

Digital ↳ Print ↳

Robbie is an interdependant graphic designer from Belfast, currently living in London. He is interested in developing visual narratives and cooperative working structures.

He is a member of Evening Class ↗

Clients Include:

COS, Consented Magazine, DVTK, David Noonan, Hanger Inc, Holly Herndon, Institute of Human Activities, MayDay Rooms, Metahaven, Mitra Tabrizian, No Plans, not/no-where, STRIKE! Magazine, Studio TOOGOOD, Valiz

Education:

BA (Hons) Graphic Design, University of Brighton (2014)

3D anteroom and e-com for ethical latex fashion brand Hanger, with DVTK



3D anteroom and e-com for ethical latex fashion brand Hanger, with DVTK

BOSOZOKU
HANGER SSI6
BOSOZOKU COLLECTION

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H. STUDIO
A SEASONLESS CURATION OF SIGNATURE HANGER PIECES

[Shop Now 今すぐ購入](#)

HARDWEAR
LATEX ACCESSORIES PRODUCED BY HANGER STUDIO

LATEX

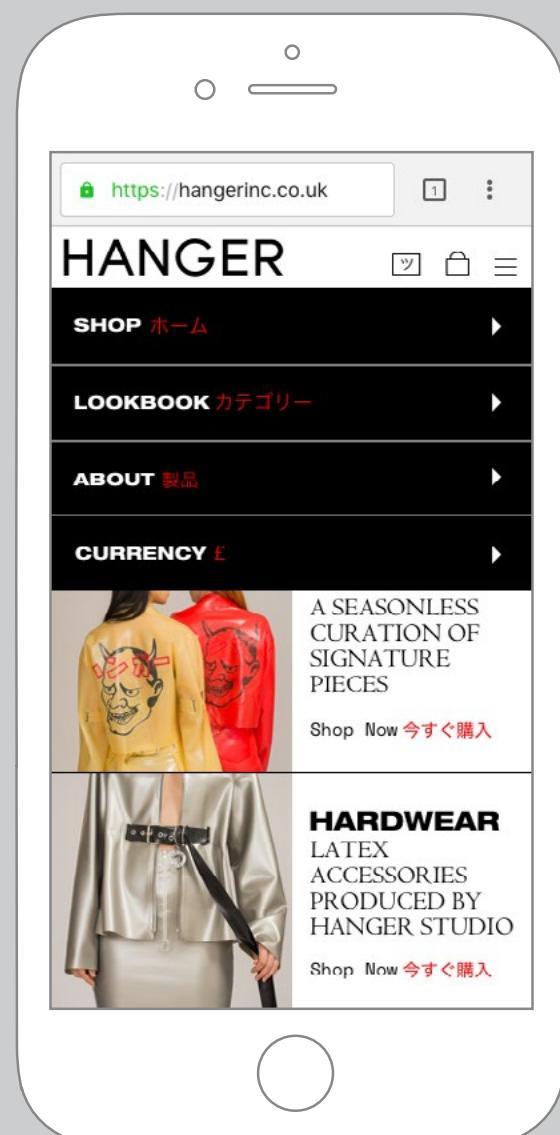
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WOVENS

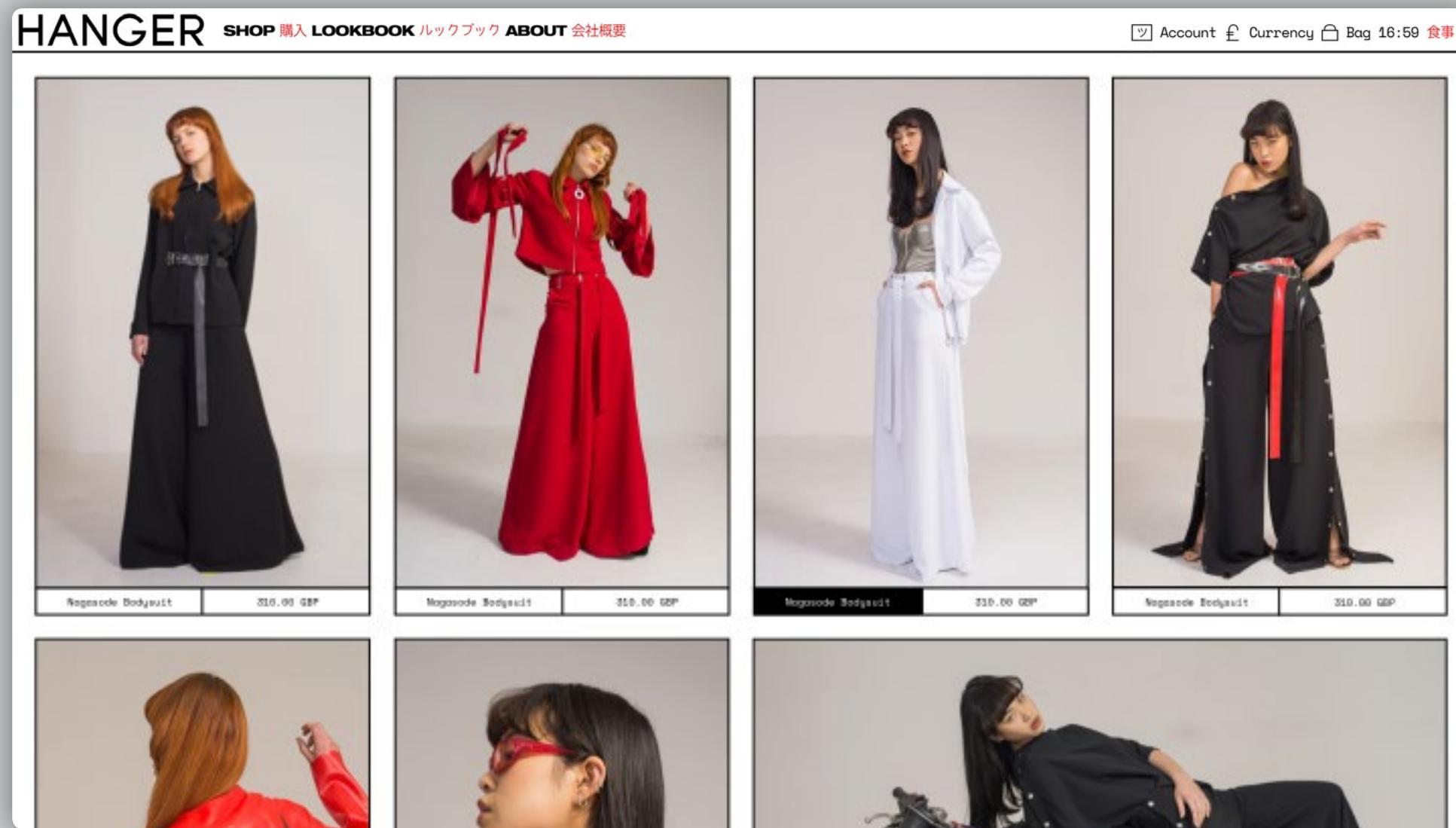
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ACCESSORIES

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3D anteroom and e-com for ethical latex fashion brand Hanger, with DVTK



SPRING DEMON - EPISODE II
SHOT BY CHRIS FOWLER
[WATCH](#)

5/12 初演
HANGER
5月12日初演
HANGER
SPRING DEMON

The collage includes a promotional poster for the shoot, several group photos of models in various latex looks, and individual shots of models posing in a forest setting.

Embeded news feed, shop and archive for research project IHA initiated by Dutch artist Renzo Martens, with Metahaven

Settlement

Curriculum
Residencies
Conferences
Exhibitions
Circulation

Global

Vision
Archive
Join
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Circlé d' Art





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[Disclaimer](#)

INSTITUTE FOR HUMAN ACTIVITIES

The Institute for Human Activities
In 2012, the Institute for Human Activities (IHA), a foundation established in the Netherlands, Belgium and the Democratic Republic of Congo, was founded by Dutch artist Renzo Martens.

10.12.14

Interview with Richard Florida at Research Seminar



04.12.14

IHA launches global debate series on poverty...

10.11.14

Renzo Martens: "Art's Critical Mandate"...

06.10.14

On the Institute for Human Activities...

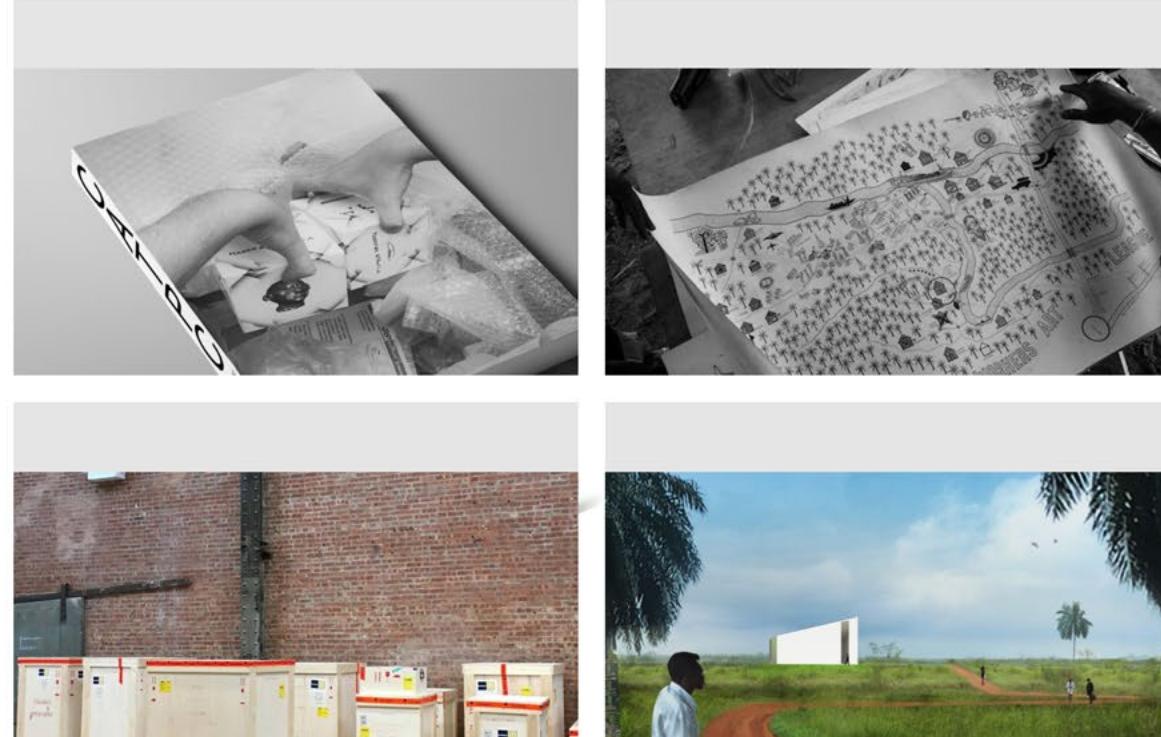
02.10.14

Artists come to create beauty and...

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INSTITUTE FOR HUMAN ACTIVITIES



Cercle d'art des travailleurs de plantati...
Launch of the first publication on the activities of the CATPC in Lusanga

MATTER OF CRITIQUE PART IV
in SculptureCenter, ...
Sunday, January 29, 2017, 2pm to 5:30pm

Exhibition CATPC
in SculptureCenter,

Embedded news feed, shop and archive for research project IHA initiated by Dutch artist Renzo Martens, with Metahaven

- Settlement**
- Curriculum
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INSTITUTE FOR HUMAN ACTIVITIES

The Institute for Human Activities

In 2012, the Institute for Human Activities (IHA), a foundation established in the Netherlands, Belgium and the Democratic Republic of Congo, began 'A Gentrification Program' on a former Unilever plantation, 800 kilometers from Kinshasa, on a tributary of the Congo River.



opening seminar on a clearing days, art historians such as TJ gongo, and artists including the terms for the IHA's five speaker was urban theorist Richard much contested thesis of art as a when art critically engages often brings beauty, jobs, and such art is exhibited, discussed York and Berlin.ation Program to counteract this. plantation to accumulate capital to join a more lucrative post-For a local economy, which Unilever sold its Congolese plantations in 2009, most of its plantation workers had no access to clean water, electricity, sanitary installations, or a salary above 1 USD per day.

In the summer of 2013 Unilever's successor, the Canadian company Feronia, blocked public roads, reneged on lease contracts and destroyed the IHA's settlement. Artworks in which children of plantation workers expressed their vision for the future were confiscated. The IHA was forced to leave its settlement and the communities with whom it had been working.

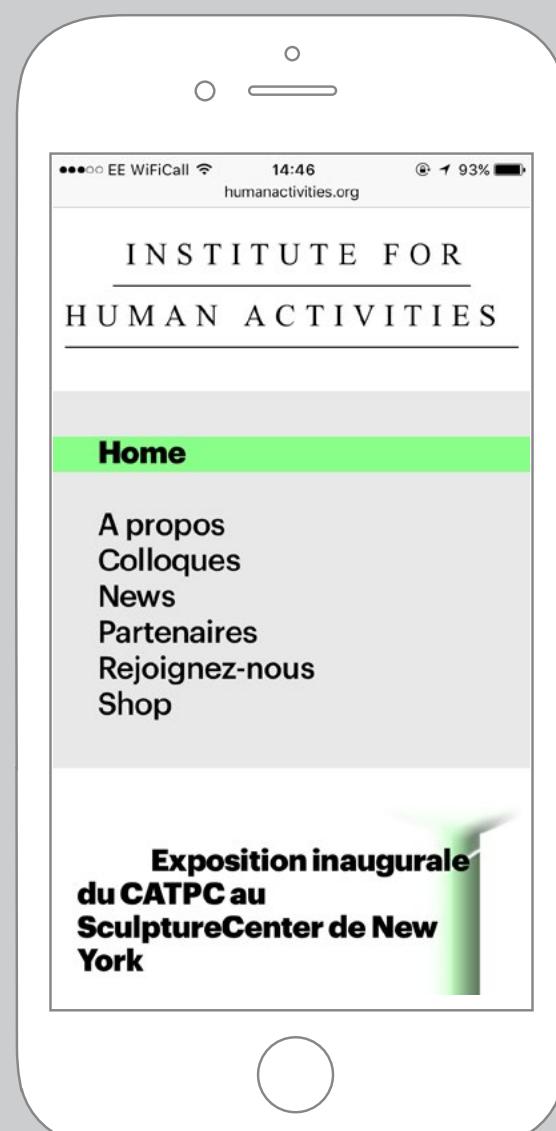
Interview with Richard Florida at Research Seminar
René Ngongo and Renzo Martens in Conversation with Richard Florida. Institute for Human Activities, 2012

- 04.12.14**
- IHA launches global debate series on poverty...

- 10.11.14**
- Renzo Martens: "Art's Critical Mandate"...

- 06.10.14**
- On the Institute for Human Activities...

- 02.10.14**
- Artists come to create beauty and...



- Settlement**
- Global
- Vision
- Archive**
- Chronological
- Random

- Join
- Collect
- Circlé d' Art

INSTITUTE FOR HUMAN ACTIVITIES

Interview with C-Magazine Summer 2014

On a riverbank in the Democratic Republic of Congo, a crowd of revelers sings and dances, their faces aglow with the cold blue light emanating from a neon billboard that reads "enjoy please poverty." Amidst the din of voices and drums, the camera records local testimonials on behalf of a so-called publicity launch aimed to show the world that "Africans are taking charge of their own resources."

The camera cuts to a close-up of the neon text, as the word "please" flicks on and off.

04.08.14

Interview with Richard Florida at

01.10.14

Interview with

- 04.12.14**
- IHA launches global debate series on poverty...

- 10.11.14**
- Renzo Martens: "Art's Critical Mandate"...

- 06.10.14**
- On the Institute for Human Activities...

- 02.10.14**

Implementation and expansion of the new site design, done as part of the in-house design team

Relaxed style

Introducing a new selection of easy pieces in relaxed shapes

[shop the edit](#)



New arrivals

Discover our latest collection, designed for the modern wardrobe: explore new styles

[shop new arrivals](#)

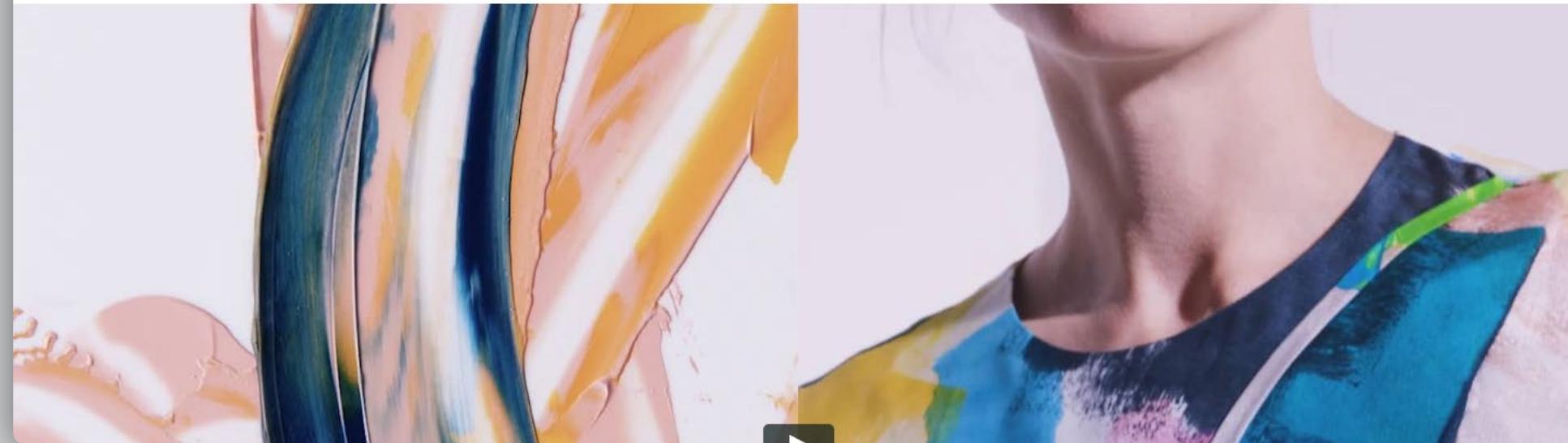


Implementation and expansion of the new site design, done as part of the in-house design team

ON PRINTS

The story behind a COS print...

Prints are special within the world of design. They represent the coming together of colours, patterns and shapes on a single piece of material – often in a vibrant, jubilant way. To celebrate the new print in our latest collection, our designers shared the story of how they created it: through an artistic process of expression and spontaneity...



Paintbrushes and rollers of different shapes and sizes were used to explore unexpected effects, while experimental collaging led to deeper textures.



