue that the utilisation of FBVs to target young activists is a continuation of the broader War on Terror. Furthermore, I will argue that the concept of FBVs is inherently racist and colonialist and is currently serving to suppress dissent and criminalise solidarity with the Palestinian cause.

Keywords: Palestine solidarity, Prevent, Protest, Racism

Session 5B | Room G7 | Chair: Alisha Ibrar

Memory, Authority, and Gender: Women's Scholarly and Literary Contributions to Qatar's Historiography

Kaltham Alsuwaidi (University of Manchester)

Abstract: Qatari women scholars and writers have played a leading role in preserving the nation's modern history. Despite their vital contribution, their efforts are underrepresented and usually overlooked. This paper examines the works of two prominent Qatari female figures: First, Dr. Moza Aljaber, the first Qatari historian to

document modern history that was previously preserved in colonial archives. Aljaber's historical works are foundational references for Qatar's modern history. Second, Nora Alsaad, renowned writer and critic whose fictional works captures women's narratives within modern historical events in Qatar particularly after 1960, challenging dominant representations of collective memory.

Building on memory studies and oral history theoretical frameworks, the paper employs textual analysis and qualitative interviews to explore how both women contributed to preserving modern history, memory construction and documentation in Qatar. It also highlights the challenges women historians and writers faced particularly in a male-dominated society, where access to the public sphere and information sharing remains largely restricted to men. The paper explores how the women's works address omissions within traditional historiography.

The key findings indicate that women scholars, such as Aljaber, led the process of writing modern history of Qatar in academia. However, her documentation was prioritizing male-dominant narratives. In fiction, Alsaad works challenged traditional views of women's history often focused narrowly on traditions, folklore clothing, and social events. A paradoxical finding relates to censorship: despite being officially and socially acknowledged as prominent writers and academics, both authors books were banned from being sold in Qatar. Contradictorily, their books remain available in public and academic libraries.

This paper provides novel insights about the contribution of women to Qatar's modern history. It contributes to the broader understanding of memory construction in societies undergoing rapid changes, particularly regarding gender dynamics.

Keywords: Historical Narratives, Women Writers, Qatar, Post-colonial History

"The movement as a whole": gender, race, self-determination and class in the struggles for freedom during the 19th century

Marcelo Badaró Mattos (Universidade Federal Fluminense —Brazil)

Abstract: The paper will deal with the struggle for social emancipation, as conceived in the 19th century, as a network of different forms of protest and collective organisations, the catalyst of which was abolitionism. Abolitionism was defined as the first major contemporary 'social movement', the scale of which was global. (Linden, M. van der. "European social protest, 1000-2000", in Berger, S. & Nehring, H. The history of social movements in global perspective. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017, pp. 175-76.)

According to Colin Barker, 'social movements' are a repertoire of forms of collective protest specific to the period inaugurated by the English industrial revolution. Barker takes up the idea current in the 19th century, expressed even by Marx and Engels, who did not define a 'social movement' as a singular protest or political dispute, but as a general trend in the struggles of a particular phase of history. Thus, "the social movement' was a summary term for the various forms and manifestations of popular

challenge to ongoing capitalist development.” (Barker, C. “O movimento como um todo”: ondas e crises, *Revista Outubro*, n. 22, 2014, p. 9.)

Starting from Brazil, the last nation in the Americas to abolish slavery (in 1888), but broadening the focus of analysis to share ideas and experiences of organisation and struggle on a transatlantic scale, the research underpinning this paper has the general hypothesis that in the period beginning with the revolutions of the late 18th century (American, French and Haitian, in particular) and ending with the abolition of slavery in Brazil, the struggle for the emancipation of the enslaved population of African origin was an exchange space for a whole network of emancipatory struggles and forms of collective organisation: of the colonies in relation to the metropolises; of the working class in formation against exploitation by capital and of women against patriarchal oppression. Our intention is to present some evidence in this direction.

Keywords: abolitionism; labour movement; women's rights movements; national liberation movements

I Hear Voices: How Listening to the Thomas M. Bello Papers 1970-1971 Amplifies the Sounds of Student Protest at The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill

Mick Anderson (University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill)

Abstract: The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill is a premier research university located in the American South. As America’s first public university, UNC is a perceived bastion of free speech and individualism. Yet historically it is a contentious community with regard to political, racial, and socioeconomic dynamics. Catalyzed by the May 4, 1970, Kent State University shootings, UNC anti-war protestors organized demonstrations to voice their resistance against further American involvement in the Vietnam war. They demanded that UNC’s administrators divest from all associated financial interests. A similar demonstration occurred in Spring 2024 when UNC student protestors voiced opposition to U.S. complicity in the Israel-Hamas war, simultaneously demanding that university administrators renounce all related financial ties. In this project, I examine the Thomas M. Bello Papers 1970-1971, housed within the Southern Historical Collection at the Wilson Special Collections Library of The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, to critically “listen” to the voices and perspectives preserved within them and to explore how the archive’s materials capture and convey the history of student activism at UNC. Through examining media, correspondence, and documents from the Spring 1970 student protests against the U.S. Cambodia Campaign during the Vietnam War, I uncover striking parallels between these historical events and the Spring 2024 demonstrations at UNC opposing U.S. involvement in the Israel-Hamas war. This study highlights the role of archival memory in preserving and listening to the enduring voices of student activism at UNC. It emphasizes the ways in which historical records help us understand the recurring themes and motivations that continue to resonate within UNC’s student protest culture.

Keywords: Student Protest, Critical University Studies, North Carolina, Vietnam War, Israel-Hamas war

The Performative Possibilities of Temporal Work in the Syrian Refugee-Diasporic Counter-Archiving Movement

Talia Sharkawi (Lancaster University)

Abstract: This paper draws on multi-sited ethnographic field research of the practices of Syrian activists engaged in acts of commemoration, documentation, and archiving of atrocities committed by the Syrian regime. The paper draws on conceptualizations of temporal work to highlight how by taking part in intersecting activities of collective memorialization, atrocity-archiving, collective organizing, and activist war-crime litigation campaigns, these actors are engaging in scrutinizing and reinterpreting the collective past, assessing and addressing the present, and imagining future possibilities of successful transitional justice for a post-war Syria for all Syrians. The findings reveal the processual dimension of what started as uncoordinated grassroots DIY atrocity recording with the outbreak of the 2011 Syrian uprising, evolving into collective archival efforts, and eventually to a sophisticated extraterritorial counter-archiving movement emerging from but also parallel to collective expressions of loss, memorialization, and grievances expressed in diasporic protests against the Syrian regime. The technological advances adopted by Syrians, transitional justice scholars and practitioners argue, changed the temporalities of practices of atrocity recording raising questions about what these practices entail in terms of praxis on the ground and how to make sense of pre-transition transitional justice. In so doing, these projects and their processes of documenting the dead through the composition of contestatory archives constitute an epistemological experiment, within the broader Syrian extraterritorial anti-authoritarian movement, that is constructed through time. Moreover, the movement that these projects have coalesced into constitutes sites of critical knowledge production co-created relationally over time. This paper also provides an illustrative case of the temporal dimensions of the processes through which post-revolutionary national narratives are constructed in exile and the centrality of subaltern experiences in these processes. The paper highlights the performative possibilities of the temporalities of collective action embedded in archival and memory work.

Keywords: diaspora politics, counter-archiving, long-distance nationalism, Syrian refugees

Ambedkar reframing the Idea of ‘what constitutes a global’

Sagar Ashok Kamble (Freie Universitat Berlin)

Abstract: After globalization, the changing nature of state sovereignty and socioeconomic life fueled the shift to ‘global’ inquiry in political theory. This paper contributes to the ‘international/global turn’ in political theory. In this paper, I am exploring the global thoughts of B R Ambedkar focusing on the inquiry of how he has conceptualised the term and domain ‘global.’ It explores how B R Ambedkar constructed the category of ‘global’ from the standpoint of the Untouchables in India during British colonial rule. It explains in what ways his global thinking is different from European tradition.

I argue the 20th-century Dalit movement in India was advocating social reconstruction at domestic, but it created a call for social reconstruction at global. The paper explores how B R Ambedkar, in the process of building the vision of an egalitarian society, as different from the Swaraj (self-rule) imagined by the mainstream Indian nationalists, not only develops an alternative to that Swaraj but goes beyond, he contests the Eurocentric notion of global order and redefines what can be counted as a 'global.' He considers domestic constitutions and international legal norms equally needed in achieving justice for oppressed social groups.

Ambedkar's selective writings, speeches, and political actions are interpreted to explore how global thought, as a theme, flows. In directing the vision for a better future for humanity in the Untouchables' movement, I put the social movement and a political thinker from the global south in the conversation with the normative debates in International Law and Global turn in political theory.