Bold and simple portfolio site for writer,
editor and creative consultant Lynette
Nylander, development by This Blows

Lynette Nylander

Writer / Editor / Creative Consultant

Publications:

American Vogue / AnOther / Antidote /
Buffalo Zine / Elle / Evening Standard /
Fader / i-D / INDUSTRIE / Net-A-Porter /
Refinery29 / Teen Vogue / The Beat

Evening Standard:

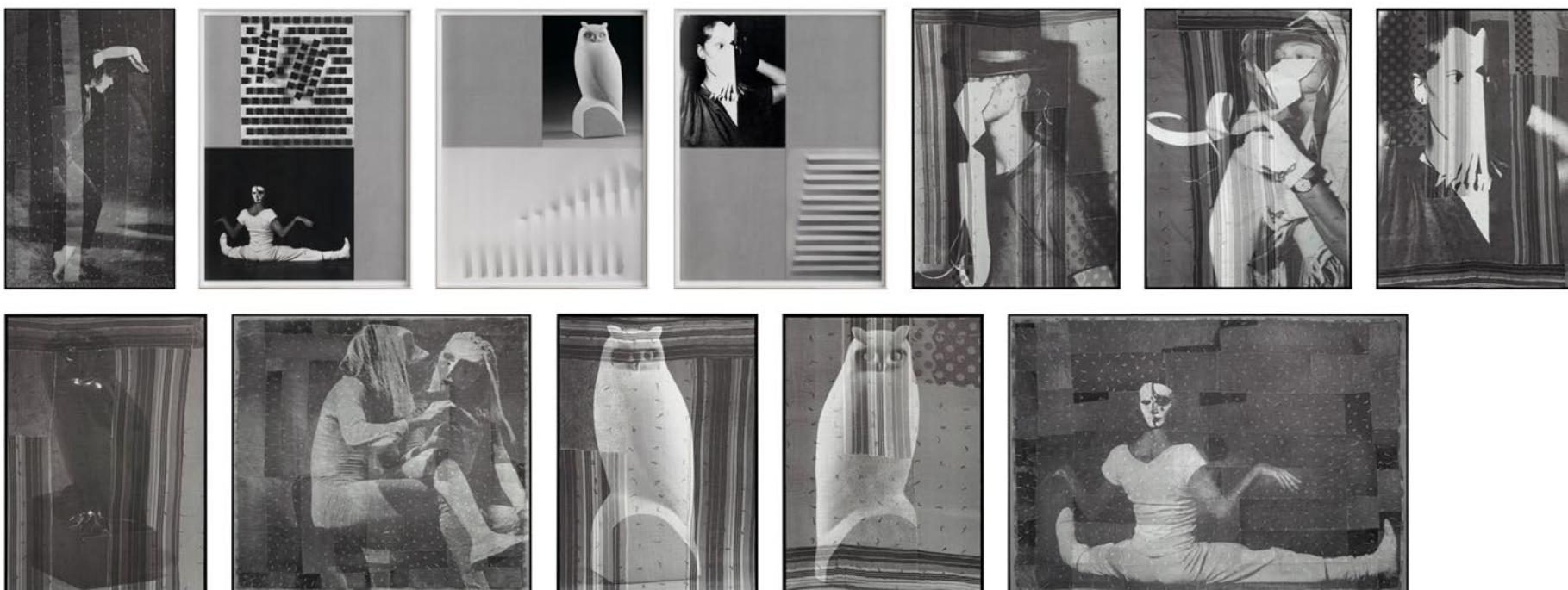
**FGM: why we need to talk
about this violence
against women**



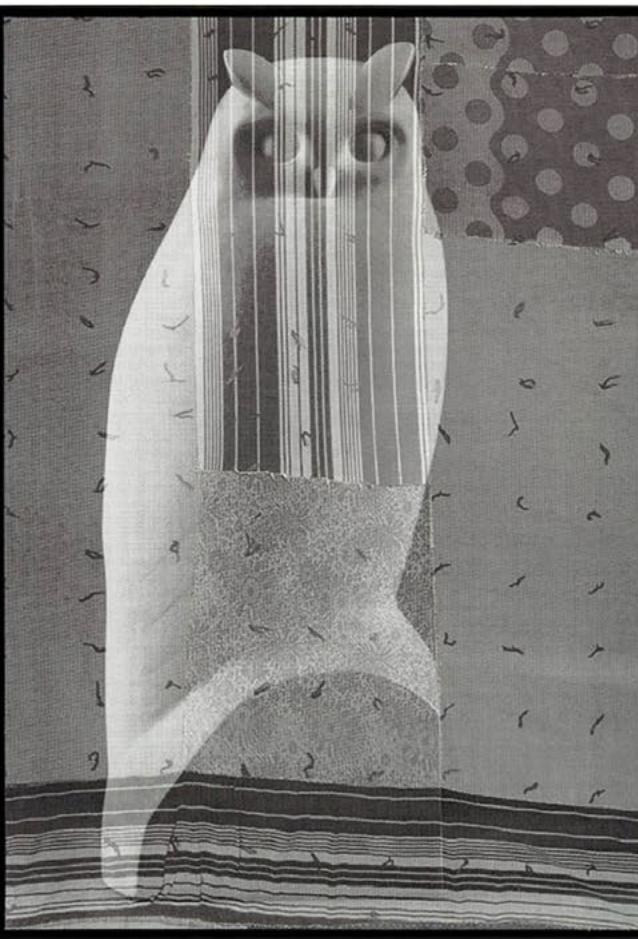
Extensive archive showcasing 10 years of
the artists work, scrolling through series,
publications and exhibition views
(In development)



Xavier Hufkens, Brussels, Belgium, 2015



Extensive archive showcasing 10 years of the artists work, scrolling through series, publications and exhibition views
(In development)



Untitled, 2015 Silk screen on linen collage, steel tray frame, 204 x 146 x 6cm

[David Noonan](#) [Work](#) [Edition](#) [Publication](#) [Biography](#) [Contact](#)

Born in Ballarat, Australia, 1969
Lives and works in London

Selected Solo Exhibitions

- 2017 A Dark and Quiet Place, Stuart Shave/Modern Art, London, UK
- 2016 Lead Light, Roslyn Oxley9 Gallery, Sydney, Australia
- 2015 Rosenwald-Wolf Gallery, University of the Arts, Philadelphia, PA, USA
Xavier Hufkens, Brussels, Belgium
- 2014 Le Vendeur fou, Au 8 Rue Saint Bon, Paris, France
- 2013 Foxy Production, New York, NY, USA
Roslyn Oxley9 Gallery, Sydney, Australia
Collages, Au 8 Rue Saint Bon, Paris, France
- 2012 Modern Art, London, UK
Origami, Xavier Hufkens, Brussels, Belgium (cat.)
- 2011 CAM, Contemporary Art Museum, Curated by Dominic Molon, St. Louis, MO, USA
Roslyn Oxley9 Gallery, Sydney, NSW, Australia
- 2010 David Kordansky Gallery, Los Angeles, CA, USA
SPIEL, Washington Garcia (off-site)
- 2009 Scenes, Australian Centre for Contemporary
- 2008 Baronian Francey, project room, Brussels, Belgium
Chisenhale Gallery, London, UK
MARKUS, Roslyn Oxley9 Gallery, Sydney, NSW, Australia
Art : Concept, Paris, France

MayDay Radio

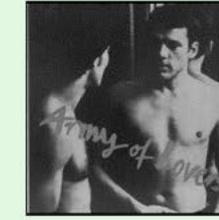
[About](#)


España 1936: The cultural reaction to the Spanish Cívil War

Lara Alonso Corona

03.04.19

0:00/1:06



Army of Lovers: Queer consciousness-raising after Stonewall

Fısun Güner & Tuna Erdem

03.04.19

0:00/1:10



White Screens/Black Images: A conversation about black film

Tom Overton

03.04.19

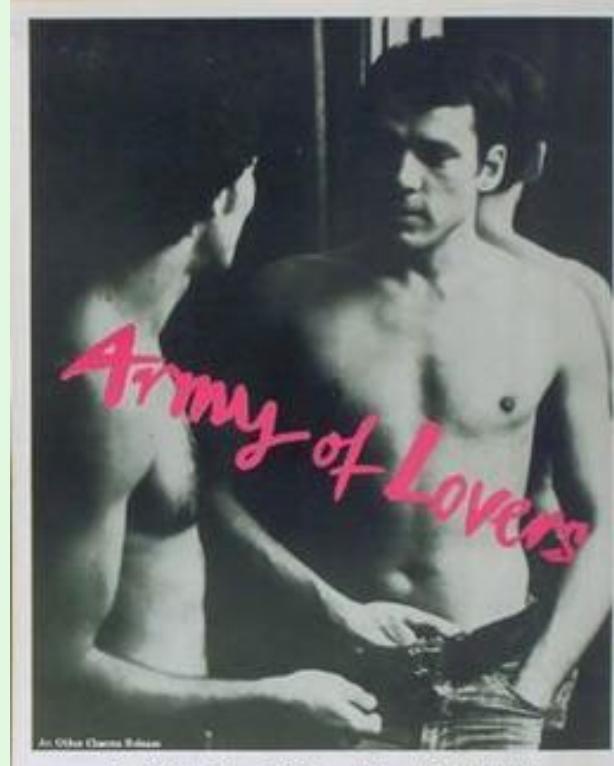
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Army of Lovers: Queer consciousness-raising after Stonewall

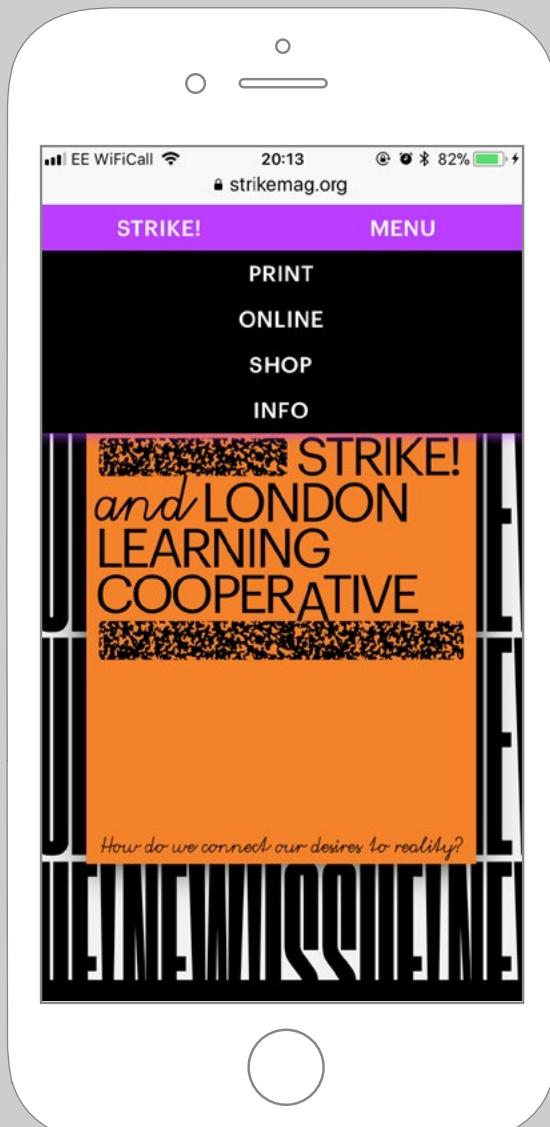
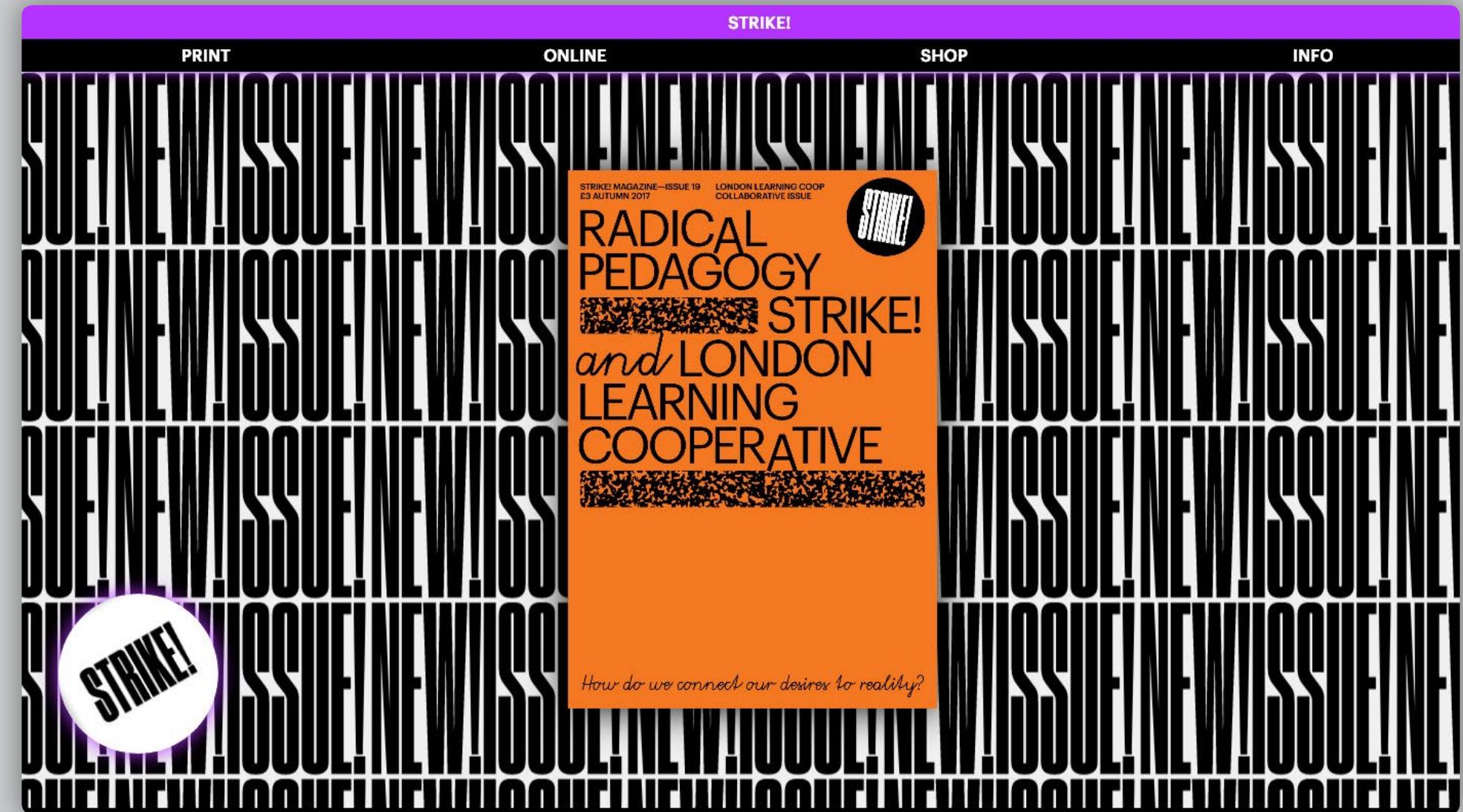


0:00/1:10

Recorded live in Birmingham during Grand Union's 'Ways of Learning' exhibition, this episode of Suite (212) Extra discusses queer consciousness-raising. Juliet talks to writer/artist Huw Lemmey about LGBTQI+ activism before and after the Stonewall riots of June 1969 in the US and western Europe; the use of direct action and think-ins by the Gay Liberation Front and others; how AIDS and Section 28 changed queer art and activism; the development of trans theory in the 1990s; and the state of queer politics and creativity today.



Editorial, archive and shop for radical publisher STRIKE! Magazine, development by This Blows



Editorial, archive and shop for
radical publisher STRIKE! Magazine,
development by This Blows



**Black and Transgender: The Art
of Body Sovereignty
Beyond Eurocentricity**
by Khaleb Brooks

Issue 18 The Body As...



**Spectral Developments--
Haunted Schemes--**
by Laura Oldfield-Ford

Issue 17 Cities

**A Sisters Uncut
Guide to Taking
Action**

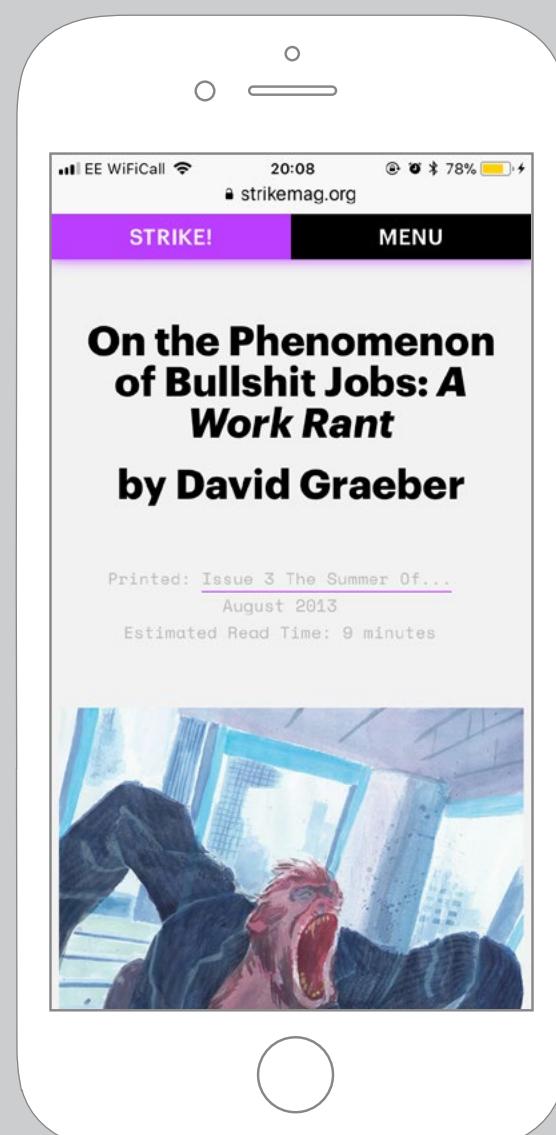
STRIKE!

PRINT ONLINE SHOP INFO

Capitalist Realism: Is There Still No Alternative?

by Mark Fisher

Printed: [Issue 1 Fucked](#) November 2012 Estimated Read Time: 7 minutes



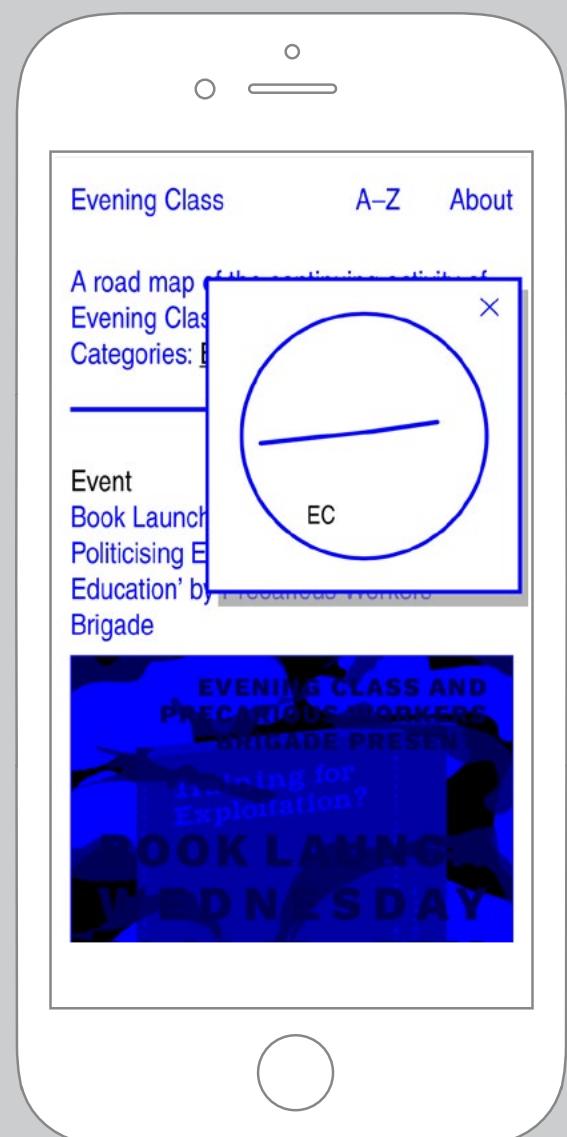
Simple roadmap of activity for self-organised design education collective Evening Class, development by This Blows

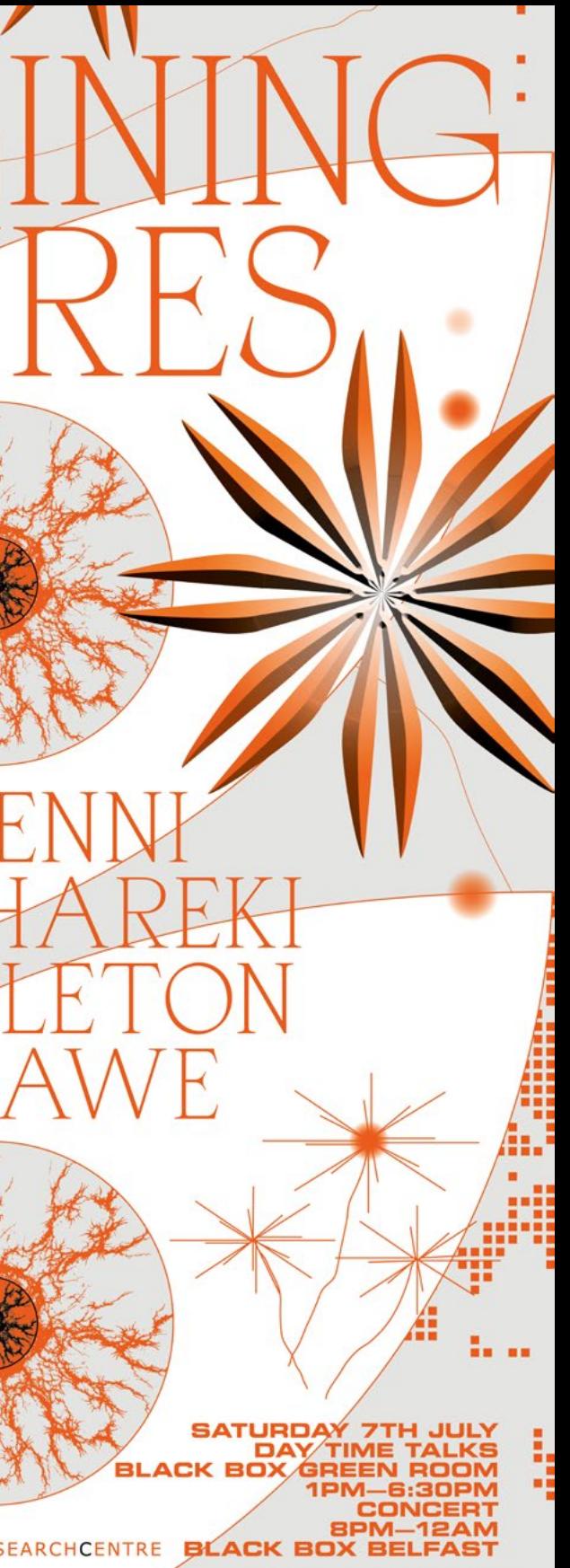


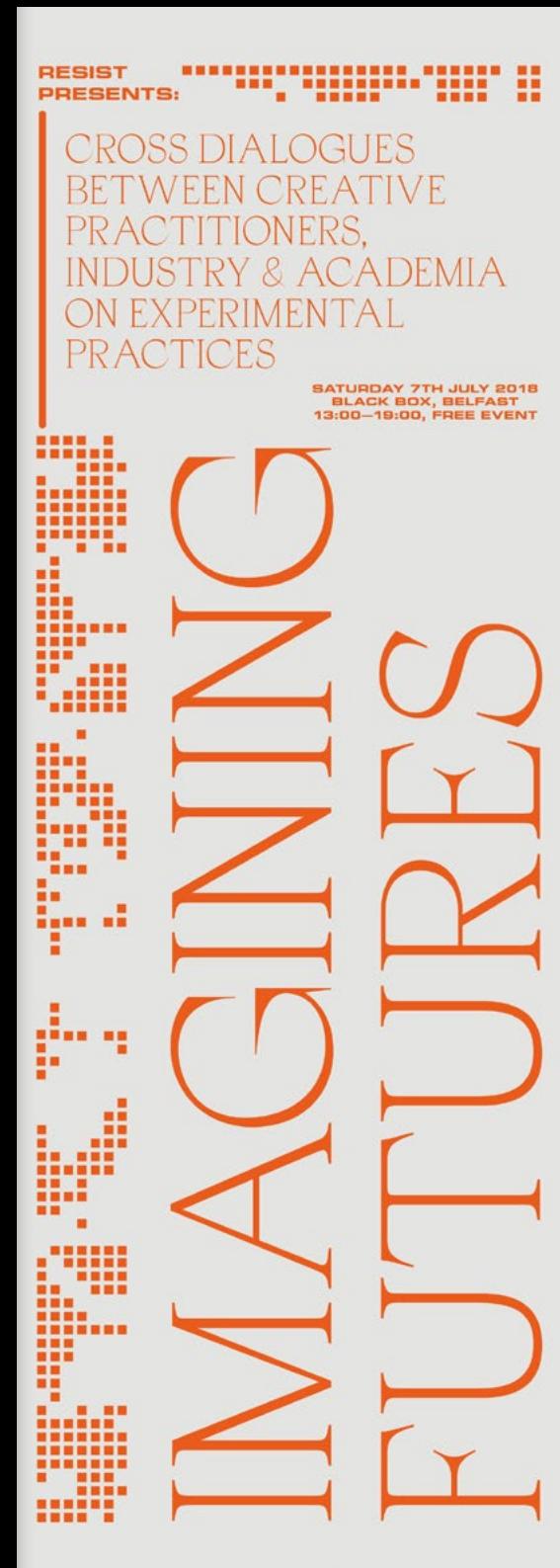
Evening Class

A road map of the continuing activity of Evening Class and its affiliates.
Categories: [Event](#) [Reading](#) [Project](#)

| | | | |
|--|--|---|---|
| <p>Event Book Launch: 'Training for Exploitation? Politicising Employability and Reclaiming Education' by Precarious Workers Brigade</p> The image shows the front cover of a book titled 'TRAINING FOR EXPLOITATION?' by PRECARIOUS WORKERS BRIGADE. The cover features a dark background with white text and some abstract shapes. | <p>Event Virginia Woolf and London's Docks (a walk)</p> The image shows a portion of a TIME magazine cover. It features a portrait of Virginia Woolf and the word 'TIME' in large letters. | <p>Event Bad New Things by Keith Dodds</p> The image shows Donald Trump pointing upwards while holding a blister pack of Citaleptan 20 mg tablets in his other hand. The tablets have 'KANDO7' printed on them. | <p>Event Criticiscuffs talk: Love and Relationships</p> The image shows a single heart-shaped balloon floating against a dark background. |
| <p>21 Jan 2017 Posted by: Olya Troitskaya</p> | <p>24 Jan 2017 Posted by: Alexandra Lunn</p> | <hr/> | <hr/> |
| <p>Reading Aren't You Rather Young to be Writing your</p> The image shows the front cover of a book titled 'AREN'T YOU RATHER YOUNG TO BE WRITING YOUR'. The cover has a textured, yellowish-brown background. | <p>Event We got SOLE* – 1 year on</p> The image shows the front cover of a book titled 'WE GOT SOLE*'. The cover is dark with white text. | <hr/> | <hr/> |







INTRODUCTION

IMAGINING FUTURES: ON EXPERIMENTAL PRACTICES



Experimental art forms can create a space for imagining futures. From sound art to free improvisation, participatory practices to techno – art forms that resist the constraints and restrictions of market influence, identity categorisations and political norms can transport creators and audiences to a space of imagining beyond cold, hard realities and our immediate situated experiences.

Imagining futures may be utopian, apocalyptic, intentional, subconscious, prophetic, deterministic and everything in between – yet undoubtedly musicians and artists are compelled to imagine through creating.

Throughout the day's events, we will be exploring: what experimental and creative practices teach us about the future; ways imagining the future can bring meaning to the present; as well as challenging the panellists and audience to imagine the futures, and devising concrete steps we could take to come closer to those visions.

Join us and help imagine the future!

SESSION 1. 13:00

TINQUIRY & CRITICAL MAKING: NEW INSTRUMENTS & NEW MUSIC



This presentation sets out to define concepts used in DIY and the creation of new electronic musical instruments. Using examples from a range of practitioners, suggestions are made of how these ideas can be implemented for the future of music.

BARRY JOSEPH CULLEN
is an audio and video enthusiast researching making DIY electronic instruments at the Sonic Arts Research Centre at Queen's University Belfast. His work includes delivering workshops on using creative technology. His performance and installation projects use a mix of: play, improvisation, noise, and environmental inputs.

ALEX LUCAS
is a Product Designer who specialises in designing music technology hardware interfaces. Alex joined the Performance Without Barriers research group at Queens University in 2017 and is currently conducting research into assistive music technology. Alex has a passion for intuitive user experience and aspires to improve the accessibility of music technology interfaces.

CHAIR: ANDREW BOLSTER
is a technologist, founder of multiple technology-based groups and organisations, an award winning researcher, and community leader. Andrew is also founding Director of Farset Labs, Northern Ireland's First Hackerspace, located in Weavers Court Business Park, Belfast. Farset Labs now provides the technical and entrepreneurial community with a place to share resources, knowledge and experience in a relaxed atmosphere, laying the foundation for the next wave of Northern Irish industry-leading technologists and business leaders.

SESSION 4. 17:30

IMAGINING FUTURES: NEW MINIMALISM AND NEW FORMS

This panel session is set to be a captivating dialogue between Shiva Feshareki and Lorenzo Senni, two artists who are at the forefront of innovation with their own distinctive forms of imagining in contemporary music. Both artists will present insights into their own approaches of shaping the future of their fields, their creative processes, direction and inspirations. They will also be answering questions and opening the conversation to the audience.

SHIVA FESHAREKI
Winner of the 2017 BASCA British Composer Award for Innovation, Shiva Feshareki is an experimental composer, radio presenter and turntablist of British Iranian heritage. Her work explores the sound of electricity through a wide range of practices and collaborative processes incorporating classical methodology. Her turntable performances slice apart disparate sonic palettes before sewing them back together with expert sampling techniques. In 2017, Shiva performed with her turntables at Montreal's Mutek festival and at London's Tate Modern gallery as part of a series curated by NTS Radio, the station on which she hosts her monthly show 'New Forms'. Turntablism is also a signature element of her compositional work, which explores the physicality of sound in relation to light and movement. Shiva continues to work on site-specific compositions, while refining her live remixing skills and love of improvisation through performance.

LORENZO SENNI
Tireless investigator of dance music's mechanisms and working parts, and head of respected experimental label Presto!?, the Italian musician is responsible for a few of this decade's most unique releases Persona (Warp, 2016), Quantum Jelly (Editions Mego, 2012) and Superimpositions (Boomkat Editions, 2014). In 2016 Lorenzo Senni signed for legendary Warp Records and his EP "Persona" got awarded with the prestigious "Honorary Mention" at Prix Arts Electronica, one of the best known and longest running yearly prizes in the field of digital culture and music. Lorenzo Senni, who coined the term "Pointillistic Trance" and "Rave Voyeurism" to describe his approach, is as a sadistic scientist that is ripping the spinal cord out of trance and dangling it in front of our eyes. His work – an amazing deconstruction of sound and rave culture in the 90's, carefully analysing its constituent parts for reuse in a very different context, with repetition and isolation as key concepts, explores the idea of "buildup" found in euphoric dance music as a starting point to make a non-uplifting, more introspective piece that implicitly preserves its emotional tension and drama.

CHAIR: KOICHI SAMUELS
is an electronic musician, music researcher, and event curator, currently based at the Sonic Arts Research Centre as an AHRC creative economy engagement research fellow. He founded RESIST, the experimental club/art hybrid event and record label based in Belfast, Northern Ireland since 2016. Koichi has released music on record labels Soma Records, Animal Farm Records, Planet Rhythm, RESIST, and in duo Spires with Phil Kieran. He is also one half of audiovisual project with Helena Hamilton.





ROUTINE DESTRUCTION

ARCHITECTURAL WORKERS

07:30
Back at my desk. I open my emails. The first, sent late last night, is from **big_boss** announcing the latest planning permission to be granted. Attached to the email is a drunken selfie they took with **councillor/mate** in the pub afterwards. An email thread follows of self-congratulatory in-jokes. Straight into the **Trash**.

09:28
Line_manager dictates my tasks for the day. I'm to start laying out plans of wheelchair accessible units on the development we're working on. **Line_manager** suggests copying and pasting layouts from a different project. I remind them that the corridors are too narrow. It doesn't matter. **The planning officer** won't measure it anyway. They make it clear that the flats will, in reality, be marketed as larger, more expensive versions of the standard apartment.

10:10
Finally at my desk. It's covered with piles of paper—marked up, screwed up—from yesterday's late night. My colleagues don't look up from their screens. I turn on my computer and load up the same programs I use every day. The screen blurs when they flicker into view.

09:12
I need caffeine. I glance across at **line_manager**, checking that they are occupied before hurrying to the canteen. I avoid conversation with the others fingerling around the coffee machine. Someone mentions a party happening at a 'community garden' that's popped up on one of the estates we've helped to demolish.

11:15
I'm ready to change task. I walk downstairs to the model-making room. Strip-lighting and toxic fumes. I'm remaking the same model as yesterday. 23mm x 55.5 x 78.25mm... I have been trained to believe that precision is key. Funny, being instructed to fudge heights to make our proposal look less obtrusive. The repetitive actions allow me time to think. I feel dizzy. It's so easy to make it look as if nothing were on a site before. I think about the people who currently are. I turn up my music.

12:27
I'm off to make another coffee. In the canteen I bump into **architectural_assistant**. Only three months in, but all their former eagerness has gone. I know I look dead behind the eyes too. It's nice to not have to put on a fake smile. How's it going? Good. How are you? Good. We shrug at each other and shuffle out.

13:35
I can hear **project_architect** and **associate** talking loudly about ringing up a journalist from the Architects' Journal to write a puff piece about the latest project in the office to be completed. It's all a PR game. If you don't dig too deeply, and believe all the vaguely positive quotes it doesn't seem too bad. New homes! For poor people! In a housing crisis! Well done us.

13:42
I sit down to eat. **Big_boss** is strolling around the office showing round some developers. The next bog-standard housebuilder to realise our 'high-quality' designs. From one of the other tables there's a mix of laughter and awkward shuffling when someone mentions the latest campaign to resist demolition on one of our competitor's projects. Next to me **architect** and **architect** discuss the hip areas of London they've spent their weekends house-hunting in. On my wage it's unimaginable to be putting down a deposit. I grew up in London, and I can barely afford to rent here. I don't look up from my plate.

17:58
I'm meant to finish work at 6. Its company policy not to pay overtime.

18:09
We arrive at the community hall. After plonking down the model, I lay the tables with Waitrose party-fodder. Distractions. I pin up the quirky drawings I hand-traced last week. Distractions. **Line_manager** sticks up a few colourful Post-It notes with positive comments already written on them. I notice that one of the buildings is now labelled as being 31 stories, so I ask **line_manager** about

114,790 households applied to their local authority for homelessness assistance in 2015/16

Table 734: local authorities' action under the homelessness provisions of the Housing Acts, financial years 2004-05 to 2015-16. Department for Communities and Local Government, gov.uk/government/statistical-data-sets/free-tiles-on-homelessness (December 2016)

Barrett Developments, one of Britain's biggest house-builders, is engulfed in a corruption scandal after one of its top executives was arrested on suspicion of bribery...

Barrett Developments' top London executive arrested over bribery, City AM politics, the Daily Mail, theglobe.com/business/2016/oct/16/barrett-executive-arrested-intellectual-property-board (October 2016)

13:17
I head to the door and walk around. I inhale deeply on my cigarette. I was meant to quit in the new year.

14:00
Let's chat about this in an hour, OK? **Line_manager** places a pile of papers on my desk.

14:03
As I get up, my back cracks simultaneously with the creak of the chair. I walk to the canteen. I'm feeling stressed again.

15:17
My chest is tight from anxiety, but I've finished the work. Better continue with the next task on the list.

17:25
I look up from my desk, and **line_manager** is stood with **senior_partner** ready to leave for a public consultation. I'm there to help carry the model. The taxi arrives. I sit next to **senior_partner** and they complain about the whole planning process. They laugh. The neighbouring site sold their rights to sunlight 5 years ago.

17:58
I'm meant to finish work at 6. Its company policy not to pay overtime.

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4

STRIKE!

4

STRIKE!

YOUR BODY

LISTEN TO

DIRECT ACTION
WHO'S BODY IS ON THE LINE?

Direct action. A central principle of anarchism, along with mutual aid and free association. By definition, it means individually or collectively taking action to meet a need and does not always mean the same as getting arrested. Community gardening projects, for instance, could be understood as direct action. However, I want to talk about forms of disruption and disobedience.

Whether it's locking on and blockading or street battles with the police or the fash, this form of direct action tends to involve our bodies in a very direct and confrontational way. When seeking revolutionary change, the activist logic can become about how many actions, how many arrests, how many scars we've accumulated as signs of worth. No matter the cost to our bodies. But we're not just bodies. If we can ever dream of escaping the productivist logic of capitalism, we have to take care of ourselves and each other.

The best actions I've been part of have been a nourishing and enriching experience. Not only did we collectively disrupt the workings of industrial infrastructure and its accumulation of profit. Not only did we kill the policeman in our heads guarding the border of what we thought was possible, but we took into account emotional labour. We took care of one another. We felt cared for and cared for one another, leaving us feeling ready to fight again.

The worst action I've been on, I felt like cannon fodder. As our block ran through line after line of riot cops, at each stage some of us died. But like a war of attrition, individuals didn't seem to matter as long as some of us made it to our goal. I was left feeling drained, used and bruised, as were many of my comrades.

In the fight for a better world, direct action is demanded of us. We have to take risks, but if we're not careful or strategic, we're just throwing ourselves against the rocks. We don't need martyrs. We need to live dangerously, but not recklessly.

It is our duty to fight for our freedom. It is our duty to win. We must love each other and support each other. We have nothing to lose but our chains.

— Assata Shakur, To My People, 1973

↳ Listen to bodies and voices of activists in a document from the 1960s and 70s that discusses the importance of direct action and the role of the body in revolution.

Here are some suggestions about how to consider our bodies more in actions:

1. Recognise emotional labour: well-being should be a central component to action planning, not an afterthought. We can't be left wondering about who will support us when we've been arrested or are facing jail.
2. Fuck the heteropatriarchy: are we re-enacting gendered division of labour? Who's planning and doing the action? Who's doing the caring? Who does the cooking? If we're following the same old patterns, it's time to think again.
3. Caring is action; in and of itself. Destroy hierarchies of what kinds of labour are valued over others.
4. Listen to your body: how does it feel when two weeks after the last action there's a proposal for the next one? If your gut tells you it might be too soon, it probably is.
5. Thinking strategically: is fighting the cops for this particular street at this particular time strategic? Or is it just (cis-male) ego who want a fight? Winning against cops is an empowering experience and builds confidence, but each confrontation needs to be taken on its own terms and evaluated based on what we will gain.
6. Whose body is on the line?: Are our actions accessible or are we designing them in a way that only certain people with certain bodies can take part? Think about mobility. Think about how the state will respond differently (and more punitively) to black and brown bodies. Solidarity is sometimes about taking risks that others can't. Remember: exclusion can happen throughout the process of action planning — are your meetings accessible? Is childcare available?

It is our duty to fight for our freedom. It is our duty to win. We must love each other and support each other. We have nothing to lose but our chains.

— Assata Shakur, To My People, 1973

BLACK AND TRANSGENDER
THE ART OF BODY SOVEREIGNTY BEYOND EUROCENTRICITY

KHALEEB BROOKS

Spitfire attains its truth only by finding itself in absolute dismemberment
— Achille Mbembe

When engaging with the strategic disengagement of the black body how do we develop discourse and action that isn't driven by paranoia and isolation? How do we reflect from a schizophrenia, instilled by both the necessity to progress and the enduring sexualization, de-sexualization, hyper-masculinity, and internalized fear of ourselves; reflect from subversive pedagogies of how we should identify? And even, the nomenclature instilled by Western medicine in the first place? By the Atlantic in the first place, and by our selves in the second? We speak of the necessity to excel, by and by tightly packaged in this idea of progression as capital, progression as policy and even progression as knowledge, deemed by the left. But who is going to teach us how to fly? Who is going to teach us how to see? Not with our eyes, not a worldview that is intrinsically Eurocentric, who is going to teach us insight? From where will we learn how to imagine, perform and grow beyond the postcolonial, beyond identity politics and into a realm of collective consciousness that actualizes the black body as Fanon puts it, 'in total fusion with the world'.

I remember the first time I saw my life experiences acknowledged on a public platform. I had encountered black queer people at meetups, in poetry circles, magazines, facebook groups and head nods on the train. And then, a few years ago, I bought a ticket to see the first showing of the film *Pariah*. I was excited to watch a film that at minimum included black queer characters and at maximum was familiar to my life. Yet what I was not prepared to see was the vernacular, social cues, social don'ts, religion, secrecy, fear, assertiveness,

empowered vulnerability and struggle that is specific to the black community. When the lights turned on, more than half of the audience was wet faced with tears and overwhelmed by seeing themselves for the first time in mainstream media. And this year, we are at a pivotal point again, *Moonlight* has won three Academy Awards, a Golden Globe and is succeeding in creatively mainstreaming black love.

But black love has always existed. Black queer, intersex and trans people have always existed. Their bodies, narratives and magic have always existed, beyond history. While existing platforms of recognition is a positive stride towards removing ideas about 'the other', it is necessary that the strength of mapping narratives isn't solely lost in the codification of identities. We need not solely rely on a categorization and a homogenization of being in order to push policy that will take us further from the roots of aggression. While the Matthew Shepard and James Byrd, Jr. Hate Crimes Prevention Act was a step towards state protection, Trump legislation is quickly unravelling progressive policy (like withdrawal of bathroom rights for transgender students). And while the European Court of Human Rights declared transgender people are protected under Article 15 of the convention, the majority of black trans deaths are occurring in the Global South.

Black bodies, black trans bodies cannot progress in a system that was not built for them in the first place. In a system where blackness itself is deemed criminal and participation in a market economy, allows for comfortable complicity whilst black materialities are easily managed, distributed and disposed. 'Positive visibility' for black transgender people has become further embedded in valuing lives through policy based on death and the convictions 'achieved' based on these policies are also furthering the prison industrial complex, through which capital gains through the privatization of prisons'. And ultimately, ironically,

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STRIKE!

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STRIKE!

POLITICS OF THE BODY
ON VALIE EXPORT'S SYNTAGMA

JULIET JACQUES

Austrian performance artist and filmmaker **VALIE EXPORT** made her name with a series of public interventions in the 1960s and 1970s, establishing her as a powerful female—and feminist—presence in an avant-garde scene that had been dominated by men. EXPORT (always in uppercase—she chose this name over those of her father or ex-husband) became a vital counterpart to the Vienna Actionist movement, which aimed to scandalise Austria's conservative post-war society with acts of desecration; breaching social and sexual taboos, but in which the male body was given far more primacy and agency than the female, often using women as objects in male-directed performances.

Feminist Actionist performances such as *Tapp und Tast-Kino* (*Tap and Touch Cinema*), where EXPORT built a *Styrofoam* movie theatre over her breasts so that bystanders who reached through its curtains could touch her body, or *Genitalpanik*, in which she entered a Munich art cinema in crotchless pants and exposed her genitalia to the audience at eye level, making them fully aware of what they were looking at, have been re-created not just by Mariana Alvarado, but also the **VALIE EXPORT Society**, who re-stage them in Tallinn, continuing to shock twenty-first century audiences. In *Film Unframed*, Peter Tschauder's extensive volume on Austrian avant-garde cinema, Maureen Turim suggests why they remain so revered, noting EXPORT's 'sly reference to Freud's castration history in *Genitalpanik*, that she invents into a celebration of female genital power.'