Keywords: global, caste, British India, international law, untouchables,

Session 5C | Room G32 | Chair: Heather Alberro

Let's talk clean air: Emerging themes from a summer spent interviewing activists, campaigners, advocates and complainers.

Kathryn Miller (Lancaster University)

Abstract: Clean air is essential for good health. Exposure to pollutants from sources including the petrochemical industry, fossil fuels, landfill, vehicles and cooking can increase the risk of respiratory problems, cardiovascular disease, cancers, and stroke. The World Health Organisation says air pollution is "the single biggest environmental threat to human health" and, globally, is associated with 7 million early deaths annually.

Air pollution disproportionately affects vulnerable people, including children, Black and ethnic minorities, and those on low incomes. In the UK, five decades of air quality regulations have reduced the concentration of pollutants, but benefits have not been shared equally across communities and regions. The result is that air quality is becoming an issue of politics and justice, leading to a rise in air quality activism. The clean air movement, a subset of the environmental movement, calls for widespread behaviour and systems change to address pollution and improve citizen health. Confounding the debate is the increasing polarisation of UK politics, which has led to toxic exchanges between opposing sides and accusations of a 'war on motorists' – notably the implementation of low-traffic neighbourhoods, school streets, and the expansion of London's ultra-low emission zone.

This research aims to understand the changing nature of air quality activism in the UK, how and to what extent activists engage with and/or generate scientific knowledge, and to what extent the actions of activists influence policymakers and publics. In this talk, I present initial results from thematic analysis of fieldwork interviews with 21 UK-based activists, campaigners and advocates operating across individual, regional or

(inter)national scales. Emerging themes, as informed by the research questions, include: phrases people use to describe their work; the importance of scientific data but also of storytelling; challenges associated with clean air activism; and how activism has adapted in a changing political landscape.

Keywords: Clean air movement, air pollution, social justice, systems change, activism, human health

What are the barriers? Local food, community energy and developing subaltern strategy in advanced fossil neoliberal conditions

Stephen Graham (Lancaster University)

Abstract: Contributing to debates around eco-localist organising's change-making potential at a time of planetary-scale ecological crisis, this research examines two community-scale environmental organisations in rural north-west England: a (covertly anti-capitalist) food hub and a (pro-capitalist) renewable energy company. Although informed by different eco-social imaginaries, both initiatives attempted to develop ecologically sensitive alternatives to fossil fuel-based production practices by building projects aimed at the alleviation of social problems generated by post-2008 austerity policies. Both initiatives, however, faced significant barriers in this regard. Combining insights from eco-Marxist and (neo-)Gramscian approaches, I examine these barriers and the contrasting ways that the participants understood and sought to overcome them. Using ethnographic case studies, and by reading developments in the field of eco-localism through a Marxian critique of neoliberalism, I examine the rise of community localism as a 'grassroots' response to neoliberal globalization and explore how the co-evolution of neoliberalism and civil society environmentalism has shaped localist organising in Britain.

Drawing on the case studies, I argue that in advanced neoliberal contexts, eco-localist initiatives can, by channelling the energies of 'civil society' environmentalists in sub-hegemonic directions, reinforce existing social arrangements. Yet I aim to show, too, how activities on this terrain can also transform embedded selectivities and create spaces where counter-hegemonic activities can flourish. Building on this, I offer a way to break the impasse that has been reached in current debates between champions of 'top-down', left eco-modernist approaches and proponents of 'bottom-up', de-growth-focused, eco-localist perspectives by showing how the rapid roll-out of large-scale production that the former call for, and the urgent expansion of community-based activities that the latter demand, are not opposing goals, as is often assumed, but in fact constitute the condition of possibility for each other. To create the conditions for emancipatory change, activities in each of these spheres must be re-politicised.

Keywords: Eco-localism, Neoliberalism, Imaginaries, Civil Society, Marx, Gramsci

Who's Afraid of Disruption? What Europe's New Criminalization of Environmental and Solidarity Protests Reveals about Power

Markus Holdo (Lund University)

Abstract: The paper examines the argument for criminalizing disruptive protests in Europe. Focusing on Italy, Sweden, and the United Kingdom, it analyzes the framing of recent protests by parties, newspapers, and alternative media. Protest actions included blocking of traffic, spray painting art and buildings, and showing up with solidarity symbols in places where state authorities had deemed this provocative (such as in the potential proximity of Israeli artists and fans during Eurovision) —thus, ranging from annoying but hardly seriously damaging to completely harmless acts. The argument for criminalization varied, but they usually invoked one or more of the following claims: 1) the protesters need to respect the democratic process; 2) the protests are irrational and counterproductive, and 3) the protesters are despicable in various ways. What these claims reveal is not so much a genuine concern for democracy (even conservative political theorists support forms of disobedience and see the capacity for resistance as a force against tyranny). Rather, it is disruption as such —the very act of questioning authority, no matter how minor —that upsets powerful people. Why is that? Reflecting on this question, the author ends the paper suggesting that disruption causes anger because it reminds the powerful of their vulnerability —that they, like everyone else, cannot accomplish much without the cooperation of others. For those who want change, however, the implication is clear: the angrier the powerful get, the more they confirm the need for disruptive actions.

Keywords: Disruption, protest, environmental movements; Palestine; repression.

Session 5D | Room G33 | Chair: Luca Sára Bródy

Futures found and lost? Revisiting post-work imaginaries in an era of 'polycrisis'

Kevin Gillan (University of Manchester)

Abstract: The 2010s saw increased enthusiasm for a particular vision of a post-work society, promulgated in response to the Global Financial Crisis. As a projective vision caught between utopia and manifesto it offered long-term hopes for abundance and leisure alongside short-term policy prescriptions of stronger welfare protections, state-led technological development and a cultural assault on the work ethic. Echoing figures such as Andre Gorz, Bertrand Russell and Paul Lafargue, 'post-workism' updated the notion of the leisure society for the information age but failed to grapple with limits on plausibility imposed by unfolding ecological crises. Demands for a post-work world have since ebbed to silence (again), even while the Covid-19 pandemic led to a dramatic hiatus in capitalist activity that reportedly sparked a 'great resignation' among those few who both glimpsed the possibilities of a life of meaningful activity outside the workplace and had the resources to pursue it.

This paper revisits the prognosis for the leisure society, exploring what remains of these visions if abundance were to be replaced with sufficiency. It identifies elements

that might serve as both practical solutions and compensatory inducements to a socialism that forgoes the promise of material economic growth. Firstly, post-work ideas offer a re-evaluation of both work and leisure appropriate for futures in which much daily activity might be oriented toward local ecological restoration, mutual aid and community care in the context of multiple crises. Secondly, the emphasis on the near-zero marginal cost of digital products holds out hopes for continued gains in productivity in the information work required for building new forms of socio-economic organisation as well as the promise of the free circulation of patents, designs, entertainment and digital cultural products of all kinds. Finally, the question of whether such visions can grow beyond their roots in the global north is addressed.

Keywords: leisure society, post-work, autonomy, crisis

Utopia vs. Uchronia: Social Movements on the Left & Right

Robert T.F. Downes (University of Connecticut)

Abstract: This paper explores the divergent temporal imaginaries mobilized by contemporary social movements on the political left and right, framed as "uchronia" and "utopia." Conservative and reactionary movements—exemplified by the QAnon phenomenon—invoke a powerful uchronian imaginary, a vision of an idealized past that purports to represent a natural social order, one marked by inherent hierarchies and stratification. This "time that never was" sustains a cultural and political appeal by offering a nostalgic corrective to perceived threats against traditional structures of power. Through uchronia, right-wing movements construct an imagined past that fuels populist anger and reinforces demands to reclaim a lost order under the guise of authenticity. In contrast, leftist and radical social movements, particularly within the Indigenous radical tradition intersecting with anarchist, socialist, feminist, and radical ecological thought, engage with the concept of utopia. Rather than looking backward, these movements prefigure liberatory futures that have yet to exist—societies of radical equality, inclusivity, participation, and ecological balance. Utopia, as a mobilizing ideal, allows leftist movements to critique current systems of violence, coloniality, and exploitation, projecting a framework of what could be rather than what allegedly was. This paper interrogates how these two temporal imaginaries—one backward-looking, grounded in a nostalgic fabrication, and the other forward-looking, aimed at dismantling existing systems—inform the ideological infrastructures, strategies, and mobilization tactics of these movements. By juxtaposing QAnon's uchronian impulses with the prefigurative utopian goals within Indigenous, anarchist, socialist, and feminist frameworks, this analysis reveals the contrasting visions of time and agency that drive social movement activism on the right and left. Ultimately, the paper highlights how these imaginaries serve as boundary-setting tools, delineating who belongs within each movement's vision of society and how these visions interact with, and resist, prevailing political and social paradigms.

Keywords: social movements, uchronia, utopia, prefigurative politics, QAnon, Native studies

The Utopian Afterlives of Revolution

Laurence Davis (University College Cork)

Abstract: What constitutes revolutionary failure, and how if at all can the utopian imagination reanimate unfulfilled revolutionary dreams and aspirations? In this AFPP presentation, I explore these theoretical questions by means of close examination of selected works of utopian literature, social and political theory, and historical case studies of ostensibly ‘failed’ revolutions. Among the literary and historical case studies to be examined are William Morris’s poem *The Pilgrims of Hope* (1886), his novel *A Dream of John Ball* (1888), his utopian classic *News from Nowhere* (1890), and the contested historical legacy of the Paris Commune of 1871.

The theoretical analysis will draw upon and further develop and refine my contributions to social and political theory in ‘History, Politics, and Utopia: Toward a Synthesis of Social Theory and Practice’ (Existential Utopia, Continuum, 2011) and ‘Grounded Utopia’ (Utopian Studies, 32.3, 2021). These works broke new ground in the multi-disciplinary field of utopian studies by defending the counterintuitive proposition that utopia may be understood as an empirically grounded feature of the ‘real world’ of history and politics representing the hopes and dreams of those consigned to its margins. I drew a theoretical distinction between ‘transcendent’ and ‘grounded’ utopias and elucidated the explanatory power and political relevance of the latter concept with respect to contemporary grassroots movements opposed to the ecocidal dominant global transcendent utopia of endless material progress. In this presentation I turn the primary focus of my philosophical attention from the present and the future to the past, arguing that a radical grounded utopianism inspired and informed by history’s ‘failures’ can help to reanimate, albeit not unproblematically, as-yet unfulfilled revolutionary dreams and aspirations.

Keywords: Utopia, Revolution, William Morris, Paris Commune

Postcapitalism and the Post Office: An overview of my PhD Thesis

Martin John Greenwood (University of Manchester)

Abstract: This paper presents an overview of my recent PhD thesis *Postcapitalism and the Post Office: The role of public services in utopian futures*. It begins by noting how recent postcapitalist literatures concerned with technology and work-freedom, and postcapitalist works concerned with commoning and social reproduction, share a sense that interventions into prevalent common sense are required, in order to cultivate the conditions for social transformation. The utopian work of Ernst Bloch, Walter Benjamin and Herbert Marcuse is then used to theorise ways in which experience, common sense, and utopian social transformation might be understood together. Re-imagined public services are then posited as potentially viable vessels for such a transformation of common sense. To sociologically investigate this possibility, the thesis brings the utopian methodologies of Ruth Levitas and Erik Olin Wright together, in a combined sociological framework, that brings historical, empirical and speculative methods into simultaneous focus on one plausible candidate: the UK’s

Post Office. This framework is used in conjunction with a utopian-ethnographic concept: 'ecologies of possibility', to develop and enact ethnographic walking and interview methods, sensitive to the speculative dimensions of everyday experience. Through these methods it was possible to discern that changes to public experience, exemplified by changes in Post Office services and postal delivery services, have had significant implications for people's senses of social possibility. Additionally, interviewees were often unforthcoming when it came to speculating about the possibility of radical systemic transformation beyond the local level. Implicated in this, the thesis argues, is the degradation of 'imaginative infrastructures' that public services, including the Post Office, had previously made some significant contribution to. The thesis argues that were people afforded greater ability to make concrete change to their localities, within a broader system facilitating such intervention, this could begin the work of reestablishing these imaginative infrastructures.

Keywords: Utopia; Public Services; Post Office; Ernst Bloch; Ruth Levitas; Erik Olin Wright

Session 5E | Cordingly Lecture Theatre | Chair: John Krinsky

A Critical Observation and Analysis of Leftist Political Groups in Manchester: Formation, Strategy, and Continuity (2021–2025)

Laya Hooshyari (The University of Manchester)

Abstract: Since moving to Manchester in September 2021, I have actively engaged in various leftist political movements, campaigns, and collectives. While participating in, organising, and supporting events, demonstrations, and public discussions, I observed a recurring trend: the frequent emergence of new political groups involving the same individuals, yet often failing to achieve sustainable outcomes. Over time, many of these groups stagnate, ultimately transforming into social media pages that primarily circulate news before new formations arise.

This study is an effort to observe and critically analyse the dynamics behind the formation and dissolution of these groups, with a particular focus on collectives, associations, and political initiatives that explicitly position themselves in opposition to capitalism, imperialism, patriarchy, and related systems. I have deliberately excluded formal unions and political parties to concentrate on independent grassroots formations. To date, I have identified approximately 25 such groups and am currently conducting interviews with their members to gain deeper insights into their internal operations, challenges, and broader experiences.

While my primary concern as an active participant remains the apparent lack of coherent strategies within these groups, I remain open to uncovering the underlying factors influencing their development and struggles. Through these interviews, I aim to explore the dynamics of group formation, internal decision-making processes, leadership structures, and their engagement with strategic planning, theoretical frameworks, and etc. This research ultimately seeks to understand the reasons behind

the inability of these groups to maintain momentum and explore the wider implications for the success and sustainability of grassroots political movements.

Keywords: Leftist political groups, grassroots movements, strategy, Manchester, organisational challenges

Worker-Peasant Alliance and Fight against Imperialist Neoliberalism: Lessons and Challenge from the Indian Farmers' Movement (2020-21)

Shamsher Singh, PhD, Faculty of Sociology, FLAME University, Pune, India.

Abstract: The imperialist neoliberalism increasingly in collaboration with the domestic capitalist classes wants to advance the interests of the transnational capital by entering the agriculture sector across the world. The legislative intervention by the Indian state in the form of the three contentious farm-laws passed in the Parliament amidst the COVID-19 pandemic were a major push to transform the terms of agri-production, trade, procurement, and stocking to benefit the big agribusiness corporate capital. The likely disastrous implications of these laws rallied the large and different sections of peasantry and working masses, including the rich peasantry. There emerge important questions about how the character of the anti-farm law movement of 2020–2021 should be understood and factored in while discussing the agrarian question.

Owing to the remarkable and multifaceted mobilisations that took place during the course of the anti-farm law movement, many have noted the larger solidarities of a varied range of identities such as caste, class, gender, religion, and political ideologies. However, given that some of these identities, most importantly that of class, share an antagonistic relationship these solidarities have their own complexities and limitations and require a closer scrutiny. This paper explores how the large-scale mobilisations of various sections of the rural masses and prominent socio-political processes that unfolded in the movement impacted the class relations and contradictions of the Indian countryside. It assesses the strategies developed and employed by the leadership to build a broader class alliance in realigning the forces at the grassroots to take on the existing and newly emerging contradictions of the agrarian structure. The paper draws heavily on the recently published volume entitled '[A People's History of the Farmers' Movement, 2020-2021](#)' underlines the need for working towards building a broader anti-neoliberalism front while maintaining a class-centric approach towards the worker–peasant alliance to resolve the agrarian question in India.

Keywords: Imperialism; Worker-Peasant Alliance; Farmers' Movement; India; Agriculture.

Forging Collective Political Identities through Mobilisation: Comparative Case Study of #EndSARS and #ThisFlag

Nicholas Chukwudike Anakwue (Queen Mary University of London)

Abstract: Mobilisation is central to the growth and spread of social movements. Within these social movements, collective identities are not only forged but are likewise mobilised towards protest objectives and goals. As Tilly (2003) argues, identities are

social arrangements that exemplify shared stories of who a people are, how they are connected and what shared events have happened to them. Tilly (2003) further argues that identities consist of four critical components, namely: (1) a boundary between me-you or us-them relationships, (2) a set of relations within the boundary, (3) a set of relations across the boundary, (4) and a set of stories about boundary and relations. When governments become parties to this me-you/us-them divide, then these identities become political (Tilly, 2003: 609).

It is therefore important to understudy these intersecting variables of identity formation and mobilisation in protest movements, especially in sub-Saharan Africa witnessing what is reckoned by scholars as the fourth wave of protests (Mueller, 2018; Howard and Hussain, 2014). Both the #EndSARS and #ThisFlag cases are most appropriate and representative for our study, and are chosen based on the most different case selection approach as they offer us insights into the differing structural elements of mobilisation and socio-political contexts. While the #EndSARS protest was largely thought to be leaderless and motivated to resisting the deleterious effects of police brutality, the #ThisFlag protest was centered around the courageous leadership of Pastor Evan Mawarire and was in protest of the prevalent economic depression of the time.

Utilising a mixed methods approach that combines social network analysis with qualitative content analysis, the study aims to comparatively assess the ways through which collective political identities are developed, the modes, metaphors and motifs that are employed in the process of mobilisation and identity formation. In doing so, the study will help us better grasp the nuanced roles that mobilisation plays in the development of collective political identities across varying contexts within sub-Saharan Africa.