These performances were filmed, before EXPORT moved from personal interaction with the cinema-going public to work towards a (slightly



A STATEMENT FROM THIS BODY

TRAVIS ALABANZA

In 2016 this body had thrown at it:
The word tranny 9 times.
At least five sideward glances on public transport a week.
Freak was thrown very frequently, particularly in February and March.
Three incidents of police violence.
Just enough warm hugs to remind itself it is not an object.
1 chicken burger aimed at its head.
No other pieces of food were thrown without its consent.
A punch that just missed the back of my shoulder.
are you a boy or a girl?—many times to recount.
Faggot. Pussy. Gayboy. (copy and paste where applicable).
It is always applicable.
It has been thrown the expectation of wearing skirts to prove something.
yet been thrown face first into trousers to stay safe.
It has been thrown out of changing rooms.
It has changed.
In the month of September this body felt the pressure of un-consented touch.
In May it also made an art piece about white men grabbing at my body after a show.
FIERCE. FIERCE. FINGERS. SNAP. CLICK. YAAS. throughout the year.
No one has thrown at me their Uber ride home.
In January I was thrown off a bus for causing a scene.
You are causing a scene!
Your gender is a scene!
Your body is a scene of thrown objects!
This body has also experienced love.
Thrown harsh, strong, powerful, trans love.
Thrown face first into love, tender touch, and real kisses.
thrown in and out of safety too many times.
When I was walking in Hackney this body had someone throw their spit at it.
This body gags.
This body knows not to spit back.
This body has been thrown into spaces made to destroy it.
This body has also saw the power of a space, a circle of protection.
in 2016 this body has been an obstacle course for too long.
in 2017 it hopes it can walk peacefully,
it hopes it can part seas with its power.

Travis Alabanza is a London based performance artist, theatre maker, actor & general shit talker.

IM: Ellis Barredough. Featuring: Travis Alabanza

STRIKE! 57

'We are locked in our rooms. They just said 'pack pack pack.' They haven't said why.'

— Statement from Detained Voices

#STOP CHARTER FLIGHTS
#END DEPORTATIONS NOW
#SHUT THEM DOWN

NO ONE IS ILLEGAL

For more information on how to get involved, check out:

- MOVEMENT FOR JUSTICE**
facebook.com/movementforjustice
- END DEPORTATIONS**
enddeportations.wordpress.com
- DOCS NOT COPS**
docsnotcops.co.uk
- ANTI-RAIDS**
network23.org/antiraids
- DETAINED VOICES**
detainedvoices.com
- SOAS DETAINEE SUPPORT**
soasdetaineesupport.wordpress.com
- MEDICAL JUSTICE**
medicajustice.org.uk
- RIGHT TO REMAIN**
righttoremain.org.uk
- AGAINST BORDERS FOR CHILDREN**
schoolsabc.net

They leave on average once a week, deporting up to 100 people to countries like Albania, Jamaica, Pakistan, Nigeria and Ghana. In other words, ex-British colonies.

Mass deportations are secretive and often violent, leaving in the middle of the night from an undisclosed location.

They use brutal tactics to strap deportees down inside of the plane.

Our new documentary short, *Violent Borders*, on mass deportations, migration and detention, is available to view on our website strikemag.org.

STRIKE! 58

A DIY GUIDE TO FEMINIST CYBERSECURITY

HACK BLOSSOM

TAKE CONTROL OF YOUR DIGITAL SPACES

The internet is a crucial environment for our lives. Friendships, relationships, work, activism, commerce, and so many other forms of social connections take place digitally. As we thrive in these internet spaces, harassment and violence along intersecting axes of oppression are felt with unchecked force. Trolls launch campaigns of abuse and intimidation, hackers seek to exploit and manipulate your private data, and companies mine and sell your activity for profit. These threats to digital autonomy are gendered, racialized, queerphobic, transphobic, ableist, and classist in nature. The severity of these threats can have vast physical and psychological repercussions for those who experience them: they cannot be taken lightly.

Digital spaces are unique in that you often have to rely on companies and developers to protect your well-being and data as you go about your digital life. These companies and developers frequently ignore or underestimate the digital threats to these spaces and their users. There is little in the way of accountability for companies and developers, all the while users are left with little support for the violence they've encountered, even being blamed for actions of a malicious attacker.

You have a right to exist safely in digital spaces. Although we have to rely on outside parties for technology to access these spaces, there are tons of helpful tools and strategies that allow you to take greater control of your digital life and mitigate the risk of malicious threats. We'll walk through common areas of digital life such as web browsing, private data, and smartphones to show you different ways that you can

FIND THE RIGHT TOOLS FOR YOUR SECURITY NEEDS

With so many cybersecurity tools out there, it can be intimidating to figure out which tools best meet your needs. Our cheat sheets will point you to recommended tech based on which digital activities and spaces you're looking to take better control of. We'll also give recommendations for the more experienced cyborgs that may need more hardcore security than your average person. Just make sure to keep in mind that regardless of which tech you decide to use, nothing in the digital world is 100% guaranteed to be secure. So always be vigilant and conscious about your security. Don't assume you're invincible: no-one ever is!

CASUAL SECURITY

This cheat sheet is best for internet feminists: you can make it much more difficult for trolls, trackers, and hackers to compromise your digital spaces. Our recommended tech for you is all free, requires only minimal set-up, and gives you easy options for securing your digital spaces and data. With almost all of this tech, you rarely have to think about what it's doing: it just works.

> Install privacy extensions for Firefox such as Privacy Badger.

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BREATHE & PUSH

THE POLITICS OF BIRTHING BODIES

LADY STARDUST

Birth is simultaneously: A mammal reproduction strategy. A social and sexual event. The reproduction of labour power and the gender and class divides in patriarchal capitalism. A medical event with risks to be controlled (for some).

In the childbearing year, a woman confronts the link between sex and gender roles via the social constraints imposed on her body. Her relationships change, her body becomes public property to be discussed, touched and monitored, and she experiences becoming marginalized and instrumentalized.

Birth itself is a physiological event that works best with minimal interference. The combination of privacy, darkness and minimal language allows for a complex interplay of hormones, enabling the woman and baby to move through the rhythms of labour and birth. An undisturbed physiological birth can be a sexual and social event, welcoming a new life into the community it will soon become a part of.

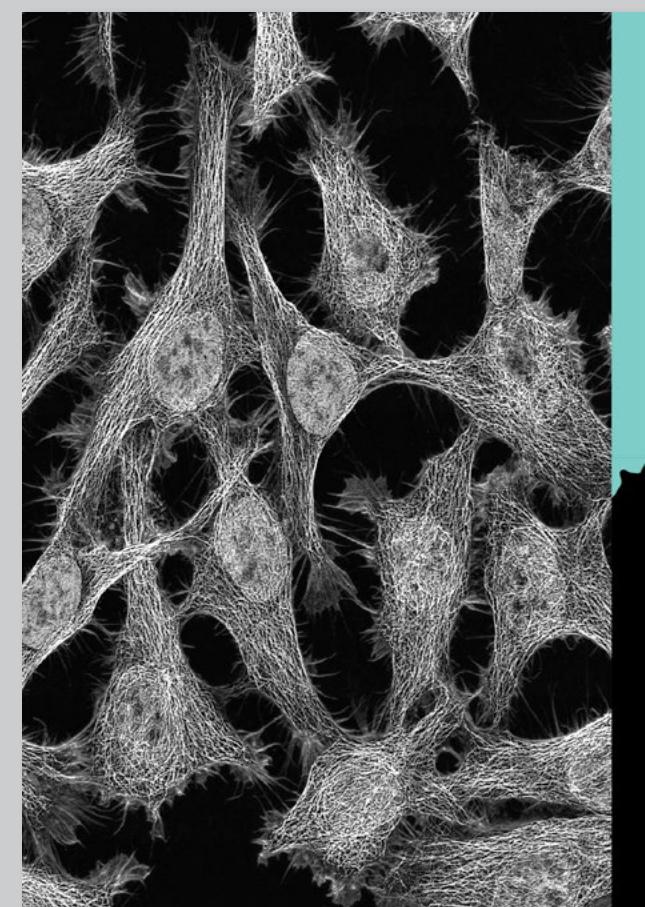
Reproduction is not perfect. While modern obstetrics saves lives and the work done by the NHS is vital, how well is the medical industrial complex suited to physiological birth?² Like any big institution it has its own motor and needs. It has developed a factory-line of maternity care. The woman's body and it's passenger get processed through a series of 15 minute antenatal appointments, maternity triage, Labour Ward, Maternity ward, then home to welcome a steady stream of midwives and health visitors into her bedroom, many unfamiliar. This carries the factory-like benefits of control over the work process, work rationalisation and supposed cost reduction. A woman lying strapped down by a CTG monitor and anaesthetised with an epidural, makes for a docile patient and regulated, predictable work. 'Slow'

FEMALE BODIES IN PATRIARCHAL CAPITALISM

Social reproduction is devolved in patriarchal capitalism, including the work of the childbearing year. This cheapens the cost of social reproduction and limits how and where the work can be done. There is a brutal history of state control over reproductive choice, ranging from prohibition on contraception and abortions, to enforced sterilisation in export processing zones. Neoliberal 'choice' means little when wages are low, rents high and work insecure. It means little to the mother of a black boy-child in the US with the trigger-happy police force, or to the mother in a community that threatens ex-communication if she does not submit her daughter to genital mutilation.

The active disempowerment around childbirth can be seen as a continuum of the sexualisation of the female body, of abuse and rape, of low- or un-paid work. The body is reduced to its

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London Learning Coop
Collaborative Issue

RADICAL PEDAGOGY



STRIKE! *and* LONDON LEARNING COOPERATIVE



How do we connect our desires to reality?

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| <p>4. LLC INTRODUCTION — LONDON LEARNING COOP</p> <p>6. BURNING DOWN VS. BUILDING UP A NEW PEDAGOGY FOR PUNK — JANETY</p> <p>9. RADICAL LISTENING A MANIFESTO — SOOFIYA ANDRY & SARAH HEMPTSTOCK</p> <p>12. THE WEALTH TEST — LONDON LEARNING COOP</p> <p>14. THRIVING NOT SURVIVING SCHOOL, A SURVIVAL GUIDE — SKY CAESAR, GEORGIA MOONA-SAM & DELHIA SNOUSSI</p> <p>18. AUSTERITY AND EDUCATION — JULIE TOMLIN</p> <p>22. EDUCATION IS RACIST, BECAUSE SOCIETY IS RACIST — AMIT SINGH</p> <p>26. THE ASSIGNMENT — FRED MOTEN</p> <p>27. WE ARE US AND YOU ARE YOU! — ART ASSASSINS</p> <p>34. WHITE MIRRORS RACISM IN CHILDREN'S LITERATURE — AMIYA NAOPAL</p> <p>37. A GREEN-EYED MONSTER ETERNALLY KILLING THE VIBE — SAVVA SMIRNOV</p> | <p>40. SEX-ED WITH MISHA MAYFAIR TEN TIPS FOR MIND-BLOWING, CONSENSUAL, FEMINIST, ECO-FRIENDLY, NON-HETERONORMATIVE, QUEER SEX — MISHA MAYFAIR</p> <p>44. COMPULSORY POLITICS — JACK</p> <p>46. I WAS A TWENTY-SEVEN ANARCHIST NANNY — INA FEVER</p> <p>48. HOUSING AFTER GRENFELL — DPP & DEPTFORD DEBATES</p> <p>52. GARDEN LAB. A BLUEPRINT — ASSEMBLY SE8</p> <p>54. KNOW YOURSELF, KNOW THE CITY THE ARCHITECTURE OF CEDRIC PRICE — LUKE GREGORY-JONES</p> <p>57. PRISON EDUCATION AND IT'S POTENTIAL — LUKE BILLINGHAM & LEE HUMPHRIES, HAVEN DISTRIBUTION</p> <p>60. MY EDUCATION INSIDE AMERIKAN PRISONS — COMRADE MALIK</p> | <p>EDITORS' LETTER</p> <p>Pedagogy is about the different ways of learning. This isn't just about the traditional four walls of a classroom, but about learning from exposure, from walking down the street, from listening to each other and ourselves.</p> <p>The question of pedagogy is political. We want to connect our needs and desires to reality. We want to raze reality to the ground by the forces of our collective desire. But this isn't just simple sixties Situationist stonerism – it's the old "kill the policeman in your head, man – we need to learn how we go about doing it, together. How do you create the conditions by which desire for new worlds and new futures become realities?</p> <p>Now is an important time to call pedagogies into question. Theresa May's project to create a "hostile environment" for migrants is an attempt to normalise aggression and stigmatise compassion. This makes challenging racism and hate all the more important. Violence against black and brown people under current governments makes it all the more necessary to have the tools to critically engage with what is going on, to fight and to be accomplices, to end detention centres and police violence. Years of austerity measures have meant that inequality is deepening and educational institutions like the school and the university are intimately linked to prisons. Neoliberalism, and the whole value set that accompanies it, is making us sick. Instead we need to remember and create our forms of learning; around creativity, emotions, our bodies and play.</p> <p>Scrap everything we know, even the lines on paper.</p> <p>In these pages are different lived experiences to critical intervention to disrupt normative pedagogical practice. Anti-oppressive politics is an active process, one that calls on us to constantly challenge, to unlearn, to de-misognise and decolonise our minds.</p> <p>We want to push forward the pedagogy which accompanies a collective project of emancipatory education. A project that allows everyone to have access to a critical and liberatory education, not simply a privileged few. And a project that takes seriously, and does not do-ercent, those knowledges that are counter-hegemonic or not palatable within a university setting. We recall the persecution of witches at the advent of capitalism, when the wisdom of women was demonised and their rebellious practices trampled on. We recognise how the inherited knowledges of indigenous peoples have been devalued, commodified and sold back to the world.</p> <p>While education is violent, it can also be liberatory. As the radical educator Paulo Freire put it: "the practice of freedom, the means by which men and women deal critically and creatively with reality and discover how to participate in the transformation of the world."</p> <p>In the spirit of seeking out new forms and conditions, we collaborated with our long-term pals at the London Learning Co-operative (LLC), a group based in Deptford, South London, who focus on the political and emancipatory prospects of decentralized, community-led, grassroots education.</p> <p>The articles and illustrations here for you are meant to challenge as well as affirm. STRIKE! is committed to pushing forward and publishing the most exciting ideas around.</p> <p>With love and solidarity, STRIKE! XO</p>  |
| <p>LOVE AND THANKS TO ALL OUR CONTRIBUTORS <3</p> | | |

BURNING DOWN VS. BUILDING UP

A NEW PEDAGOGY FOR PUNK

Back in the '70s, punk was a flamethrower to rock'n'roll. As a genre, punk stuck two fingers up (literally) to indulgent, sweeping guitar solos and the commercial appeal of stadium shows. When a generation of youth in the USA were disillusioned by the Vietnam war; and poverty and unemployment in the UK were high, punk was a political force. It was a ripe outlet for discontent against a music industry that looked indulgent. In fact, punk's viciously anti-establishment stance was an opt-out of mainstream society altogether.

Epitomised in the Sex Pistols lyric 'I wanna destroy the passerby', punk music created spaces to unleash a swollen anger on the tugging currents of normality where it was patently obvious something was very wrong. Punk was reductive, raw and to the point. The charm in punk was that anyone could do it, a principle that lives on today. It carved out a space for powerful expression with minimal technical expertise and maximum energy.

However, despite female punk icons like Poly Styrene, Siouxsie Sioux and The Slits, punk is largely associated with a rabid masculinity. The obnoxious swagger and mainstream success of punk frontmen like Iggy Pop, Joe Strummer and Johnny Ramone meant that, as a whole, the genre became synonymous with bare-chested white male anger. If white men in the seventies were angry, then women and people of colour were twice as angry. But, as in all other parts of history and life, only white men were listened to and visible.

BURNING DOWN VS. BUILDING UP

When raw female anger truly came to life through Riot Grrrl in the 90s, it still hadn't made much of a dent in perceptions of 'punk'. The rules of patriarchy stick fast, and punk is often viewed as an aggressive fuck-it-all attitude. This nihilistic posture is decisively masculine, lauding 'hardness' above all else. In comparison, care is considered soft and unnecessary, when in fact it is care work keeping the whole scene (and society as a whole) together.

My band, Dream Nails, despite our righteous anger and riotous live shows, get told that we're 'not very punk' because we like early nights on tour and prefer herbal tea to booze-ups. We're not into

○

TEXT BY JANNEY
IMAGE BY CAT SIMS



AUSTERITY AND EDUCATION

TEXT JULIE TOMLIN
IMAGE JOSEPH P KELLY

The angry response to the tragedy of the Grenfell Tower fire in June felt like a defining moment. After years of being told there was no alternative, people re-drew the line, responding in fury. This push-back roused feelings I associate most strongly with my working class, staunchly socialist grandfather whose support for the welfare state, despite all its imperfections, was viscerally rooted in his post-war dreams of building a better world for all.

Perhaps because of him, and because my schooling took place when the argument over monetarism versus Keynesian economics was still alive, collective values of justice and the wellbeing of all still have resonance, despite the ways that neoliberalism and the austerity it has spawned has chipped away at them since it won the day. As support for Jeremy Corbyn's Labour Party manifesto showed during the election this summer, shortly before the Grenfell Tower fire, opposition to austerity isn't just about money and fighting cuts; it's about reimaging a different future, reconnecting and reassessing some of those values that we've lost or forgotten along the way.

Schools are key to achieving this because they occupy an important intersection between children, their families and society. That's why principal of the Little London School in Leeds Jill Wood's refusal to put pupils through the SATs tests was also significant—by taking them on day trips instead, she demonstrated that there is an alternative to the test-based education that creates so much anxiety among young children. Sally Kincaid, Divisional Secretary of the Wakefield National Education Union (formerly the National Union of Teachers) says it was "just that bit of resistance and humanity" that was needed: "it's important to campaign against cuts and also for a better education system, one that's not creating a situation where teachers are leaving because of stress and kids are on antidepressants".

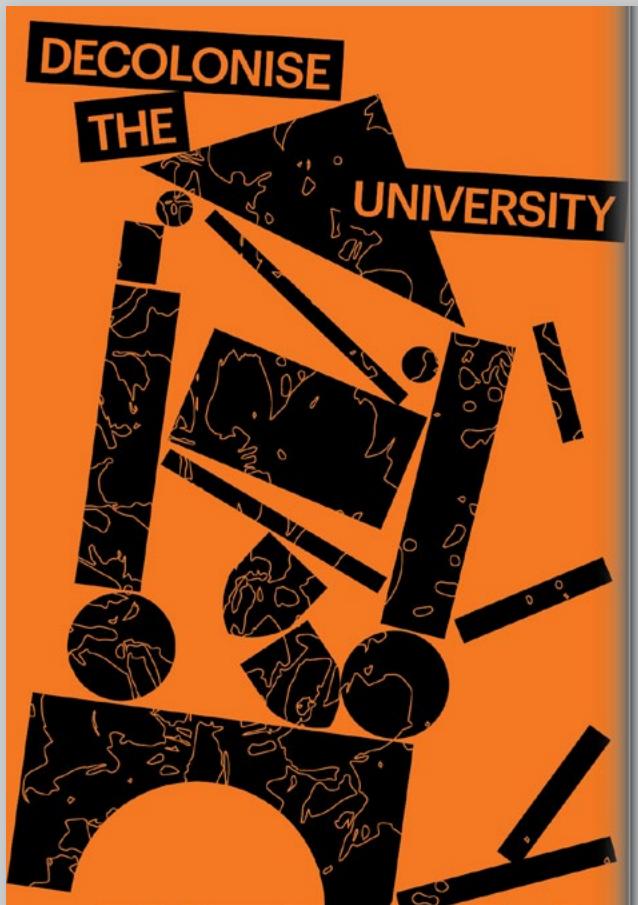
The educational landscape has always been changing, but the opening of the first academies

in 2002 represented a radical shift. The promise for schools was greater financial independence, but the majority belong to multi academy trusts, which pay for services that were once provided by local authorities. Headteachers focus on justifying expenditure, performance, results and meeting targets in an environment no longer shaped by city or borough-wide strategies drawn up by the local authority. Meanwhile, teachers are leaving the profession in droves, worn down by the "ridiculous" amount of administrative work required in what is now frequently referred to as an "industry", says Kincaid. Teachers have always worked long hours, but they worked them for the kids. Now they have work long hours for data, and that's pretty much what's driving teachers out of the profession." As a result, schools like Jill Wood's, which continue to believe in a more holistic education, do so with an awareness that missing performance targets, or dropping down the league table could jeopardise the future of the school. "Education should be about access to as broad an education as possible and lots of different experiences," says a governor from an inner city primary school in Leeds, who asked not to be named. "It shouldn't just be about did they or didn't they get 100 in their end of year assessments in Year 6, but because of the way we're bringing all those kids up to understand what it is to be a world citizen, contributing positively to their community, but if enough of them don't get their grades, they get rid of you."