Keywords: Mobilisation, collective political identity, hashtag activism, social movements, Africa

Land Sovereignty in Scotland: Common Grazing, Crofts & Community Land Trusts

Steven Speed

Abstract: In Scotland, there has been a significant increase of land being taken into common ownership over the last 30 years. An example of this is the Assynt Crofters Trust. Located in one of the former Highland Clearance areas in Sutherland, the Assynt Crofters' Trust took 21000 acres of land into community ownership in 1993. Alongside this, La Via Campesina, a global movement of peasant farmers representing over 200 million small-scale farmers, formed in 1992 to unify the struggle of small-scale farmers against neo-liberal policies on agriculture. In Scotland, two member organisations of La Via Campesina, The Scottish Crofting Federation and The Land Workers' Alliance, have been set up to represent small-scale farming communities there. In the context of this increased demand for crofting land and the rise of community land ownership, this paper will examine the nature of these strategies and their sustainability. This research includes details about the nature of crofting from both an historical and contemporary perspective, the emergence of land rights campaigns and the

establishment of community land ownership. It also details how this has transformed the social, cultural, economic and environmental fabric of communities to meet the challenges of ecological and economic crises.

Keywords: Land Sovereignty, Scotland, Common Grazing, Crofts, Community Land Trusts, Alternatives, Strategies, Collective Action

What Does Solidarity Look Like? A Panel Discussion on Palestine

Plenary | Cordingly Lecture Theatre

This year, Palestinians commemorate the 77th anniversary of the Nakba whilst Gaza is undergoing a genocide, ongoing for over 19 months. Across all of Palestine, Israel is still subjecting Palestinians to policies of ethnic cleansing, forced displacement and oppression.

As people dedicated to engaging with social movements, it only seemed fit to hold a panel on the significance and tactics of solidarity with Palestine, as well as the role of our academic institutions in supporting the Israeli colonial regime. Through insights from campaigners, staff members, students and activists from the university and beyond, we aim to instigate both meaningful conversation and action and link our knowledge to struggles on the ground.

Speakers:



Hala Marshood is a Palestinian PhD student in Sociology at the University of Manchester. More importantly, Hala is part of the Palestinian campaigning groups inside university and in Manchester in general, a political activist in Palestine as well.



Omer Aijazi is a transdisciplinary scholar of disaster and conflict, interested in how people imagine and claim their worlds in the wake of colonial rule and environmental ruin while in the shadows of empire. He teaches at the Humanitarian and Conflict Response Institute, University of Manchester, and is the author of *Atmospheric Violence: Disaster and Repair in Kashmir*.



Tony Erizia is an activist with Manchester Palestine Action, with experience in teaching and music. Following decades of activism on a range of issues, from the Black struggle in Britain to the struggle against Apartheid South Africa, Tony got involved in MPA after seeing a live video of protestors outside a Zionist shop in Manchester's King Street.



Istahil is a masters student and a member of the Youth Front For Palestine (YFFP) Founded in 2022, YFFP has been campaigning against complicit institutions in Manchester and Birmingham and last year, launched a targeted student campaign against Tel Aviv University (TAU's) ties with University of Manchester, building up from past student campaigns at the University.

Session 7A | Room G6 | Chair: Martin Greenwood

Bite Back: Food and care in spaces of community organising

Reka Polonyi (SALC, University of Manchester), Elise Imray-Papineau & Alisha Ibkar

Abstract: This paper draws on the work of three interdisciplinary scholars to discuss the interplay of food, care, and activism. We present critical investigations about the role of food in community organising, the benefits and barriers of care in food-sharing initiatives, the gendered dynamics around food and care in activist communities, as well as the political and material implications of food (in)justice in different parts of the world.

We, Réka, Alisha and Elise, are three women straddling the realms of academia, activism, and community arts. As members of The Care Lab, we each utilise concepts of feminist care ethics (Federici 2012; Gilligan 1982, 2014; Hamington 2015, 2021; Held 1993, 2006; Noddings 1984; Sevenhuijsen 1998; Tronto 1993, 2013) and care aesthetics (Thompson 2022) to think about social movements, community organising, and socially-engaged arts. We share a strong interest in disrupting UK-centric (and Western-focused) scholarship on topics of care and food justice: our paper will present examples from social movements in India, Philippines, Indonesia, and Lebanon.

We hope to contribute to existing debates around food-sharing and foodwork in politicised spaces, such as localised campaigns, blockade camps, autonomous zones, and grassroots community hubs. Furthermore, our intersectional feminist focus highlights themes of precarity, empowerment, subversion, social reproductive labour, and interdependence at the heart of social movement organising.

Our paper will also incorporate reflections from an online forum about food, care and activism held with international scholars in spring 2025.

Keywords: food; care ethics; grassroots organising; activism; blockade camps

Toward communities of care: social clinics and the concept of health

Kala Dobosz (Doctoral School in the Social Sciences, Jagiellonian University)

Abstract: International Network of Social Clinics* (INOSC) represents a radical shift in healthcare paradigms, embodying a collective, anti-capitalist, and anti-hierarchical approach to medical practice and wellbeing. They serve as safe spaces for marginalized groups, offering care that transcends conventional boundaries. By integrating community input, they act as incubators for addressing socio-environmental issues that directly impact health, such as pollution, precarious living conditions, and social isolation.

Such places like Solidarisches Gesundheitszentrum, Ambulatori Popolare Caracol Olo! Jackson, Laboratorio di Salute Popolare, Village 2 santé or Κοινωνικό Ιατρείο Αλληλεγγύης, present a critique of dominant healthcare practices and models,

addressing their specific historical, political and epistemological foundations. They conceptualize health as a dynamic process, which is a social product that depends on our collective action. Their inclusive and egalitarian practices are focused on fostering the creation of communities of care. People whose needs are addressed in the clinic are neither “patients”, nor “clients”, they are “incomers” who participate in the collective work.

INCC clinics, by advocating for anti-authoritarian structures and solidarity-based support, propose a viable blueprint for organizing societies rooted in justice, equality, and ecological harmony. I analyse how this movement through novel practices in everyday interactions, processes, and medical procedures not only challenge conventional organizational structures, but also introduce an alternative to medical ontology.

My study stems from my involvement in the Poland-based Mutual Aid Society—TePeWu Association (Towarzystwo Pomocy Wzajemnej), where we confront discrimination and structural violence perpetuated by capitalist and patriarchal systems. Although we are at the beginning of our journey, we draw inspiration and knowledge from others who, like us, reject biomedical and neoliberal fragmentation.

Keywords: care, health, solidarity, social clinics, medical ontology

Women’s Movements and The Politics of Care: The Case of Zimbabwe

Yvonne Jila (Lund University, Sweden)

Abstract: This paper explores the repertoires of care that women activists in Zimbabwe practice individually and collectively in a context where they face backlash for their activism, or where they deal with funding crunches at organizational level and where at family and individual level, due to patriarchy and traditional values, they are expected to become others’ caregivers and are socialized into putting themselves last. As a result of these challenges, their work can be exhausting and stressful at times and can push activists to the brink of despair. However, there is a relatively small body of literature that is concerned with how movement actors practice self-care and collective—care. Most studies on African women’s movements have largely focused on the challenges that movement actors navigate, ranging from closure of civic space, funding challenges, smear campaigns to criminalization, and at family level ostracization by family members (Tripp (2009); Nugdalla (2020); Barry and Dordjevic (2007); Earle (2011; Okech (2020); Kagoro and Makamure (2020). Thus, through a qualitative case study based on semi-structured in-depth and life history interviews with women activists who are part of, and organize under the Women’s Coalition of Zimbabwe, this paper teases out the meanings to which activists attach to care, and how they practice self—and collective care. The study draws on social movement theories, ethics of care as well as black feminist and postcolonial theories. Findings reveal that despite backlash and push back, care, enshrined in trust and solidarity, is the thread that keeps the women’s movement together. Findings also highlight that through caring practices such as rest, activists define care as a form of political act and resistance against the grind culture.

Keywords: self-care, collective care, women's movement, ethics of care, Zimbabwe

Plight within Indonesia's social movements and the significance of collective care

Fathimah Fildzah Izzati (SOAS University of London)

Abstract: Indonesia's social movements are currently at a critical juncture, facing a significant plight. This impasse, which encompasses political aspirations and daily organising, is a pressing issue. The pervasive depoliticisation, patriarchal atmosphere, weak resistance structures, and the absence of collective care are four primary factors contributing to this plight.

The depoliticisation legacy of the Suharto Order, which still grasps society, including social movements, affects political orientations of many social movement organisations in Indonesia. The strong patriarchal nuances within social movements also cause an impasse in daily organising. It takes work to run social movement organisations amid these patriarchal nuances. Women's marginalisation, both intentionally and unintentionally, seems to be normalised in many social movement organisations. The absence of a strong resistance structure and collective care also significantly contributes to this plight.