But all schools, no matter how successful,

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EDUCATION IS RACIST,
BECAUSE SOCIETY IS RACIST

○ TEXT BY AMIT SINGH

Education is racist, because society is racist. Teachers are racist, because people are racist. This isn't to say that teachers are calling their brown students 'Pakis' or brazenly dropping the N-bomb—though, that was the case when my parents were at school and my dad was told that university wasn't for 'Pakis' like him. To support this claim we need to move away from mainstream definitions of racism and reframe it. Understanding it not just as interpersonal name-calling (which has its own classist dimensions) but as something structural and inherently linked to colonialism.

Contrary to popular belief, race is not a biological or natural category; it is a colonial social construct. The construction of race was solidified during the age of the European Enlightenment where bodies were categorized and put into hierarchies, which inevitably positioned the white, middle-class man at the top. Europeans did everything they could to affirm these hierarchies through an embrace of 'science', which led them to measuring skulls, combing hair and even contesting whether people of colour bled red blood. All of which had deadly consequences, resulting in colonial genocides, massacres and the enslavement of millions of people in sub-Saharan Africa. According to Emmanuel Chukwudi Eze, a scholar of the Enlightenment, 'enlightenment philosophy was instrumental in codifying and institutionalizing both the scientific and popular European perceptions of the human race. The numerous writings on race by Hume, Kant, and Hegel played a strong role in articulating Europe's sense not only of its cultural but also racial superiority.' Eze went on to comment that 'reason' and 'civilization' became almost synonymous with 'white' people...while unreason and savagery were conveniently located among the non-whites'. Race as we know it then was a construct that has its roots in this period.

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STRIKE! MAGAZINE

We are likewise never taught about the role we played in our own freedom.

arguably the very purpose of education in the West; to enforce the idea that those who are not white cannot think. How does this impact the self-esteem and self-worth of those who are not white men? We're taught to internalize our own inferiority as we attempt to navigate educational institutions that are sites of our own oppression.

Rarely are we taught about the great innovations of those outside the West, of the contributions of those from South Asia to modern science, logic or reason, or about the fact that binary arithmetic first emerged not from German mathematician Gottfried Leibniz in the eighteenth century but on the island of Mayotte (now known as French Polynesia) some six hundred years ago. We are likewise never taught about the role we played in our own freedom. Not about the revolutionary actions of Bhagat Singh in colonial India, nor about the black Jacobins, who established the first Black Republic in the world on kicking the French out of Haiti. Instead we're taught that Britain benefited from the slave trade and were kind enough to build railways in the Raj.

Can our current education system ever be decolonial? It has never been something constructed for the benefit of people who are not white and it has always been weaponized against non-white populations both at home and abroad. White people leave school believing in their own superiority, while it is difficult for people of colour to leave education without deeming themselves inferior. Racism acts as a good example of how education is about a recreation of dominant ideologies, rather than as a space to create good or able citizens. This is despite the fact that education is presented as a potential salvation for those in need and used as a neo-colonial tool overseas with white 'gap-yah' students eager to build a school in Malawi or teach English in rural India. Instead, we need to view education for what it is: a way for the state to administer 'discipline and punishment' (and remember who it is that is being punished). As

AMIT SINGH is co-editor at Consentient UK

'children grew up feeling proud of being black instead of feeling like it was a curse like a lot of children'. Part of the Black Panthers ten-point programme was aimed at educating children about their 'true history' which these schools were a part of. Unfortunately, the school closed in 1982 with the breakdown of the party. However, it does demonstrate that in order to subvert the state we need to look elsewhere for alternative educational models and platforms.

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AMIT SINGH is co-editor at Consentient UK

EDUCATION IS RACIST



and fun friendships with people I was introduced to as part of my partner's now 'old' life, encounters initially filled with a sense of dread and/or mutual suspicion. I stopped tagging along out of fear of seeming uncommitted, apathetic or lame and started to believe that maybe you don't need to be crazy in love with me to like me or even just want to be around me. I didn't make an effort to be liked or push for physical closeness with people I met through my partner—it kinda just happened gradually, and I remember thinking fuck, I'm actually feeling pretty secure about all this. Maybe it's not too good to be true, maybe this is my life now. I was in love and people liked me and I was doing things. The end.

Nah, just fucking with you. So alongside all this, my partner was feeling some changes too. They realized they're bored of doing the same shit as before; that they want to do things other than coming off mact on their Sundays, maybe remember what having passions feels like and make some new fucking friends. They distanced themselves from people who gained increasing presence in my life and slowly found a home away from home, with people who don't have anything to do with a chapter of their life they clearly wanted to leave behind. We were both doing our own things, things that made us excited and happy independently of each other. But somehow we stayed close, and despite my previous and well rationalized aversions to hierarchies and hyperbole, they became my favourite fucking person.

And then they fell in love with someone else. Nothing 'happened', I say that because it's true that monogamy tends to think (for understandable reasons such as the insidious epistemic power of the institution of marriage) that jealousy is about people you love fucking and loving other people: only sociopaths in denial could possibly be immune to the hellfire agony a piece of information like that would surely bring. And that is of course bullshit: in fact to call bullshit on this is now closer to trutism than controversy, despite the prevailing strength of the mainstream belief itself.

'Nothing happened', in my case, meant my partner's relationship to the person they fell for stayed (at the time of writing) platonic. I've never felt pangs of jealousy in my life—even when partners have lied and cheated, I focused on my sadness and disappointment (read: dissolution and disgust) rather

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than the feeling of being threatened—a struggle with speculations about what the presence of a third party might mean for the status or future of my relationship. It was as if those other people didn't exist in any emotionally charged way—something I just assumed was an ASD (Autism Spectrum Disorder) symptom of mine. On. But this time the feeling that actually happened was that my partner was about to break. My ability to be happy for my partner's happiness waned with every new, usually extremely mundane instance in which I was mistreated, ignored or dismissed. They suddenly just didn't have the energy to bother with me, to process my feelings or ask me for my thoughts. I felt like over the course of one weekend I went, and I'm gonna resist hyperbole here, from being someone special to someone in the way.

I don't really know what happened but I'm gonna talk about jealousy. Or, actually, just don't talk about your 'jealousy', maybe don't even read up on it when you're feeling shit. It's not some interesting, intellectually challenging or productive topic of endless interpersonal conversation between your partner. It's not another flaw to address and privately 'interrogate' within yourself.

Nor is jealousy a testament to love—and claiming the converse is just giving a crap petname to a DV (Domestic Violence) agenda driven by the desire for power and control over an individual (maybe he was a little bit jealous, maybe he didn't let you see other men, maybe she threatened suicide when you had another date, so what, at least there was intimacy, at least they really loved you').

Jealousy is (or is also) a myth: a green-eyed monster eternally killing the vibe. As the poly blogosphere will tell you in self-satisfied union, jealousy is actually a complex concept with no single common component. In terms of unifying principle, it is a relational dynamic that signifies some sort of rupture—of boundaries, of trust, of a sense of safety and security in yourself and others, of dreams and expectations, of previously held and naturalized beliefs about what one is entitled to in love. On this niche yet common-sense view, jealousy, at base, is a challenge to individual entitlement insofar as it troubles assumptions about what it means to be a relational unit, often simply by showing a set of rock-solid beliefs to have been assumptions all along, formed under particular conditions in your couple history.

SAVVA's 'Green Eye' is a faceless being researcher drifting through the revolving doors of London's corporate boardrooms seeking answers and occasionally making notes. He likes pasta, patterns, repetition, communism and Father Ted. He hates his birthday, 'tree trunks' and spoons.

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PRISON EDUCATION
AND ITS POTENTIAL

○ TEXT BY LUKE BILLINGHAM
& LEE HUMPHRIES,
HAVEN DISTRIBUTION

IMAGE BY CLIFFORD HARPER

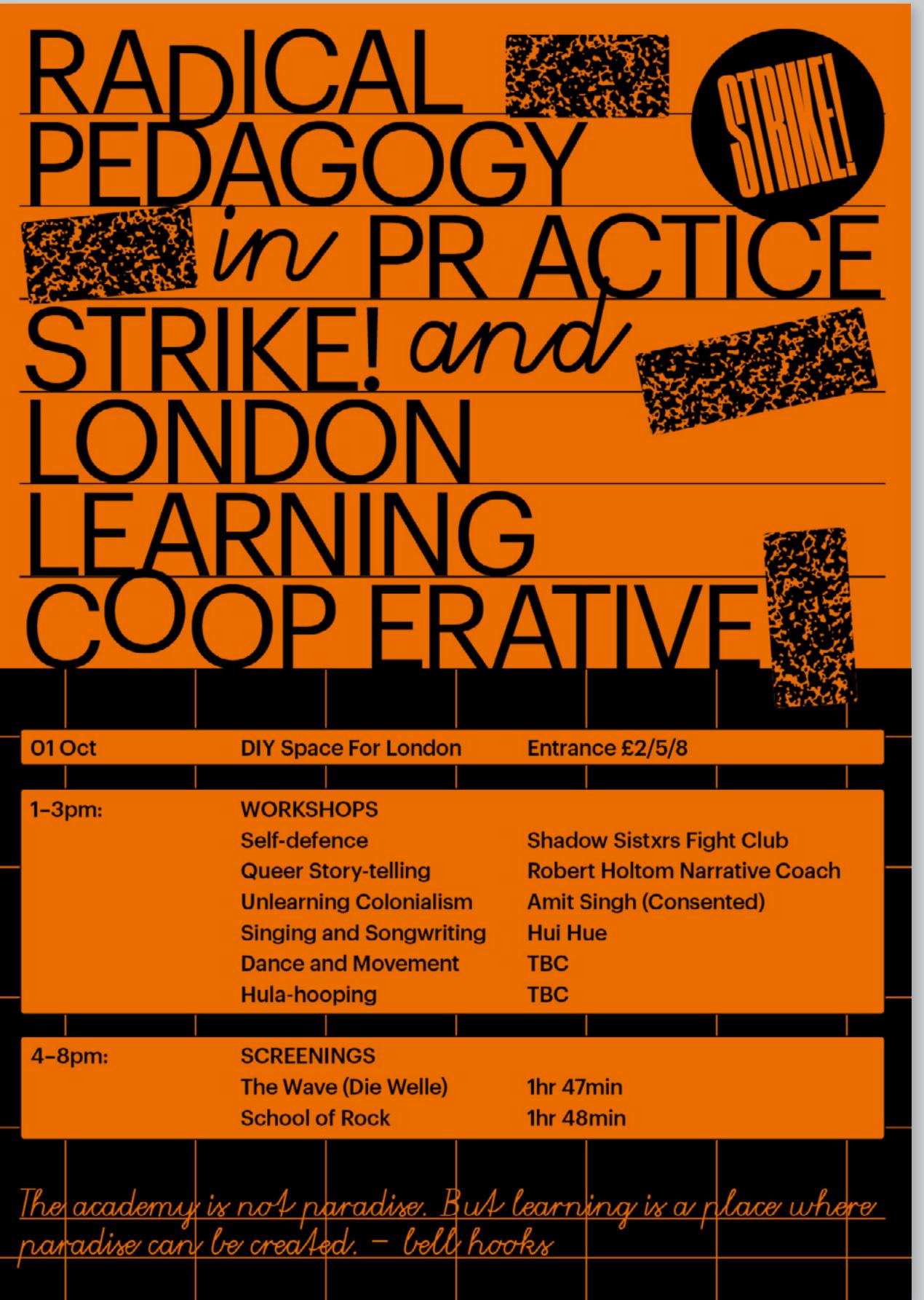
Fun Palace 1960-65
Draft layout of a page from a Fun Palace promotional pamphlet outlining some of its possible uses, c 1963

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COLONIALISM AND THE AFRICAN CITY

TEXT: LEONARA MANYANGADZE

A study of colonialism through the use of space and the built environment helps us to understand how Europeans colonized and perpetuated colonial power and rule in Africa.

HARARE TOWNSHIP: THE EMERGENT CULTURAL FORM

Harare Township (Mure) is located in the heartland of the Shona people through historical and colonial migrations from Malawi and Mozambique. Often most under-theorized about the colonial experience in the African continent, Harare Township is a cultural form and the ways in which they interrogated the colonial project. It was a place where the city repeats itself—through the appropriation of township space, carving out their own meaningful existence and creating new forms of resistance. Instead of adapting and making life work for them and in the spaces they were given, they created their own intended purposes in ways that have left enduring physical and historical marks.

In Harare Township, the emergent cultural form is an attempt at encompassing and even colonization with its representation of life and where those live. It is a space where the Shona people, who in Africa were able to cultivate alternative cultural forms, were, by their political, economic or social, circumstances, forced to leave their lands and take root from the performance and practice of dance, music, music and oral literature. An example of this is the Chimurenga Music, which is a Shona word for fertility, sexuality and family. However, it was deemed too sexually explicit by disapproving Christians, so the name was changed to 'Sensations' in an effort to transform the original connotation into a religious one. Under both its names, the space served as a source of pride and identity in the face of steadily increasing rural-to-urban migration of African citizens.

The built environment has the ability to inscribe the identities of those who belong and those who do not.

Colonialism: The Dominant Cultural Form

From the time of Europeans in certain African countries came 'settler' colonizers, notably different from occupation colonizers, and evoked in the African continent. The main focus of occupation colonizers was to expand their territories with personal interests or those of the external empire. Though the motives of colonists have overlapping interests, such as economic, political and military, the subsequent growth and development of many African cities did not conform to a linear logic or urban planning.

In the context of colonialism in Africa, though the interactions between the colonizers and the colonized were through the subordination of colored people to a culture where the supposed superiority of the European culture was maintained at the cost of indigenous African cultures.

Rhodesia, along with Apartheid South Africa, is another example of settler colonialism. Rhodesia was planned to be isolating and threatening to those who were not part of the settlers. Urban areas were planned to be isolating and threatening to those contained and separated from the dominant European areas. You can understand this greater separation of the urban and the rural through the Confrontation; the enforced social confinement of the dominion culture to form a new culture that came with colonialism, as well as oppositional to the existing culture of the dominion culture. One of the main components of the Provo movement, some components of its past, I wish to argue that Operation Renaissance, Operation 'Restore Order' and Operation 'Restore Law and Order' in 2005 was a legacy of the dominant culture that was Zimbabwe's colonial experience.

Most of rural-to-urban migration in Zimbabwe. Long after independence, Operation Renaissance is an attempt to move the urban and rural population of African populations, many of whom had firmly established themselves in the urbanities of Harare.

The built environment has the ability to inscribe the identities of those who belong and those who do not.

Realizing the potential of the built environment to dominate and intimidate, European colonial governments erected structures and monuments intended to showcase their superiority.

Even so, colonial repression was all in one present feature of the African's urban experience and under the orders of Edgar Whitehead, a long standing member of the Rhodesian government, Harare Township residents were subject to random violence from armed troops when air was to provide for the safety of the white population over the African populations. In considering the post-colonial situation of Mure, some have identified the 'colonial' nature of the townships as a result of post-colonial ZANU PF government led by Robert Mugabe. Their use of force and authority echoes the previous colonial government. This single graphic trick, of turning the cover of a magazine into a wall, is another example of the way in which Provo tried to forge a connection between walls and words.

He writes:

"In Rhodesia, one young Provo is quoted as saying that the brick wall pattern symbolized 'the way the world is'. And everybody will bang their head against, sooner or later, the wall. So it's a good idea to have a wall, to use the wall within Provo. It seems more fitting to have a wall than a gatepost, because it's the portion of the wall as a barrier—in other words, as a constructive gesture rather than a fatalistic one."

The Minnow

Designed in 1965 by the Provo-affiliated Illustrator Remy White, the minnow, 'One of Anarchy', greater announces the demonstrations that would take place during the royal wedding procession on March 10, 1965.

The emerald letter & (perfectly) symbolizes the notion of anarchy—but it's not hard to see that it's also a reference to the art of the minnows of printing itself. After all, most techniques of printing (whether it's letterpress, offset, or screenprint) involve pressing ink onto a surface, which often results in bleed-through and/or negative.

In that sense, this poster also represents the continuation of printing itself; the idea that positive results can only truly be achieved through negative actions.

Smoke Signals

Yet another iteration of the idea of 'the city as a space' can be found in the strategic use of smoke. As a protest against the marriage of Queen Beatrix and Prince Claus, the Provo movement prepared 'smoke bombs' to be dropped on the Royal Palace. These really 'bombed', but non-explosive devices to create smoke screens that would disrupt the royal wedding procession in 1965.

As the Dutch writer Jan Willem once pointed out, a sensible person should never drop smoke signals, or any other older weapons in the modern age. The way in which the Provo movement used the city as a platform to disseminate smoke signals, to stage this performative act of communication, clearly illustrates the idea of the city as a device to produce and reproduce language.

A Typology of Space

An analysis of the way Provo occupied the city of Amsterdam can be found in the appropriation (both physically and mentally) of the town's statues. A series of posters and leaflets were produced and distributed near these statues; these public acquires and monuments (such as Het Liederklokje, the statue of the Van Mechtelen Monument) were transformed into Provo archetypes (the anarchist, the worker, the student). This typology of space, which is the core of the city into a symbolic, perhaps geographical space—a true theatre for the Provoan narrative.

Colonialism: The Dominant Cultural Form

Another cultural form that is a new dominant form of the built environment is the post-colonial process as a whole which started with colonialism has gone full circle, a roundabout way and through the appropriation of township space, carving out their own meaningful existence and creating new forms of resistance. Instead of adapting and making life work for them and in the spaces they were given, they created their own intended purposes in ways that have left enduring physical and historical marks.

Operation Marandavina (OM) was the largest government initiative that saw the demolition of unplanned spaces in the high density urban areas of Harare. The reason for this illegal housing and structures, it resulted in the displacement of hundreds of thousands of people. From the time of the colonial period to Zimbabwe within Africa. There are unsettling similarities with the urban policies in Apartheid South Africa. The main difference is that the campaign was characterized by how suddenly it occurred. The actions of the government have been described as 'a lightning strike' that took the urban poor and their previous livelihoods.

The sites targeted were the informal sectors. For example, the informal sector in Harare, such as Mure Mure, which has long been an established space for trade; urban informal settlements, which were not to be policed and most significant was the demolition of informal housing—the back-shacks and shacks that were built on the edges of towns. Its close proximity to Harare's industrial areas and central business district, the informal economy was characterized by the fact that it was the deepest economic crisis that was fueling urban poverty, the need and growing demand for informal employment and the informal economy.

These structures were often organized around the entire perimeter of the plot, evidently competing with each other for the best spot in the area. The demolition of these structures had a detrimental effect on the informal plazas who have been dependent on these informal spaces for their survival, sometimes even sole, source of income. Such neoliberal policies have been described as 'a lightning strike' that took the informal economy to the lowest levels of poverty and unemployment. It is a means of survival as in many cities the informal economy is the only way to earn a living. The actions of the government have not been as reflective of the everyday lived experience of the unprivileged as the formal government does. They have reacted to battles with the law when it is not their residents who are fault but a system of laws that criminalizes the informal economy. The informal government has continued with the old colonial policy that regards people as a problem. As the informal economy continues to grow, the legacy from its archive form will still be evident legacy of the dominant culture, cities in Africa have inherited from the colonial period.

The breakfast programme was heavily focused on mutual aid and care and came from an extensive network of local organizations and BPP's internal chapters. Through the process of synthesizing group meetings with the tasks of neighborhood improvement, the BPP's collective efforts in the construction of an internationally recognized organization that possessed the capacity for a radical political transformation.

Lionara Manyangadze

is a reader in art and architectural theory and practice and currently a PhD candidate at the University of London. Her work focuses on the material conditions of working class urban life and their impact on organizational structures.

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RESIST TO EXIST

GUARDIAN OF THE LESBIANS
(Stormy Delarverie, Paris, France)

Stormy Delarverie was a defiant butch lesbian from the 1960s. She founded Les Femen and the Stormy Club in 1964. She was famous for her protests and lesbian love of Greenwicks Village, dressed with a baseball bat, ready to protect her 'babies girls' from the police. She was imprisoned as a fierce militant and armed queer superhero. Her legacy lives on. The Stormy Club, founded in 1964, is still active. Some of these involved (including Stormy herself) swear that she is still there, all important first punch!

PAY AS YOU CAN, WASTE SUPERMARKET
(Leds, UK)

Take inspiration from the burgeoning Real Junk Food movement (RJF). This year, there will be a food waste supermarket in a converted supermarket in London. RJF is a community-run food waste supermarket, markets, restaurants and other businesses and then charge for the food on entirely Pay-as-you-Can principles. Around one million tonnes of food goes to waste in the UK every year and roughly 1.3 billion tonnes of food is wasted. In the UK, 8.4 million people struggle to put food on the table on the UK's mean and more than 1.5 million people go hungry every day. The campaign was characterized by how suddenly it occurred. The actions of the government have been described as 'a lightning strike' that took the urban poor and their previous livelihoods.

GULABI GANG
(Otter Prakker, India)

The Gulabi Gang, a self-help group, is India's global phenomenon. The gang was set up in the Doda District in 2005 by a woman named Gulabi Devi. The gang consists of mostly women aged 40–60. The gang gets trained in legal knowledge, self-defense, and the right to property rights (this is your land). On the other hand, challenging the liberal human rights discourse that labels them as criminals and attempts to assimilate them into the formal political system. In 2000, after classifying an action in support of the indigenous struggle as 'terrorism', the Indian state tried to shut down their possibility of holding mass protests. The Gulabi Gang's actions took place, keeping the sentiment of non-compliance strong, and the struggle alive. To this day, 41 Gulabi political prisoners remain imprisoned with terror charges.

FREE BREAKFAST PROJECT
(The Black Panther Party USA)

The Free Breakfast for Children Program is arguably one of the most significant survival programs in history. It directly challenged economic and racial inequality in the city. The program was established by Fred Hampton in 1968 in response to the lack of nutrition available to children in the United States and at the height between 1960 and 1970, approximately forty-seven BPP groups assisted in providing food to tens of thousands of children. The Black Panthers' Free Breakfast for Children program was born out of the need to combat the high rates of child abuse—children are over the age of 50. The gang get trained in legal knowledge, self-defense, and the right to property rights (this is your land).

SETTING ON A MAN TACTIC
(Igbo communities, Nigeria)

The 'setting on a man' tactic has been used by women in Igbo communities in Nigeria to settle disputes between men in the community. Large groups of women would repress the power balance by surrounding and attacking male workers or homes, singling out and embarrassing them. This tactic is used to settle disputes between men, for instance. This tactic is used to respond to a variety of injustices but broadly, 'killing' is then translated and referred to as 'a war on men' or 'a war on the male'. In the United States, the tactic is used more recently against Greece's neoliberal industry; women have used this ingenious tactic as a protest against male authority.

THE GREEK NEIGHBOURHOOD
(Athens, Greece)

Exarchia couldn't ignore in our collection of examples of city resistance. Historically, Athens most radical and anti-authoritarian neighborhood, theatre of numerous clashes with the different faces of the Greek state, is the neighborhood of Exarchia. The neighborhood has been the scene of numerous conflicts between the police and the residents. The tactic is used to respond to a variety of injustices but broadly, 'killing' is then translated and referred to as 'a war on men' or 'a war on the male'. That is, you're on the anarchist-war-at-Greco-style.

Matthew Modine
(London, UK)

Matthew Modine is an ethnographic artist based in London. His work focuses on the material conditions of working class urban life and their impact on organizational structures.

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FACIAL WEAPONIZATION

IMG: CAMERON K

PROVO

PROVO 1

PROVO 2

PROVO 3

PROVO magazine
(Published in July 1965, August 1965, September 1965, and October 1965)

PROVO

PROVO 12

10 maart dag van de anarchie

Dag van Anarchie
Designed by Willem Giesse (name of several different bookings, including 1965, 1966, 1967, 1968, 1969, 1970, 1971, 1972, 1973, 1974, 1975). Most copies of this pamphlet were distributed as folded pieces, inserted in issues of Provo.

Cameron K
is a queer non-binary queerster who likes their pronouns best and their least best.

Abdul Raheem
is an anarchist, writer, painter and activist. He is the founder of the Black Resistance Movement and the author of 'Black Resistance' and 'Black Resistance: The Art of Revolution'.

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LAURA OLDFIELD-FORD

3 HIDING IN PLAIN SIGHT
NINA POWER

4 A NOS AMIS
INA FEVER

5 A WORLD INSIDE
CHARLOTTE DE FINIS

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JACOB V JOYCE

7 THE UNIVERSAL CLEANLINESS
IRA PUFILIOVA

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CIE

9 COLONIALISM & THE AFRICAN CITY
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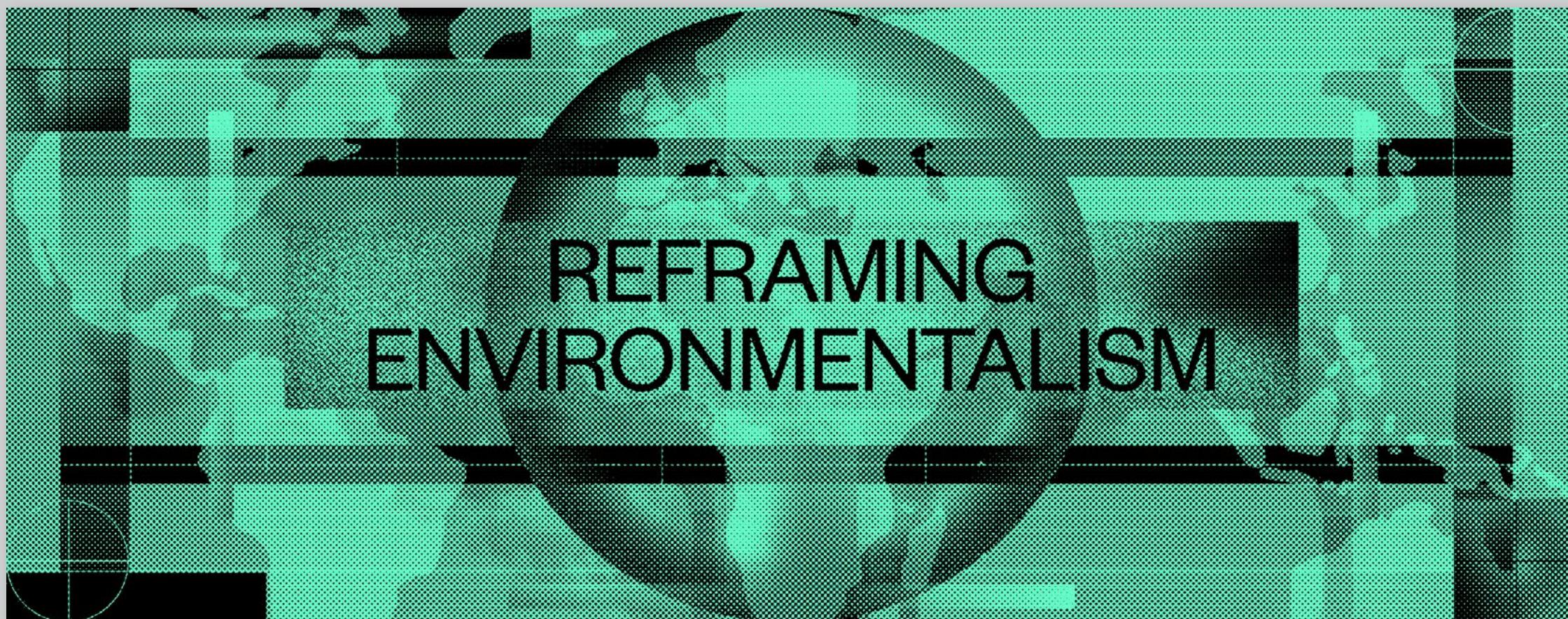
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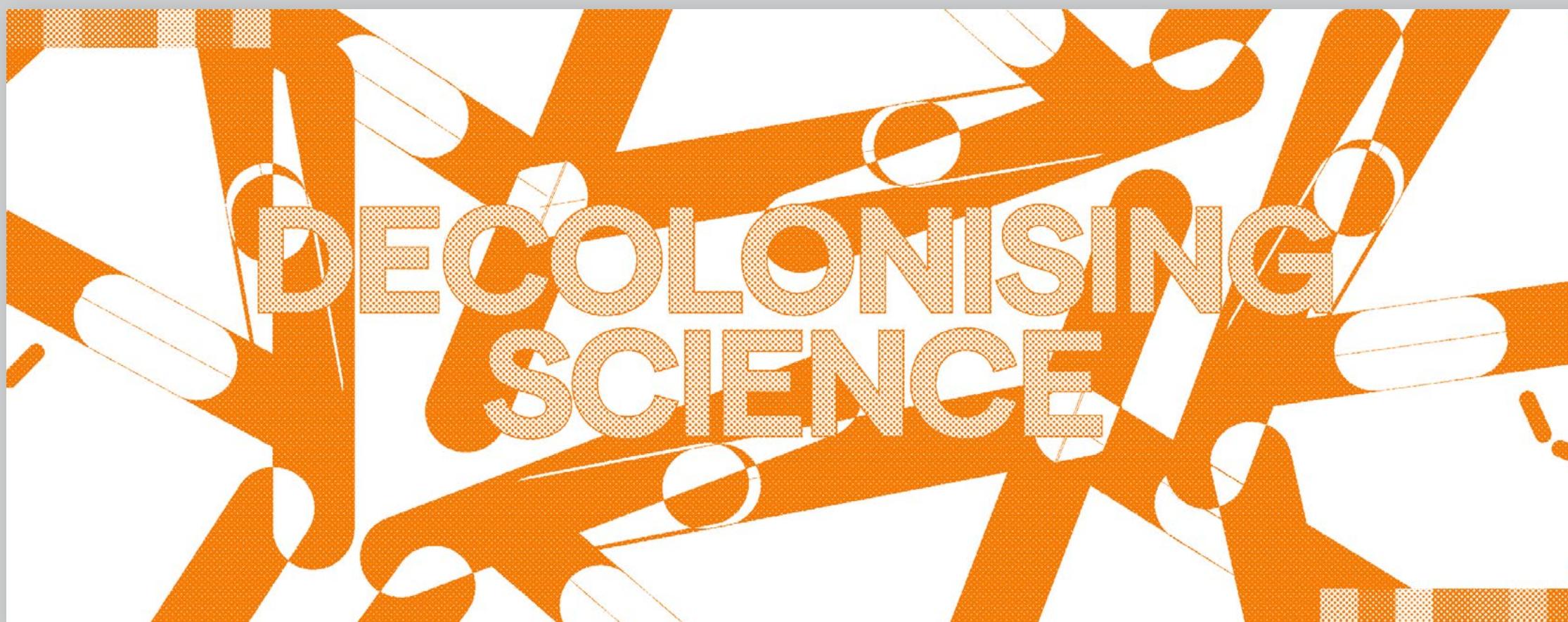
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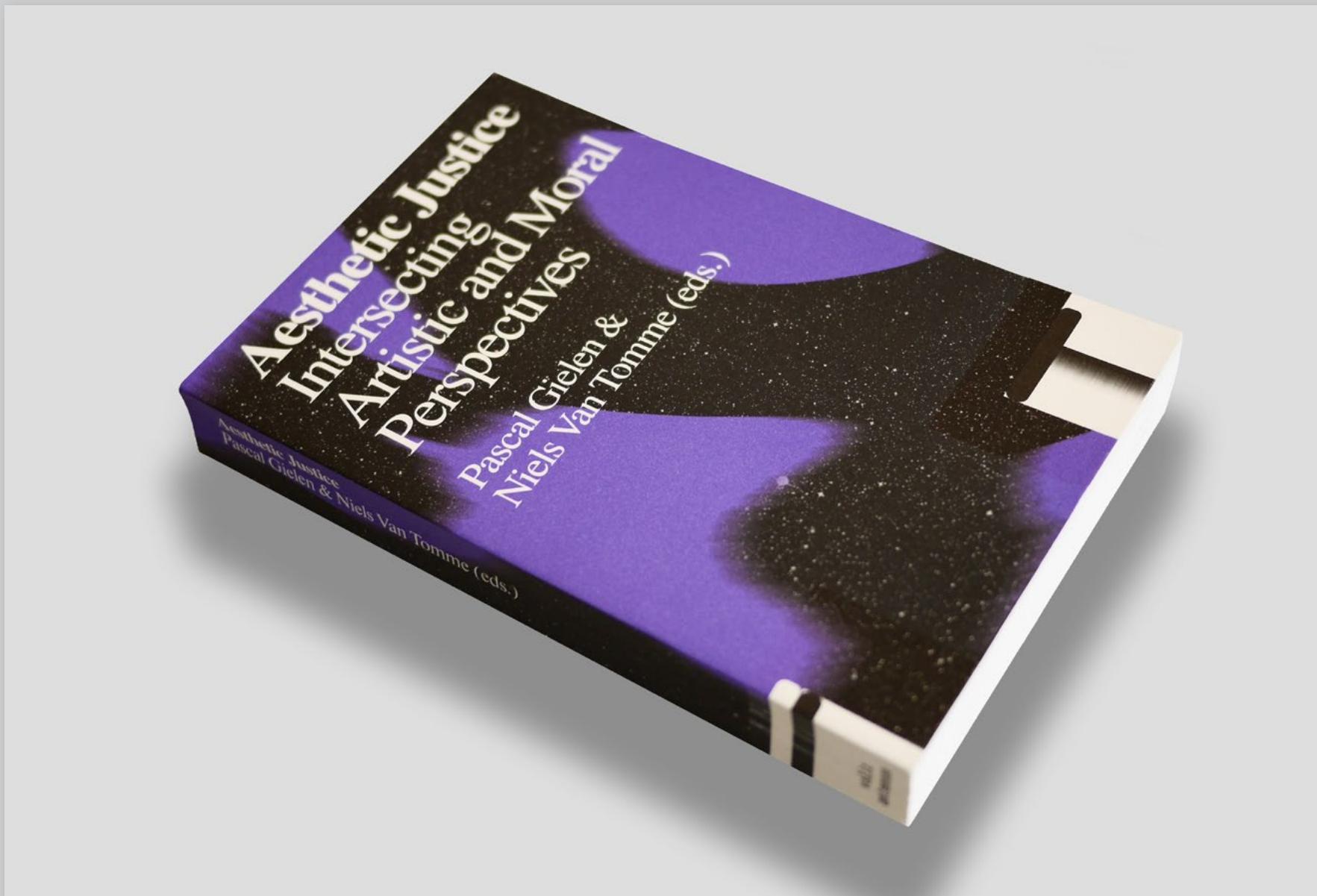
Research and editing of music video, with Metahaven



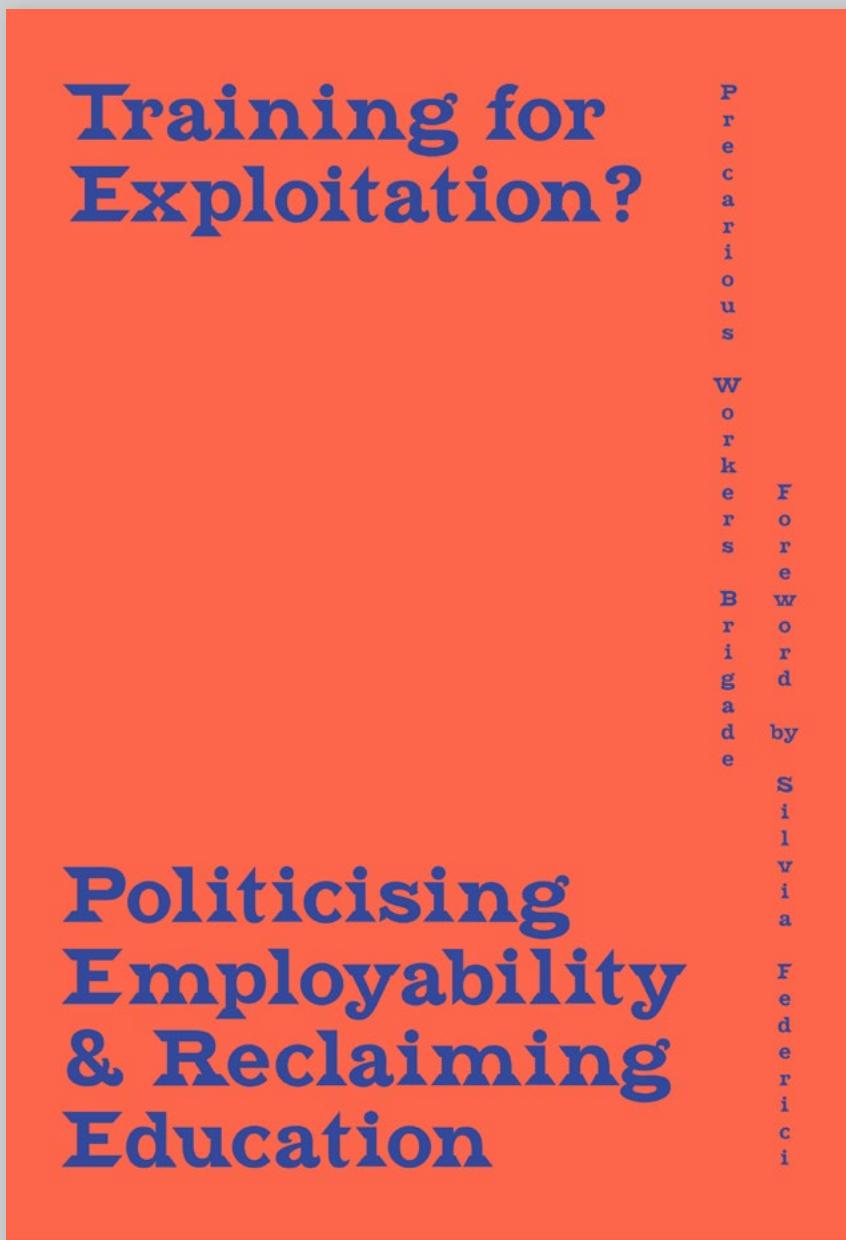












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Pushing Back Against Free Labour

LEGAL CLAIMS

In recent years, we have seen considerable push back against the normalisation of un- and low-paid labour. Some of the campaigns include:

In 2009 and 2011, former interns Nicola Vetta and Keri Hudson successfully claimed wages for their internships through employment tribunals, arguing that the nature of the work they did as interns put them in the legal category of worker and thus entitled them to the NMW. This individualistic method has since been pursued by advocacy group Intern Aware as a campaign, with ex-interns assisted in their claims for wages.

In 2011, Arts Council England published its *Internship Guidelines*, reminding organisations of the legal status of interns at for-profit organisations as workers.

PROTEST AND NAMING AND SHAMING

Intern Labour Rights in the US, Future Interns, PWB and others in the UK named and shamed art institutions such as the Serpentine and Barbican through flashmob protests and open letters. Thanks to persistence and, especially, to coordination with unionised staff on the inside, this achieved considerable results. The Gulf Labour Rights Coalition occupied the Guggenheim Museum in New York and Venice to address the exploitation of migrant workers building the Guggenheim (and other cultural and academic institutions) on Saadiyat Island, Abu Dhabi.

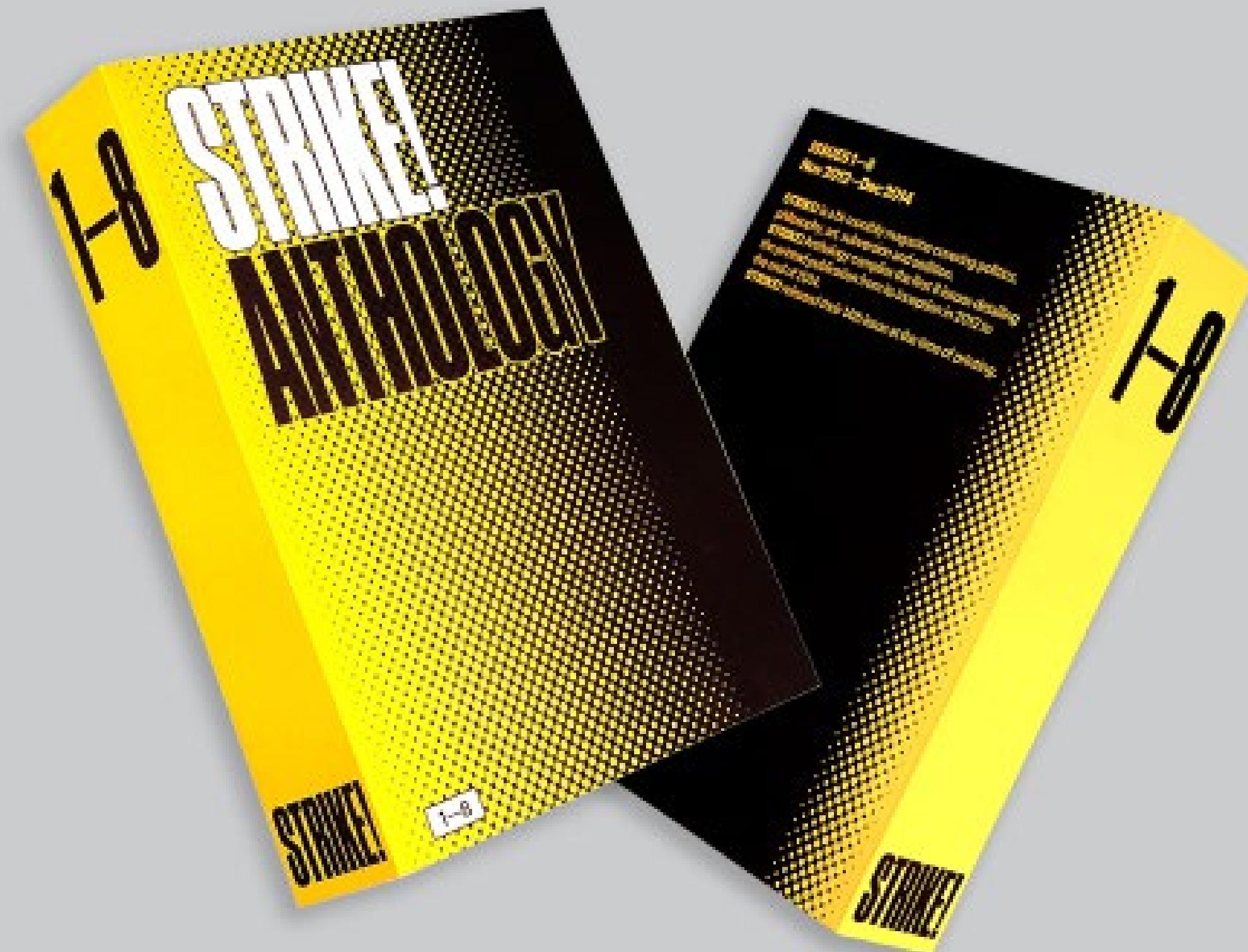
The group No Pay No Way organised around the lack of entry-level position at NGOs and charities, which are able to exploit their charitable status and graduates' desire to 'work for good cause' by 'hiring' people as volunteers.