This paper delves into these issues and presents a thesis that collective care is a pivotal solution to breaking the plight within Indonesia's social movements. While this thesis is not groundbreaking, its significance and practical implementation are crucial. This paper aims to shed light on these matters, offering hope for the future of social movements in Indonesia.

Keywords: collective care, Indonesia, social movements, depoliticisation.

Session 7B | Room G7 | Chair: Markus Holdo

Agileocracy: Reimagining Governance Through Collaborative and Adaptive Alternatives

Jasmina Nikolic (Agile Humans Ltd & University of Belgrade) & Biljana Markovic (Agile Humans)

Abstract: Traditional governance structures are increasingly ill-suited to address the crises of our time—systemic inequality, environmental degradation, and political fragmentation. This paper introduces agileocracy as an alternative framework rooted in agile methodologies, reimagining governance as decentralized, participatory, and adaptive. By dismantling rigid hierarchies and fostering collaborative decision-making processes, agileocracy empowers citizens and cross-functional teams to co-create effective responses to complex societal challenges.

Drawing on my experiences as a former Serbian Member of Parliament, founder of Agile Humans, and university professor, this paper highlights how agile principles—commonly applied in business and technology—can be transformative tools for political innovation and social movements. Through case studies of grassroots initiatives and

organizational experiments, I demonstrate how agile methods have been used to amplify collective action, foster social justice, and strengthen resilience within political and social systems.

This paper argues that agileocracy aligns with the strategies, imaginaries, and ideologies of contemporary movements advocating for alternatives to capitalism, patriarchy, and other oppressive systems. By prioritizing inclusivity, continuous feedback, and adaptability, agileocracy offers a pathway to governance that is as dynamic and responsive as the social movements shaping our future.

By bridging political experience and agile expertise, this presentation contributes to discussions on alternative living, utopian thinking, and innovative political practice. It invites policymakers, scholars, and activists to explore agileocracy as a concrete, action-oriented model for rethinking governance in ways that align with the aspirations of collective action and societal transformation.

Keywords: Social movements, alternative governance, participatory decision-making, agile methods, collective action, political innovation

Assessment of the public expression of political views by Polish judges during social protests in the light of qualitative research.

Mateusz Zaremba (Stowarzyszenie "Świetlica Kulturalna") & Cezary Wąsowski

Abstract: The aim of this text is to describe how Polish judges perceive the involvement of representatives of the judiciary in social protests supporting opponents or supporters of changes. The problem of the independence of the judiciary from other authorities (in the Montesquieu approach) has become an element of public debate in Poland since 2015. At that time, the issue of the significance of the separateness of the judiciary for the stability of the democratic system began to be raised. The beginning of the dispute over the judiciary was the attempt by the then ruling party (Law and Justice) to reform the judiciary. The procedure and scope of the proposed changes provoked opposition from a significant part of the judicial community. From a research perspective, it is significant that this problem entered the public debate, and citizens began to treat it as an essential issue for political choice. From that moment on, in social and political research, respondents were asked about their assessment of the autonomy of the judiciary and their right to publicly express political views outside the sentences of the judgments issued.

For the purposes of this study, the constitutional definition of judicial independence was adopted, understood as the basic principle of the organization and functioning of the judiciary in Poland. Its essence is traditionally considered to be the judge's binding only by the law and his own conscience, as well as the judge's freedom from any external and internal pressures (Jacek Gudowski, 2023; p. 398)

The description of the complex political dispute surrounding the Polish justice system is irrelevant here, but for the measurement adopted in the study, one consequence is particularly important. The community has divided into two groups of supporters and opponents of change. The changes introduced by the government have led to a

situation in which opponents of the changes are questioning the right of newly nominated judges to adjudicate.

The study in the field of sociology of law is conducted using the technique of in-depth individual interviews (IDI). The study involves judges of common courts and law courts. 100 in-depth individual interviews were conducted with adjudicating judges.

Keywords: protests, judicial independence, status of judges, qualitative research

Counter-Hegemonic Human Rights and International Solidarity with Kurdistan: Potentials, Pitfalls and Translations

Daniel Brown (LSE Sociology)

Abstract: Human rights have long been theorised as a contested terrain filled with both hegemonic and counter-hegemonic potentials (Odysseos et al, 2015). Their privileged position as “the lingua franca of global politics and transnational solidarity” (Çubukçu, 2018: 17) is reflected by a vast array of liberal NGOs and international institutions, and conversely by their role in many grassroots and anti-systemic struggles globally.

This paper draws on the political struggle of the Kurdish Freedom Movement to examine the counter-hegemonic potentials of human rights. An anti-systemic movement present not just in the four states that lay claim to the geographies of Kurdistan, but also across Europe through Kurdish diaspora and internationalist solidarity networks. The 1990s was a tumultuous time for the movement which saw its popularisation through mass mobilisations known as the Serhildan, a process of ideological transitions partly responding to dramatic geopolitical shifts, and growing international solidarity made possible in part by increasing engagement with the discourses and institutions of human rights. Political work to build international solidarity in such networks continues to involve both the mobilisation of rights claims and criticism of liberal human rights’ emancipatory claims of neutral apolitical justice.

This paper draws on the accounts of movement-aligned militants in Europe exploring their conceptualisations of human rights and their human rights practices which seek to intervene in European civil society. Such accounts reflect both tactical appropriations of human rights and even radical re-conceptualisations of rights. In either case, the question of translation is key to understanding human rights practices as part of a counter-hegemonic strategy. What is made possible by such translations of radical politics into the language of human rights? And what is lost or untranslatable? After all, such counter-hegemonic practices are simultaneously constrained by and able to appropriate the legitimacy of liberal human rights discourses and institutions.

Keywords: Kurdish, Civil Society, Counter-Hegemony, Human Rights, international solidarity

Movements before Mechanisms: Limitations and Possibilities for a Citizen-Driven Justice Response in Post-Conflict Iraq

Nadia Siddiqui (Social Inquiry) & Roger Guiu (Social Inquiry)

Abstract: Iraqi society has experienced multiple transitions and upheavals, one of the most recent being the ISIL conflict from 2014-2017, that have occurred in relatively short succession and where the justice response for violations against civilians over time remains partial at best in terms of the types of rights abuses and infringements considered, the population groups involved, and the ways in which it is implemented (or not). In such a context, the path toward just and lasting societal change often feels to people like being caught in a cycle of defiance against an unjust status quo and a despair that this status quo will never change. Transitional justice mechanisms and restorative justice practices, distinct but increasingly complementary fields, may serve as a guide on this path and an avenue to channel defiance and to staunch despair toward bringing some modicum of accountability and redress to victims of mass human (and increasingly socio-economic) rights violations, recognizing the dignity of victims as citizens, and offering a potential means to help transform society. This has not happened in Iraq in part because what has taken place to date does not adequately grapple with the underlying root causes that have led to the current grievances people have. This paper explores the limitations to the justice response in the country and offers potential ways forward out of despair toward agency and hope again. It draws on 211 interviews with community members and leaders across three governorates that have diverse populations, disputed governance status, and were sites of conflict and repression pre—and post-2003 and during and after the ISIL conflict. Findings indicate the need for transitional justice interventions in Iraq to expand the time periods, types of violations, and victims and perpetrators they seek to engage with, while also highlighting the disjointed nature of collective action in these areas thus far and citizens' retreat from civic space given the growing threats they face and limited impact their efforts to date have yielded. Rather than focusing transitional justice efforts on building toward specific mechanisms, work in this area must instead center on building the citizen-led movements that can advocate for them and restorative justice approaches may help in fostering this.

Keywords: Iraq, post-conflict, post-regime change, transitional justice, restorative justice, citizen mobilization

Session 7C | Room G32 | Chair: Scarlet Harris

Conceptualizing the State: Tactical Decisions and Violence at the ZAD Lützerath

Anton Vandevoorde (Ghent University)

Abstract: This paper investigates the complex interplay between activists' conceptualizations of the state and their tactical responses during violent conflicts, specifically in the context of a violent confrontation at the ZAD Lützerath, a site of resistance against lignite mining in North Rhine-Westphalia, Germany. Through

ethnographic and theoretical analysis, the research highlights how activists navigate the emergent boundaries between state and society, fluctuating between seeing the state as an intrinsic part of society and as an external, oppressive force. The state-conceptualization influences choices of tactics, often leading to violent engagements during moments when the state appears as external from society.

Keywords: Environmental Movements; Anarchism; State; Eviction

What can a wound do: Collective Responses to Police Brutality in Colombia, Chile, and Iran

Lucía Guerrero Rivière (University of Exeter) & Camilo Tamayo (University of Huddersfield)

Abstract: This paper explores the intersections of state violence, cultural resistance, and collective mobilisation in response to police brutality in Colombia, Chile, and Iran. Focusing on the prevalence of mutilated eyes during police crackdowns on protests in each country, we analyse the body as a site of socio-political repression and punishment, employing anthropological, socio-cultural, and political perspectives to examine the symbolic dimensions of wounds and scars—on individual and social bodies alike.

Drawing on disability studies, sociology, political science, criminology, and cultural studies, the research investigates the transformative actions of grassroots organisations and cultural producers, including musicians, artists, and activists who reframe individual pain as collective resistance. Through cultural outputs like songs, posters, street art, and performances, these actors contest state narratives, disrupt assumptions about bodily capacities, memorialise injuries, and can foster networks of transnational solidarity among affected communities. This democratisation of pain transcends personal trauma and tragedy, transforming it into a public and political force that challenges authoritarian practices, systemic injustice, and normative narratives about loss and disability.

The comparative analysis across Colombia, Chile, and Iran highlights how grassroots movements adapt socio-cultural production to local contexts while reflecting on and scrutinising shared global dynamics of state repression. Emphasis is placed on the creative and affective dimensions of these movements, illustrating how cultural resistance not only reclaims agency over the injured body but also generates alternative spaces of dignity and recognition.

Finally, we propose potential pathways for fostering open dialogues between police forces and civil society actors to rebuild trust and address broken social contracts. We suggest that these grassroots initiatives, grounded in cultural and collective action, offer vital strategies for reinvigorating democracy and promoting justice in divided societies. This multidisciplinary approach illuminates the possibilities of transforming suffering into a catalyst for social and political change.

Keywords: Police brutality, cultural resistance, grassroots activism, democratisation of pain, Colombia, Chile, Iran, socio-cultural production

Resisting State Violence under the regulatory model of sex work activism in New Delhi

Akangshya Bordoloi (Maynooth University)

Abstract: Eurocentric sociological research on gender and feminism is incapable of comprehending the multiplicities of tension within southern feminism (Roy 2016). As unlike the Western European social movement theories (McCarthy and Zald 1977, Melucci 1989, McAdam 1999), the sex work movement in India is an interplay of culture, politics and nationalism (Omvedt 1993). Through my ethnographic research in Delhi (2020-2024), I argue that the Indian regulatory sex work movement highlights the failure of such Eurocentric research. By using interview data from female sex workers (FSWs), activists and advocates of NGOs, this paper proposes an alternative history of feminism (Tambe 2010), to contest claims by key NGO actors who see policing and the wider state apparatus as offering protection to FSWs.

By focussing on the significance of bottom-up (Bayat 2010) collective (Basu 1995, Roy 2015, Vijayakumar 2018) sisterhood (Waterman 2004, Ray 2020), the community of commercial Indian FSWs and activists are addressing the limitations of Eurocentric feminism and radical political southern movement approach. Drawing from Feree's (2010) concept of in-betweenness, I claim that by transforming the Indian NGOs and civil societies into in-between bridges, the proposed bottom-up grassroots approach will be able to (i) address the inconsistencies of the model (violent and stigmatised policing/rehabilitation), (ii) address the growing capitalisation (Kabeer 1994, Bindman 1997, Kempadoo and Doezema 1998), radicalisation, politicization of the movement (Kapur 1997, Mukherjee 2019, Chitnis and Wright 2007, Fernandes 2013, Roy 2016), (iii) include the real voices and opinions of all FSWs and activists, (iv) respect the long lineage and emotions (Buechler 1995, Tilly 2008) associated with being an 'Indian prostitute' (Clothey 2006, Sarode 2015, Singh 2021, Kumar 2024) and (v) create a distinct Indian Female Sex Worker identity that is separate to southern feminist identity and movement (Sanders et.al 2017).

Keywords: Southern feminism, Indian sex work identity and movement, violent and stigmatised policing, bottom-up regulatory model of activism.

Session 7D | Room G33 | Chair: Benjamin Abrams

Changemakers: thinking through radical strategies for social movement organising

Jane Holgate (University of Leeds) & John Page (Ella Baker School of Organising)

Abstract: To change the world we have to ask: what has shaped it, and what forces are currently determining its direction? Whether it is climate change, LGBTQ+ rights, discrimination and inequality in the workplace, the killing of animals for sport, the casualization of work, or the unaffordability of housing, there's a reason why the societies we live in permit injustice--and it's almost invariably as a result of an imbalance of power.

This paper will draw upon social movement theory and practice and our recent book *Changemakers Radical Strategies for Social Movement Organising*. We critique political theorist and community organiser Saul Alinsky's well-known book *Rules for Radicals* while celebrating the work of Myles Horton and the Highlander School. We draw on the essay 'Two Souls of Socialism' by Marxist Hal Draper (1966), and his distinction between socialism from above and socialism from below, to explore the concept of agency, or as Marx put it: 'the emancipation of the working classes must be conquered by the working classes themselves'. But today, what is our strategy for moving people from resentment at their condition, to actively building the power necessary to effect change?

We argue that social justice movements spend too much time on analysing what's wrong and advancing an alternative, and too little time building capacity. As Ella Baker put it: strong people don't need strong leaders', or as Hal Draper put it: 'Too long have the workers of the world waited for some Moses to lead them out of bondage...I would not lead you out if I could; for if you could be led out, you could be led back again'. This presentation will look at these issues through the lens of the growth in authoritarian populist narratives.

Keywords: Social movements, organising, agency, power

Doing resistance after Bourdieu: problems and prospects

Shanglin Liu (University of Manchester)

Abstract: Since the introduction of Bourdieu to the English-speaking world in late 1970s, a wide range of new theories have been prompted attempting to explain resistances and struggles, which produced more epistemic problems than solving them. In this presentation, I illustrate how resistance is overgeneralised in the theories by reviewing discussions from Pierre Bourdieu, the subaltern studies group, and James Scott. Informed by Bourdieu's own criticism on Marx, I argue that scholars have been committing similar problems of replacing realities with scholarly romanticism that they accused Marx of, resulting in the gap between theoretical explanations and real-world struggles. To elaborate the criticism, I reviewed dissent voices including Matthew Gutmann, Tania Li, Partha Chatterjee, Gayatri Spivak, Raymond Williams and Stuart Hall, further situating how specifically romanticising resistance has proposed problematic outcomes for current and future research, reducing understanding resistance to a scholarly performance of 'doing resistance'. To tackle this problem, the paper suggests returning to traditions from cultural studies in directly confronting the problem of how resistance is presented and represented. I elicit examples from subculture studies by CCCS to present how resistance can be approached in detail echoing with realities, and show how resistance can be respected as it is from an everyday life perspective of people resisting in the knowledge production process.

Keywords: resistance, subalterns, scholarly romanticism, cultural studies, everyday life

Spontaneity and bureaucratisation in contemporary social movements

Kostas Kanellopoulos (National Centre for Social Research (EKKE), Greece)

Abstract: The French Marxist philosopher and sociologist Henri Lefebvre, in a text written in the midst of the events of May 1968, profoundly analyses the concept of spontaneity. According to Lefebvre, at the basis of spontaneity lies contestation. Contestation "is first and foremost the refusal of incorporation, knowing what this incorporation consists in, what it implies in terms of submission, and what it entails in terms of disconnections...it is the round, wholesale refusal of the alienations that one senses or feels...it is the will not to be overpowered." Contestation is spontaneously born and spontaneity, understood precisely as contestation, is what makes events and movements possible. Without it, nothing would have happened and in this regard, it constitutes an enemy to all powers since it is by definition corrupting and escaping the institutional element. The mirror opposite of spontaneity is the organizational tendency that usually results in bureaucratization. The tug of war, as we understand it here, between spontaneity and the organisationalist tendency is inherent in social movements. But we need neither idealise spontaneity nor, on the other hand, demonise organisation. After all, the precondition of any movement event is the existence of a certain form of collectivity. And in collectivities of any form there is inevitably the need for some form of organisational constitution. In this respect the usual organizational dualism between vertical and horizontal forms is here rather theoretically, and politically, barren. Our aim in this paper is to study aspects and facets of the tendencies of spontaneity and bureaucratization in contemporary social movements and to explore the possible effect of each tendency on movement outcomes. In order to draw some fruitful theoretical and political conclusions, we will explore the impact of these two trends in typical cases of movements in Greece over the last two decades.

Keywords: Spontaneity, contestation, bureaucratization, social movement outcomes

Wednesday, 11:00–12:30

Session 8A | Room G6 | Chair: Udeepa Chakravarty

Striking Similarities? Applying Protest Event Analysis to Platform Workers' Struggle

Morgan Rhys Powell (University of Leeds)

Abstract: In an instance of cross-fertilisation between Social Movement Studies and Employment Relations, the Leeds Index of Platform Labour Protest applies Protest Event Analysis to the study of contention in the platform economy. Typically, research on collective action undertaken by platform workers – such as food delivery couriers, private hire drivers and grocery delivery workers – takes the form of rich qualitative investigation. This approach is hugely valuable in detailing the complexity of work and conflict in platforms, but it struggles to identify meso—and macro-scale spatial and

temporal trends in the causes of protests, and their correlation with different types of collective actors, strategies, and regulatory contexts.