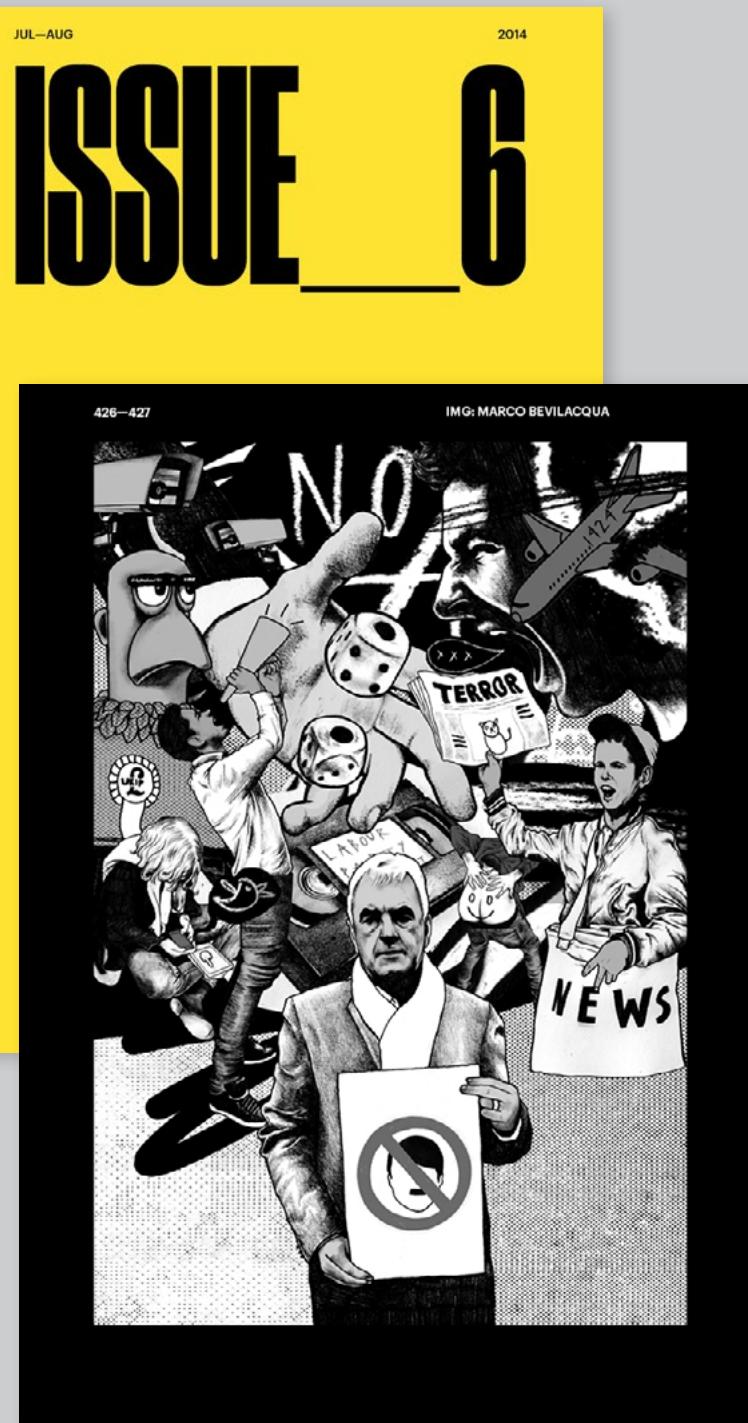
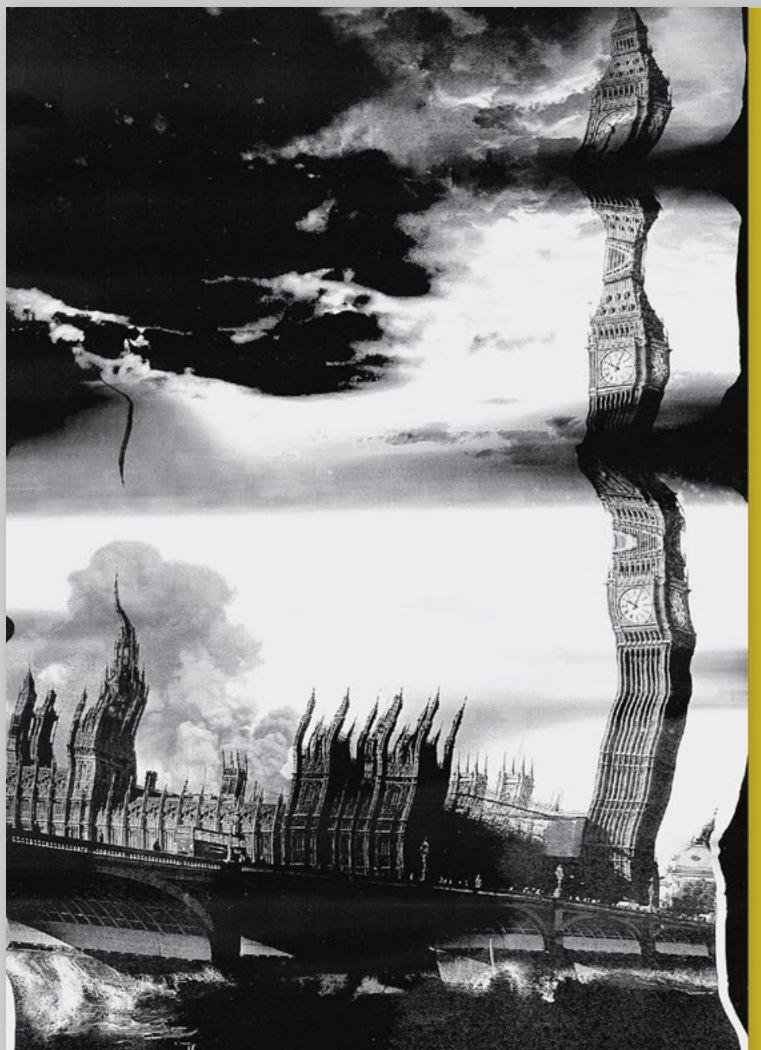
Other low-waged workers – most notably cinema workers (Ritz Living Wage, Curzon campaign) and cleaners (3 Cosas and United Voices of the World) – have, in recent years, organised militantly with their unions to push up wages to the London Living Wage and secure contractual sick pay. And grassroots group Boycott Workfare has, since 2010, organised against workfare regimes which force people receiving welfare to do unpaid labour by naming and shaming and taking action against profiteers and encouraging organisations to join in pledging to boycott workfare.

Many of these campaigns have supported each other in recognition that the issues are connected to each other.

CERTIFICATION AND UNIONISATION

In 2014, US-based group W.A.G.E. launched a certification program, to which non-profit arts organisations can voluntarily sign up, committing themselves to paying decent artist fees. That same year, Artists' Union England (AUE), the UK's first trade union for artists was founded. AUE aims to represent artists at strategic decision-making levels, challenge economic inequalities and exploitative practices in the art world and to negotiate fair pay and better working conditions for artists. Also in 2014, a-n (The Artist Information Company) launched The Paying Artists campaign, which aims to secure payment for artists who exhibit in publicly funded galleries. In 2016, they published *Paying Artists Draft Exhibition Fee Framework and Guidelines*.





JUL-AUG 2014
426-427
IMG: MARCO BEVILACQUA
TXT: JOHN MCDONNELL MP
ISSUE 6

Power To The People

We have experienced the most serious economic crisis of the capitalist system since the great crash of 1929 and yet mainstream politics has sunk to a philistine level of political debate, best characterised by the recent spoof B-film party political broadcast made by the Labour Party and the succession of UKIP candidates spouting racist, homophobic bile.

How could we have let our politics become so degraded?

Three centuries ago the Enlightenment led us to believe that the exercise of reason would lead to a linear progression of how we understand the world and the society we live in. Many were convinced that this intellectual evolution would inform the political decisions taken on how best to organise our society.

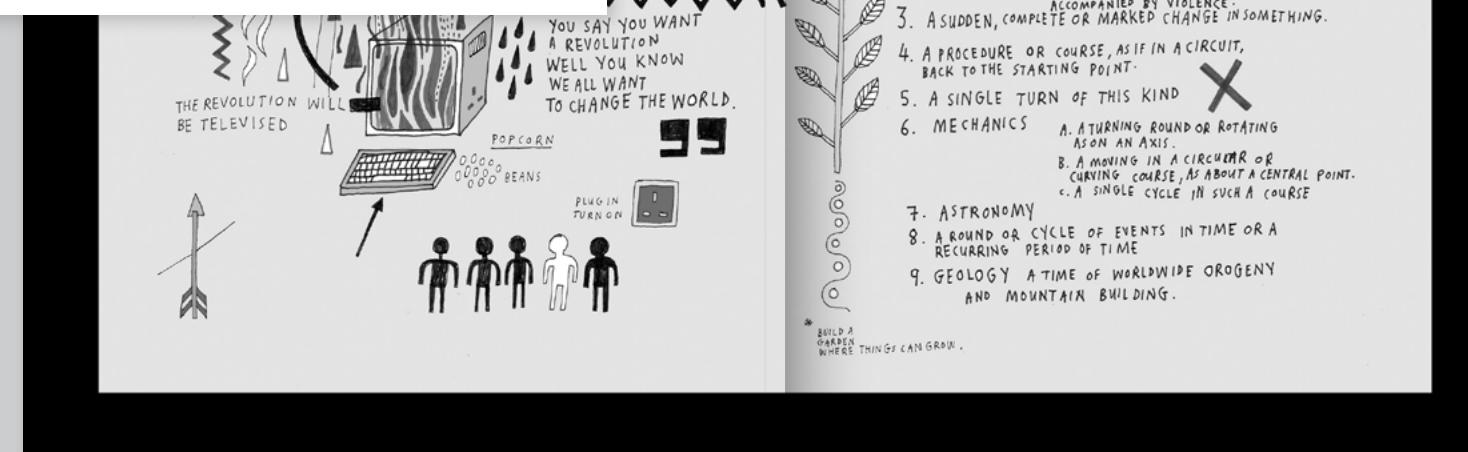
Still within this tradition, Marx then introduced us to the dialectical process of history and thought. Thesis and antithesis would lead to a progressive synthesis.

In our recent period, far from securing progress we seem to have gone back into the darkness. Popular political discussion, as witnessed in our mainstream media outlets, is a pretty bleak, barren wasteland. Newspapers print the sensationalist lies determined by their oligarch owners. The liberal *Guardian* very rarely strays beyond its acceptable establishment comfort-zone.

What masquerades as political debate on radio and television on programmes such as *Any Questions* and *Question Time* is largely a parade of posturing political hacks with barely a cigarette paper between the politics of the supposed political opponents who appear on the shows.

This intellectual vacuum has led to a situation best depicted by Stan Jameson in which for most it is easier to imagine the end of the world than the end of capitalism.

Politics doesn't have to be like this and we can't let this continue.





Sisterhood at the Intersection

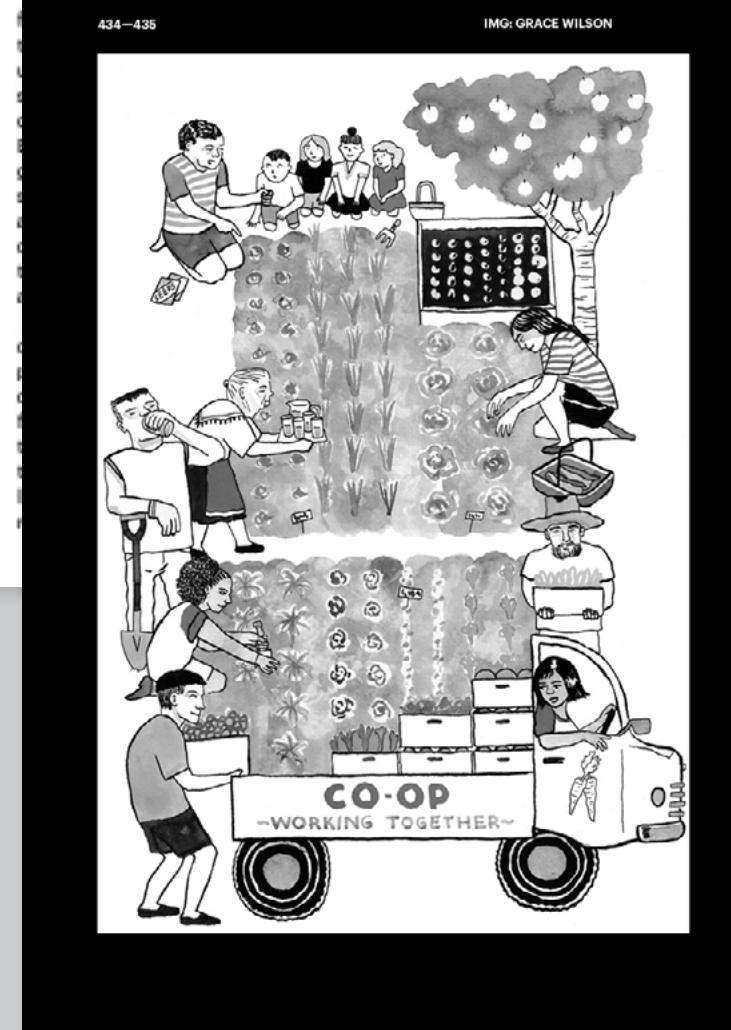
Solidarity at the Crossroads of Struggle

I grew up a feminist as well as a socialist, with both of these identities rooted in class. Feminism and socialism seemed to go hand-in-hand when I considered, for instance, the legacy of the 1984–5 Miners' Strike and the support groups formed by miners' wives, partners and other women in communities like my own. Although such groups were primarily established to distribute food and cash donations to the families of strikers, as the strike progressed their female members increasingly found themselves taking more explicitly political roles as part of fundraising and outreach work, and becoming public figures and community leaders in what had traditionally been a male-dominated political sphere. Through these networks of mutual support and solidarity, working-class women, while on the one hand defending what might be seen as a macho and patriarchal industrial culture, on the other hand gradually challenged the chauvinism in which this culture could be steeped.

Similarly, factory work, despite its immediate associations with industrial masculinity, has historically also been a potential hub of female working-class solidarity. This unfashionable species of feminism was commodified in the 2010 film *Made in Dagenham*, a dramatisation of the 1968 strike by sewing machinists at Ford's Dagenham car plant. The strike saw female workers take on their male bosses over sexual discrimination and the right to equal pay, with several becoming radicalised in the process, and its success

eventually resulted in the 1970 Equal Pay Act. Awareness of this history also helps to break down overly essentialist and unhelpfully narrow ideas of class identity, present on the left as well as the right, which tend to characterise 'the working class', or even just its politically organised sections, as composed only of men—or, more specifically, of white, male, urban industrial workers. The decreasing relevance of this concept of class is frequently used in the denial of 'working-class' as a viable contemporary political identity, despite the continued existence of class inequality. Over the past thirty years, deindustrialisation, structural unemployment, and the loss of skilled factory jobs have not only destroyed a former source of masculine status and self-respect, but also weakened what could be a source of political and social empowerment and consciousness-raising for women.

All this is desperately true now, of course. Today the



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ISSUE 6

Co-Operate or Die

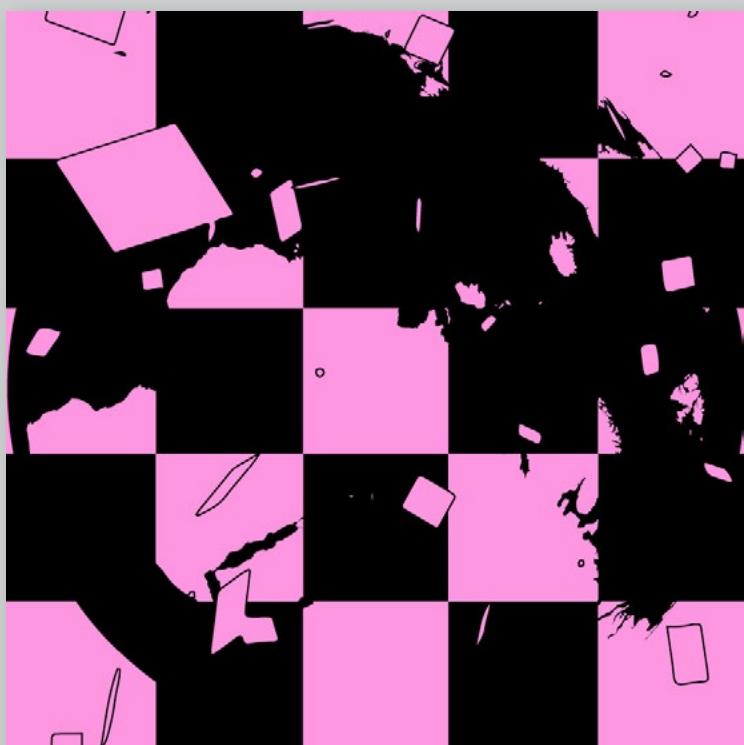
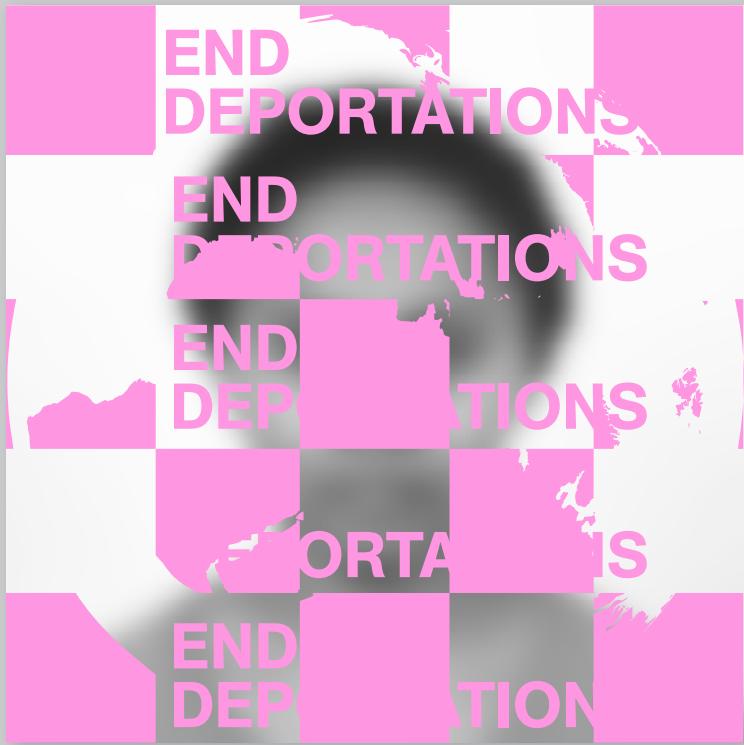
Options for the Alternative Generation

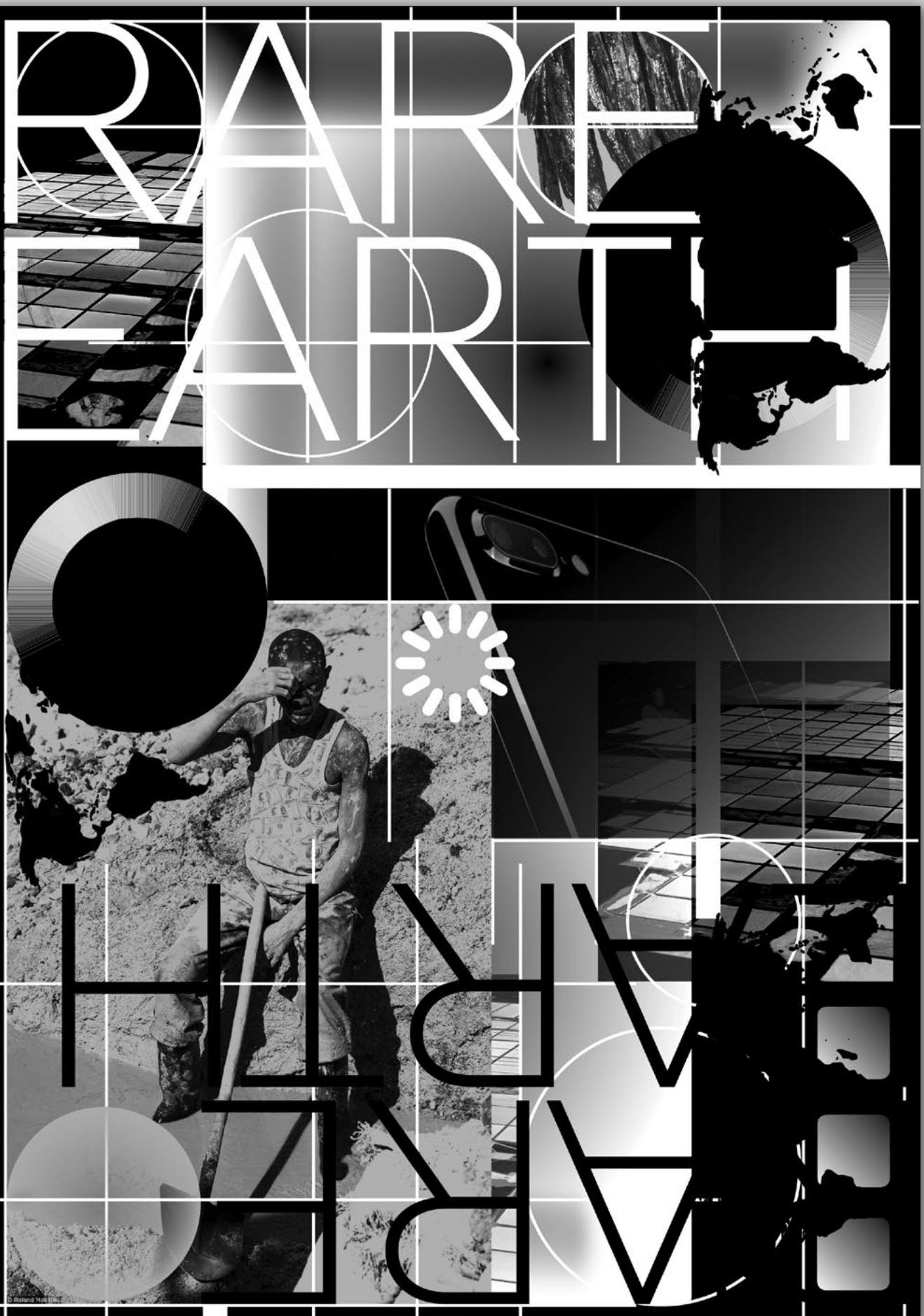
Two years ago I graduated from university and found myself in a reality that I was totally unprepared for. I had what I considered a strong CV: a first-class degree from the University of Leeds, a range of part-time jobs and a list of different volunteer roles and projects I had been involved in. I was ready to get a good job and start living the London dream.