The Leeds Index deploys PEA in an innovative effort at analysing platform workers' protest globally, developing an evolving database of protest events based largely on news reporting. However, this has not been without challenge. Alongside the challenges traditionally faced by PEA, the near-constant change in how platforms operate demands dynamism; and debates on the nature of strike action, legal action, and workers' organisational forms in the under-regulated platform economy can make variables difficult to define. This paper draws on recent literature regarding PEA in Social Movement Studies and literature on platforms in Employment Relations – alongside illustrative data from platform workers' protest in India between 2015 and 2023 – to outline such challenges and consider how they can be overcome, with lessons to be learnt in both fields of study.

Keywords: Protest Event Analysis, Labour, Platforms, Methods, Theory, India

The Future in Social Movements: Entangled Temporalities of Anti-Neoliberal Political Action

Alexandre Nogueira Martins (Freie Universität Berlin)

Abstract: The future has been recognised as a central dimension of social action, animating both the present and the past, especially of collective action aiming to bring social change. This paper discusses the multiple ways in which social movements praxis enact futurities and argues that their political action may be understood in the entanglement of three temporalities: the time of reproduction, the time of political invention and the time of resistance. Based on a case study of anti-neoliberal movements from Argentina and Colombia, the research sheds light on how the daily practices of maintaining the activist organisations, their tactics on the streets and in negotiating with state institutions are embedded in specific forms of futuring. In order to produce the futures they imagine and desire beyond neoliberal capitalist realism, these movements have produced forms of mutual care for crossing dystopian times and prefigured excesses to the neoliberal timespace in contradictory dynamics explored in this paper. The proposed entanglements are discussed through the analysis of interviews conducted between 2022 and 2024, documents produced from explicitly anti-neoliberal social movements in Argentina and Colombia, and fieldnotes of participant observation in popular protests.

Keywords: future; time; resistance; reproduction; neoliberalism

Rethinking Resistance: Overcoming the Oversight of Neoliberalism in Social Movement Theory

Margaux Schulz (International Institute of Social Studies, Erasmus University of Rotterdam)

Abstract: The relationship between social movements and neoliberalism has undergone significant conceptual shifts. After a period of neglect from the 1980s to the early 2010s, recent scholarship has renewed its focus on the dynamic interaction between neoliberalism and contentious politics, marking a renewed focus on political

economy. This article critically examines three key approaches in the existing literature: (1) neoliberalism as a static backdrop, (2) neoliberalism as both enabling and constraining resistance inspired by Polanyi's double movement and Harvey's concept of accumulation by dispossession, and (3) the authoritarian turn of neoliberal governance inspired by Bruff and Tansel. Yet, these accounts remain constrained by immanent conceptions of substance, treating movements and neoliberal processes as emergent synchronic reactions. In response, this article advocates for a trans-immanent perspective, acknowledging the diachronic feedback loops and contingencies that shape neoliberalism and resistance. Drawing on insights from French Regulation Theory and its development in the Morphogenetic Regulation Approach, this article foregrounds the complex and dynamic processes through which social movements contest and transform institutional frameworks, situating resistance not as inevitable, but as contingent on underlying structural conditions. Such a perspective enables a deeper understanding of the evolving interplay between neoliberal practices and social mobilization.

Keywords: neoliberalism, french regulation, morphogenetic regulation, social movements

Session 8B | Room G7 | Chair: Ümit Kemal Yıldız

Mapping social reactions to migration: The social effects of anti-migrant mobilisations in Kent

Matthijs Gardenier (University of Montpellier —Paul Valéry)

Abstract: Based on a case study in Dover, this proposal takes an interactional approach to the question of the impact that the activities of anti-immigrant groups can have on local communities, and to contextualise them within a framework of social reaction to migration. The prism adopted to understand social reactions to migration is to think in an interactional dimension of the actions of anti-migrant social movements in the areas around Dover.

From this interactional perspective, the present research focuses on three specific research questions:

1. What is the impact of negative interactions on public or NGO actors involved in support? Does pressure from anti-migrant groups have an impact on individual trajectories? Does this pressure lead to engagement or disengagement?
2. What is the impact of anti-migrant groups on local communities? Do anti-migrant groups succeed in generating community engagement? Are there counter-movements in favour of refugees?
3. What measures are taken to counter, manage or reduce the impact of these mobilisations?

This research concentrates on the mechanisms of public action around migration, as they include security actors, elected representatives, humanitarian actors and social

workers, who form a camp in conflictual terms under the stress of the mobilisations of anti-migrant groups, while remaining a constellation of actors and groups whose practices and interests remains sometimes contradictory. To answer these questions data collection has been designed to allow a better understanding of the wider range of actors (including governmental, non-governmental, media etc.) within the field of study and to establish the societal impact of anti-migrant activism and its connection (if any) to shifts in public policy and public opinion. To this end, field research employed semi-structured interviews with government and non-governmental organisation actors (rather than anti-migrant activists, which were the focus of previous research).

Keywords: Anti-migrant groups, vigilantism, social reaction to migration, Dover, videoactivism

Re-writing Citizenship: Migrant Women's Activism in Manchester

Sugandha Agarwal (University of Manchester)

Abstract: Situated at the theoretical intersection of sociology and politics, this paper brings a critical lens to the study of activism by investigating and analysing the lives of migrant women living in the UK. Through interviews and participant observation conducted over a year, this paper examines how migrant women engage in individual and collective community work and activism against the backdrop of the UK's changing immigration policies. The objective of this research is to shift away from the narrative of migrant women as passive victims to recognise the multiple ways in which they exercise agency, and in doing so, enact their own forms of "activist citizenship." Isin (2009) uses the term to characterise the newly emerging types of citizen subjectivities that challenge the traditional notions of citizenship attached to modern liberal democracies. This paper asks a central question: what routes do migrant women take into activism? In what ways do they exercise agency and how do these intersect with notions of belonging and identity? Ultimately, it seeks to problematise traditional notions of activism and understand how migrant women engage, contest, transform, and otherwise resist the patriarchal forces within the state and their communities. A rapidly growing international diaspora teamed with anti-immigration political discourse across the UK lends this research particular urgency, making it doubly important to centralise the marginalised narratives of migrant women. This research will contribute to existing literature on forced migration, citizenship and migrant activism in the UK, particularly on the obscured narratives of women activists in Manchester.

Keywords: activism, citizenship, migrant women, diaspora

Where theories of racial capitalism meet abolitionist praxis: possibilities for anti-racism

Scarlet Harris (University of Cambridge)

Abstract: This paper considers how the bringing together of analyses of racial capitalism and abolitionist praxis offers generative possibilities for anti-racism in Britain today. It highlights not only their compatibility but the ways in which they can

perform a mutual empirical and theoretical ‘stretching’. The paper begins with an overview of key scholarly work that has addressed this critical nexus, but also guards against complacency, highlighting the ways in which this seemingly natural affinity has come under pressure at the present conjuncture.

Drawing on a series of recent empirical examples of (anti-)racism in Britain, the paper goes on to argue that combining analyses of racial capitalism and abolitionist praxis helps us to, firstly, think more expansively about ‘race’ and state racism. Theories of racial capitalism reveal the malleability of ‘race’ as an essential feature of capitalist reproduction, offering a counterbalance to essentializing tendencies within abolitionist movements. At the same time, an expansive vision of abolition ensures that anti-racist responses to state racism are properly resilient to reformism. Secondly, theories of racial capitalism can help us to make sense of the affective dimensions of racialised violence, and bringing abolition to bear on such analyses can help us to respond in more radical ways, resisting punitive impulses in both thinking and practice.

Ultimately, the paper argues for an anti-racist orientation that can meet the complexities and challenges of our current moment: a decisively abolitionist response to racial capitalism, and an abolitionist praxis with an analysis of racial capitalism at its centre.

Keywords: racial capitalism, abolition, anti-racism, state racism, racialised violence

(Post)coloniality and Commemoration in Martinique

Meghan Tinsley (University of Manchester)

Abstract: Statues are dynamic sites of constructing and contesting the nation, even as they set the past in stone. The materiality of statues proclaims their authority alongside their transience: just as stone can crumble, so can dominant narratives be toppled. It is fitting, then, that statues are loci for contesting history and identity. This historical process is particularly salient in societies that have been colonised (and continue to grapple with coloniality): anti-colonial nation-building projects saw the overthrow of one historical narrative, and one set of national heroes, for another. In pursuit of complex, localised struggles with implications for the global memory of empire, I look to Martinique, a French overseas département in the Caribbean. I ask: How does the memorialisation of abolition and the anti-colonial struggle construct the postcolonial nation? I draw from an ethnography of two sharply contrasting sites of memory: the site of a former statue of Joséphine de Beauharnais in Fort-de-France, toppled by anti-colonial activists in July 2020; and Cap 110, a memorial commissioned in 1998 to commemorate the 150th anniversary of abolition. Drawing from archival research, observation, and interviews with stakeholders (including community historians, local policymakers, cultural activists, official and unofficial tour guides, vendors, and quotidian passers-by), I explore the following questions: How does erecting and maintaining monuments construct (post)colonial Martinique? How do policymakers, heritage workers, and activists situate statues within their narratives of collective identity? How does the contestation of monuments reimagine (post)colonial

Martinique? Finally, how do transnational narratives shape the memory of the French Empire?

Keywords: cultural activism, nationalism, commemoration, everyday resistance, empire, heritage

Session 8C | Room G32 | Chair: Steve Speed

The Demobilization of Spontaneous Mass Protest in Black Lives Protests: A 'Desynchronization' Effect

Benjamin Abrams (UCL)

Abstract: We know that much contemporary mass social unrest draws upon a large periphery of people from beyond the bounds of organized groups and their wider networks. Instead, many of these people participate —so to speak—'spontaneously', i.e. based on their own predispositions and in response to rising social conditions, rather than at the injunction of others. Recent work has endeavoured to understand why these spontaneous participants ultimately come to join mass uprisings and other forms of social unrest, but rather less has been said on how these spontaneous episodes ultimately demobilize.

Building on a decade of research on spontaneous participation in mass action, this paper follows participant trajectories in four US cities (Minneapolis/St Paul, Atlanta, Portland and Seattle) during the 2020 Black Lives Uprising. Using this evidence, it advances that the demobilization of spontaneous mass collective action arose due to a desynchronization between the movement and its mass participants, predominantly brought about by four cross-cutting dynamics: (a) the decay of predispositions for participation (which reduces propensity to participate); (b) shifts in social and political conditions (which serve to alter the context and meaning of participation); (c) competition from alternate forms of activity (which may take priority over participation); and (d) the interruption of the means of participation (which serves to deny opportunities to participate). These dynamics work together to remove or divert prospective participants from behavioural pathways leading to action.

Keywords: Demobilization, Desynchronization, Spontaneity, Black Lives Matter, Mass Protest

From the Street to the Cell: An Exploration of Language and Power in Activist-Police Encounters

Elise Imray Papineau (University of Manchester) & Ida Stevia Diget (University of Queensland)

Abstract: This paper examines different dynamics of power throughout activist and police encounters in the context of Australian social movements. Drawing on insights from a militant ethnographer and a linguist, this paper argues that language is used strategically by police officers to elicit compliance from activists. We explore the responses of activist groups to power imbalances, specifically the use of grassroots

pedagogy in facilitating police interactions. We begin by situating our research within existing literature and context, before taking our reader on a hypothetical journey through the different scenarios wherein activist-police encounters (APEs) occur. APEs are explored through a transdisciplinary framework and methodological triangulation, drawing on first-hand observations, government guidelines, and activist materials. While the case study of this paper is informed by climate activists and policing specifically in the state of Queensland, Australia, the paper additionally discusses the power dynamics of APEs on a larger scale, arguing that several characteristics of policing, such as the inaccessible language of the law, creates significant barriers for equitable democratic freedom.

We are not only interested in APEs themselves, but the strategies used by activists and grassroots organisers to facilitate healthier and more equitable APEs, as these have material implications for minoritised demographics everywhere.

Keywords: activist, police, communication, language, power, Australia

Soulèvements de la terre: broad antagonistic alliances and a wide spectrum of tactics show the way for Europe's radical climate movement

Judith Pape (ICTA-UAB, Barcelona)

Abstract: This contribution explores the emergence and strategy of Soulèvements de la Terre (SdT), a radical climate and environmental movement in post-pandemic France. The movement has mobilized tens of thousands to fight harmful industries, often engaging in mass disarmament of destructive infrastructure. Despite police violence and a government attempt to dissolve it, SdT prevails as a radical force, expanding its campaigns to include antifascism and opposition to the far-right media mogul Vincent Bolloré. Amid France's political crisis, SdT demonstrates remarkable agility in shaping the terrain of struggle.

Based on more than 20 anonymous semi-structured interviews conducted between June 2024 and May 2025, this study explores five key strategic aspects behind SdT's success:

1. **Mass Disarmament:** SdT employs clandestine as well as mass disarmament at harmful industrial sites, inspired by the successful mix of tactics of the ZAD NDDL. This direct action has been central to their alliances and strategy.
2. **Broad Alliances:** From the start, SdT has been a living antagonistic alliance of diverse existing structures like the peasant's union Confédération paysanne, the climate movement and workers unions.
3. **Multiscale Contention:** The movement supports local struggles while exposing national political and media figures, such as Bolloré. This multilevel engagement strengthens local fights and shapes mass consciousness.
4. **A Return to the Soil:** Moving beyond CO2 metrics, SdT focusses on soil as a nexus for liberation: fighting environmental destruction, strengthening workers' self-determination, and confronting neocolonial exploitation.

5. Accountable Decision-Making: Despite ideological and tactical diversity, SdT ensures internal accountability and quick adaptability, enabling it to maintain cohesion across its broad alliance.

Keywords: mass direct action, social movement project, contention, climate justice, strategy

Theorising Initial and Sustained Protest Participation: From Emotional Energy to Fictive Kinship

Mathis Ebbinghaus (University of Oxford)

Abstract: Why do people join protests, and what sustains their protest participation over time? Drawing on in-depth interviews with participants in the 2020 George Floyd protests in Minneapolis and St. Paul, this article compares the distinct drivers of initial and sustained protest participation. The analysis reveals that initial protest participation was fuelled by a threefold emotional process: anger, a need for social solidarity and engrossing emotional energy generated at protest sites. By contrast, sustained participation – after more than two years of activism – was rooted in imagined kinship, a kin-like sense of loyalty and obligation toward unconditionally committed activists viewed as ‘family’. By systematically comparing initial and sustained protest participation, the analysis reveals divergent theoretical mechanisms that underpin protest participation at different stages of activism. These findings challenge static models of protest participation and establish fictive kinship as a critical concept for understanding sustained participation.

Keywords: protest participation, Black Lives Matter, fictive kinship

Session 8D | Hanson Room

Control Room (Pilot): Simulating Organizational Viability Through a Cyber-Systemic LARP

Felipe Ignacio García Soriano (Universitat d'Alacant), Malena Fabregat (Universitat d'Alacant) & Raúl Ruiz-Callado (Universitat d'Alacant)



Abstract: *Control Room* is a cyber-systemic live-action role-playing game (LARP) designed to simulate the stress dynamics of a complex organization under pressure. Inspired by the Viable System Model (Beer, 1979) and developed in dialogue with social systems theory (Luhmann, 1995), the game offers participants a structured yet improvisational experience in which they embody functional subsystems—field operations, internal control, coordination, strategy, and policy—within a fictional organization navigating an escalating crisis.

This session presents the first public pilot of the game. Rooted in the design principles of Nordic LARP (Stenros & Montola, 2010), *Control Room* uses immersive role-play and asymmetric information flows to dramatize key tensions in organizational life:

autonomy versus control, reactivity versus foresight, and identity versus adaptation. Participants face ethical and strategic dilemmas under conditions of limited resources and communicative fragmentation, echoing the cybernetic challenges envisioned in *Project Cybersyn*—a "lost utopia" of democratic planning and distributed intelligence (Medina, 2011).

While the scenario simulates a grassroots organization responding to crisis, the system is modular and adaptable to a wide range of institutional contexts, including NGOs, research teams, and inter-agency coalitions. The game invites not only active play (8–14 participants), but also engaged observation and reflection, with structured debriefs that connect gameplay to theoretical frameworks. Drawing from Latin American traditions of participatory pedagogy—particularly Freire's dialogical education (1970) and Boal's *Theatre of the Oppressed* (1979)—*Control Room* is not merely an educational simulation, but a space for embodied critique and systemic sensemaking.

By transforming abstract systems theory into lived experience, the game fosters systemic literacy, organizational empathy, and a nuanced understanding of viability in turbulent environments. It offers a speculative yet grounded medium for exploring how utopian visions of coordination and collective action might be enacted—or fractured—under real-world conditions.

Note: To take part in this session as a game participant, please sign up at the registration desk in the HBS Foyer. Observers are also welcome, with structured reflection tools available.

Keywords: cybernetics, Viable System Model, live-action role-play, social systems theory, systemic simulation, participatory methodology, *Cybersyn*, utopia