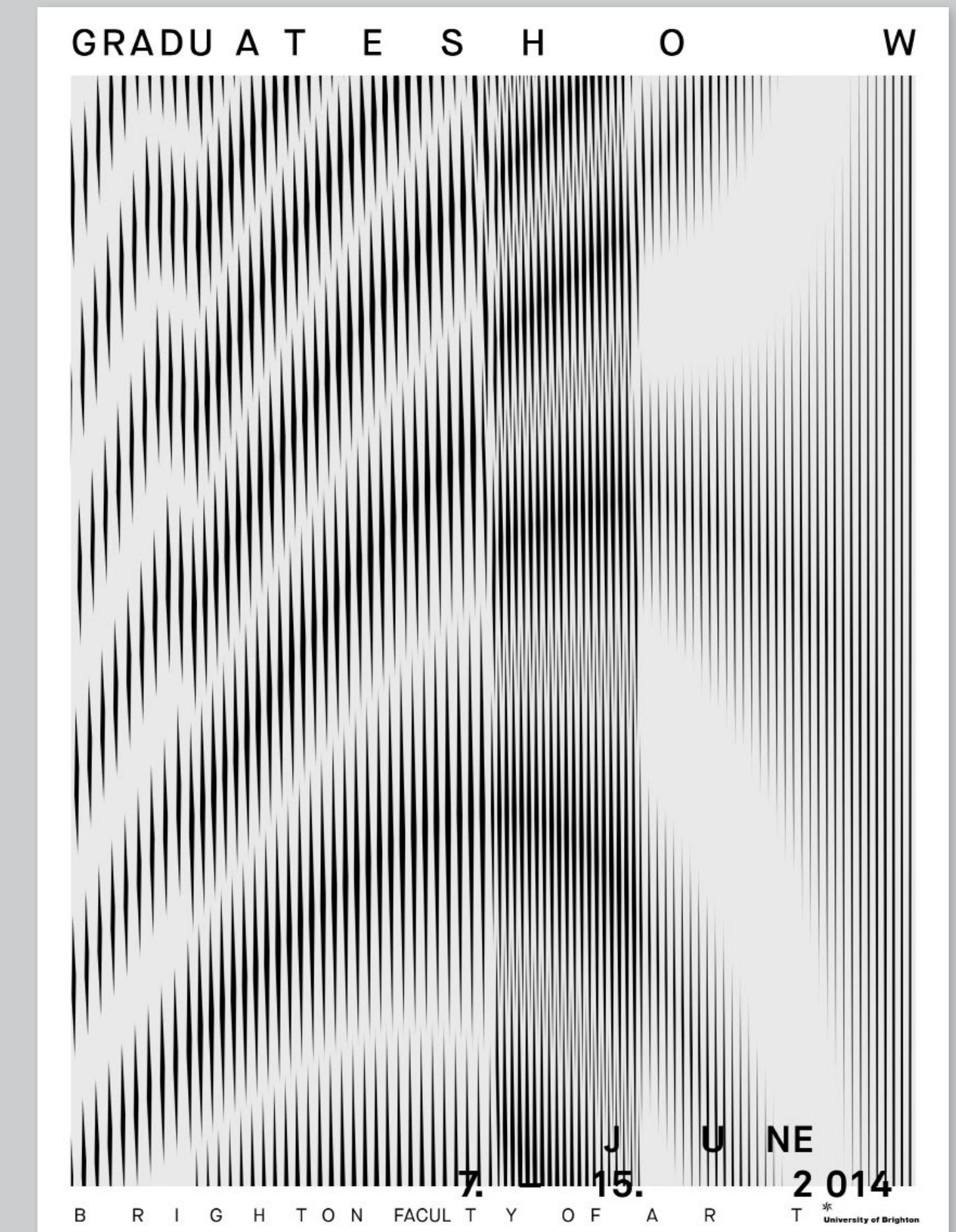
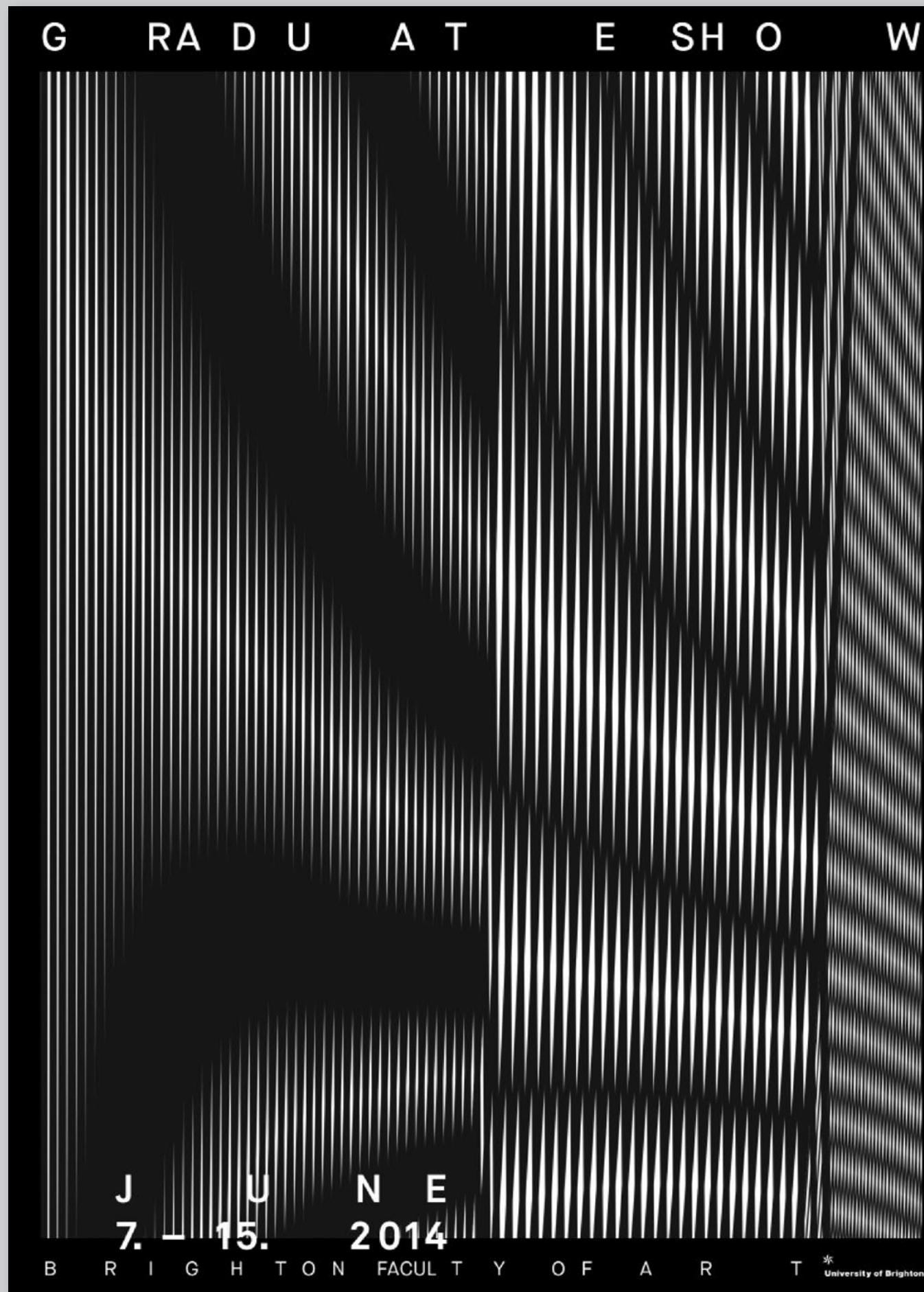
As I competed against other graduates for unpaid internships, volunteer placements and took up a part-time job waitressing, I felt my confidence plummet, aspirations lower, financial situation worsen and a slight existential crisis kicking in. I started to question where my life was going, what I was doing with my time and whether it was just me that felt this way? As I looked around me I began to realise that nobody I knew was getting paid to do a job they loved: friends were running abroad to teach English and escape the crisis here, settling for jobs they hated or taking up low-paid, part-time jobs to support them while they followed their real passions.

One afternoon, after an interview for an unpaid internship that 150 others had applied for, I had a moment of clarity: as long as we all fight for the scraps of work at the bottom of the economy that is all we will get—we will remain powerless and without influence. We will remain the generation without a future. And guess what? We are not the problem. We have ideas, skills, knowledge, energy and talent but the economy we are entering into no longer knows how to utilise our creativity for the common good.

Our role as the next generation should be to change it, to create something better. To create an economy that allows us to earn a living, do what we love and contribute









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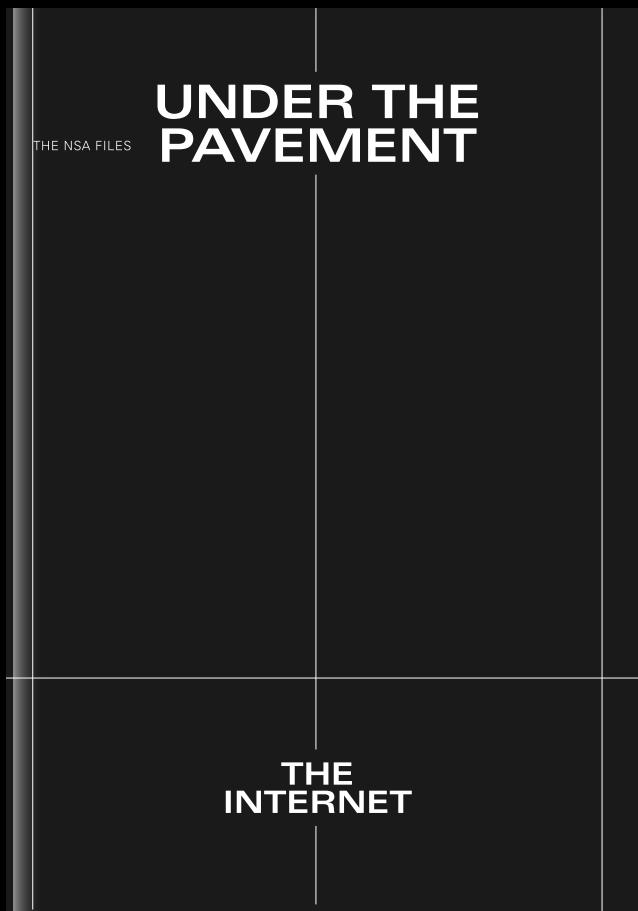
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3: THE PROGRAMS

3.1 PRISM

Prism is a top-secret \$20m-a-year NSA surveillance program, offering the agency access to information on its targets from the servers of some of the USA's biggest technology companies: Google, Apple, Microsoft, Facebook, AOL, PalTalk and Yahoo. The UK's spy agency GCHQ has access to Prism data.

NSA documents suggest the agency can use Prism to access information "directly from the servers" of US companies – a claim they strongly deny. Other documents showed the NSA had paid out millions of dollars to "Prism providers", and showed Microsoft had helped the NSA circumvent its users' encryption.

3.2 TEMPORA

The UK's GCHQ spy agency is operating a mass-interception network based on tapping fibre-optic cables, and using it to create a vast "internet buffer" named Tempora – a kind of Sky+ for huge amounts of data flowing in and out of the UK. The content of communications picked up by the system are stored for three days, while metadata – sender, recipient, time, and more – is stored for up to thirty days. Metadata is effectively the "envelope" of a communication: who it's from, when it was sent and from where, and who it's to, and where – but not the actual contents of the communication.

The system, part of GCHQ's stated goal to "Master the Internet", is enabled using a little-known clause of a law passed in 2000 for individual warranted surveillance, known as RIPA. The telecoms companies involved in the surveillance program were later named as BT, Verizon Business, Vodafone Cable, Global Crossing, Level 3 Viatel and Interoute.

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3.3 PHONE COLLECTION

The very first story from the NSA files showed the agency was continuing a controversial program to collect the phone records ("metadata") of millions of Americans – a scheme begun under President Bush. The scheme was widely believed to have been scrapped years before.

The program, which was re-authorised in July, allows the agency to store who Americans contact, when, and for how long. The agency is not, however, allowed to store the contents of calls. The Obama administration later released hundreds of pages of confidential documents about the program, showing aspects of the surveillance had at one stage been judged unconstitutional by secret oversight courts.

3.4 UPSTREAM

"Upstream" refers to a number of bulk-intercept programs carried out by the NSA, codenamed FAIRVIEW, STORMBREW, OAKSTAR and BLARNEY. Like similar GCHQ programs, upstream collection involves intercepting huge fibre-optic communications cables, both crossing the USA and at landing stations of undersea cables.

The collection, which relies on compensated relationships with US telecoms companies, allows the NSA access to huge troves of phone and Internet data, where at least one end of the communication is outside of the country. Last disclosures revealed the NSA keeps all the metadata it obtains through Upstream and Prism in a database system called MARINA for 12 months.

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3.5 CRACKING CRYPTOGRAPHY

The NSA and GCHQ have been undertaking systematic effort to undermine encryption, the technology which underpins the safety and security of the internet, including email accounts, commerce, banking and official records.

The NSA has a \$250m-a-year program working overtly and covertly with industry to weaken security software, hardware equipment, and the global standards on security, leading experts to warn such actions leave all internet users more vulnerable.

Both agencies' codenames for their ultra-secret programs are named after their countries' respective civil war battles: BULLRUN for the NSA, and EDGEHILL for GCHQ.

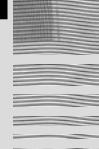
AIM
TO
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>> THE INTERNET

Sous Le Pave L' Internet

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C O D E N A M E

DIGITAL

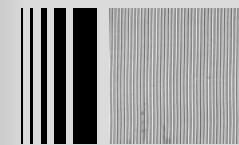
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Systematic effort to undermine encryption.**E D G E H I L L**

GCHQ

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5: THE STORY OF THE LEAK

5.1 EDWARD SNOWDEN

On 9 June 2013, 29-year-old Edward Snowden revealed himself as the source of the NSA revelations published that week in the *Guardian* and the *Washington Post*, in a video interview with Glenn Greenwald and Laura Poitras.

Snowden, an IT specialist working for US contractor Booz Allen Hamilton, had left his home in Hawaii for Hong Kong days before, and met with Poitras, Greenwald, and another *Guardian* journalist, Ewen MacAskill.

Saying he wanted to launch a global debate on the limits of NSA surveillance, Snowden said "I understand that I will be made to suffer for my actions," but "I will be satisfied if the federation of secret law, unequal pardon and irresistible executive powers that rule the world that I love are revealed even for an instant."

5.2 THE HUNT FOR SNOWDEN

Snowden had already left the USA for Hong Kong for fear of legal retribution as a result of his leaks. For several days, he remained in an undisclosed location in Hong Kong. However, just days after the USA issued an international warrant for his arrest on espionage charges, the whistleblowing website WikiLeaks announced Snowden had boarded a flight to Russia, as a stop-off to an undisclosed country in South America.

Snowden was expected to board a plane to Cuba the following morning, but did not. It emerged his temporary travel authorisation, issued by an Ecuadorian diplomat, had been revoked. After spending several weeks trapped airoside in Moscow's Sheremetyevo airport, he was granted one year's asylum in Russia. He is currently staying at an undisclosed location in the country. In October, he was visited by a group of US whistleblowers who presented him with the Sam Adams award.

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5.3 GCHQ AND THE GUARDIAN

The *Guardian* has had a running series of conversations with GCHQ about its access to material disclosed by Edward Snowden, and publication of stories based on it. Such conversations intensified in July – weeks after the first publication – when a senior Cabinet Office official told *Guardian* editor Alan Rusbridger to hand back or destroy the material, saying "You've had your fun."

Wary of the risk of injunction or state censorship, the *Guardian* had already shared material with ProPublica and the *New York Times*. As such, when pressure from the Cabinet Office and GCHQ intensified, the newspaper offered to destroy all hard disks and computers on UK soil which contained information with the Snowden files. This offer was accepted, and the computers were smashed in a *Guardian* basement as GCHQ officials watched.

Rusbridger said the decision was taken in order to prevent a situation in which the paper would be legally required to hand over the material, or injunction. The White House deputy press secretary later said it was "difficult to imagine" the US government ever requiring an American newspaper to do the same.

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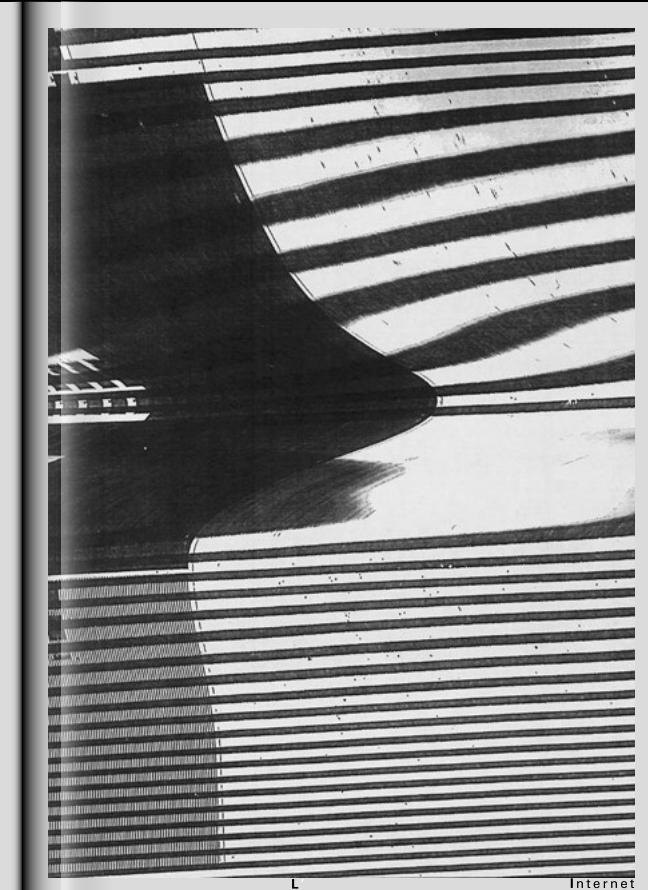
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Contact: robbieblundell@pm.me ↗