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NOTES

Chapter 1

- 1 All interviewee names used in this book are pseudonyms.
- 2 Somewhat ironically, given his early championship of lifestyle politics, the most famous critic of “lifestyle anarchism” is Murray Bookchin, who published a polemical essay on the topic in the 1990s. In this essay, titled *Social Anarchism or Lifestyle Anarchism: An Unbridgeable Chasm* (1995), he seemed to reveal his disillusionment with the use of lifestyle as a political tactic. I discuss some of the reasons for this apparent shift in Bookchin’s position in Chapter 6.
- 3 There are inherent limitations introduced by my status as a relative outsider to the movement I study in this book. My knowledge, like all knowledge, is “situated” within my own subjectivity and experience and is therefore partial (Haraway 1988). My own political identities, namely feminist and queer, inevitably colored the questions I asked and the way I interpreted my observations during the research process.
- 4 For further definitions of the term lifestyle, see Featherstone (1987) and Binkley (2007b).
- 5 There is an extensive and growing literature on “ethical consumption” but see especially Barnett et al. (2005), Connolly and Prothero (2008), Harrison et al. (2005), Littler (2009), Micheletti (2003), and Mukherjee and Banet-Weiser (2012).
- 6 See, for instance, Adam’s (1995) history of the gay and lesbian movements of the twentieth century; Braunstein and Doyle’s (2002) collection of histories of the 1960s counterculture; Cornell’s (2011a, 2011b) histories of anarchist organizing in the twentieth century; Denning’s (1997) history of the “Cultural Front” during the Cold War; Kaplan and Shapiro’s (1998) collection of personal accounts of the children of Communist Party activists of the 1930s; Klatch’s (1999) sociological history of New Left and conservative activists of the 1960s and 1970s; Lipsitz’s (1994) history of mid twentieth-century labor movements; McKinley’s (1982) history of early twentieth-century anarchists’ occupational choices; Ogbar’s (2004) history of the Black Power movement; Roszak’s (1969) account of the youth counterculture of the 1960s; Rossinow’s (1998) study of New Leftists and the 1960s counterculture; Veysey’s (1973) study of reform movements in the pre-Civil War era; and the many accounts of radical lesbian feminism of the 1960s and 1970s (Echols 1989; Freeman 1975; Stein 1997; Taylor and Whittier 1995; Whittier 1995; Millett 2000; Phelan 1989).

- 7 For social movement research that discusses the cultural vibrancy of radical activism in the face of official repression, see Polletta (2002), Taylor and Whittier (1992), and Whittier (1995).
- 8 The sense in which I use the terms “tactics” and “strategy” here is rooted in the work of de Certeau (1984) and Foucault (1990a). I have also found useful Gilbert’s (2008) discussion of “strategic orientation.” The sense in which I use the term “articulation” is usefully explained by Slack (1996).
- 9 For examples of these critiques, see Bevington and Dixon (2005), Cornell (2011b), Eschle (2004), and Martínez (2000).
- 10 “Lifestyle change or revolution?” thread in the Infoshop Forums (www.forums.infoshop.org/viewtopic.php?f=29&t=6340&p=22961).
- 11 The concept of “strategic ethnography” comes from Marcus and Fischer (1999: 132). Even within the delimited scope of my research on one particular aspect of anarchist movements, I had to be further selective about the dimensions of anarchist lifestyle politics I chose to address in this book due to inevitable limitations on time and space. There are some specific lifestyle practices that I do not cover, such as child-rearing practices or occupational choices. I also do not closely trace changes in lifestyle practices over the lifecycle of individual anarchists, or the relationship between age and commitment to lifestyle politics. Such topics should be explored in future research.
- 12 See *Security Culture: A Handbook for Activists*, a pamphlet available online at www.security.resist.ca/personal/securebooklet.pdf.
- 13 Several works trace the anarchist philosophical and practical tradition through the history of US countercultural movements. See especially Cornell (2011a), Davis (2010), Farrell (1997), Rossinow (1998), and Veysey (1973).
- 14 This approach is inspired by Juris’s (2008a) study of anarchist activist networks, in which he took the generalized practice of networking as his object of analysis, instead of focusing on the structure of any one specific group or location. My approach is also reminiscent of Berlant and Freeman’s (1993) work on Queer Nation, also a decentralized, radical movement. They describe their scholarship as “falsely bringing into narrative logic and collective intentionality what has been a deliberately unsystematized politics” (200).
- 15 Ross Haenfler (2006: 195) suggests that collective identity is especially important to diffuse social movements because there is “no formal structure to ensure continuity, consistency, action, and commitment.” He goes on to say that “collective identity is a *support structure*; people call on collective identity (that is, look to the identity for guidance) in a variety of situations where they might otherwise rely on the guidance of an organization and/or a leader” (196).
- 16 The informal hierarchies of power that emerge within radical political movements have been described by Jo Freeman in her much circulated essay, “The Tyranny of Structurelessness” (2002). Gordon (2008) also describes how such dynamics can be found within contemporary anarchist movements. I extend this discussion by examining the specific role of taste and lifestyle in these power dynamics.
- 17 For further discussion of “politics of articulation” see Reed (2005) and Hall (1996b).

- 18 “Movement culture” is a term introduced by Goodwyn (1978) and is further elaborated by Denning (1997) and Reed (2005).
- 19 See Olson (2009) for more on infoshops and their importance to anarchist social formations.
- 20 The term “zine” is short for magazine, and refers specifically to a hand-assembled, do-it-yourself style publication. See Duncombe (2008) for an in-depth study of zines and zine cultures.
- 21 In addition to using these texts to develop what anthropologist Lanita Jacobs-Huey (2002: 794) calls “communicative competence” in the relational norms of anarchist cultures (which aided me in my fieldwork), I also treated contemporary anarchist publications as sources of information about anarchists’ lifestyle practices. Paul Atkinson and Amanda Coffey (2004) refer to the method of utilizing texts like this as sources of data as the analysis of “documentary realities.” They caution against using such texts as sources of evidence about material realities. Although no representation can unproblematically capture reality, I did, to some extent, take it on faith that the lifestyle practices commonly described by anarchist texts are actually undertaken in the real world. In many cases, textual accounts were corroborated by interviewees and my own observations.
- 22 The alterglobalization movement, also known as the antiglobalization movement or alternative globalization movement, is the umbrella name given to the global justice movements against neoliberalism that flourished worldwide in the 1990s. It is widely recognized as being anarchistic in its tactics, aims, and organizing structures (Graeber 2002).
- 23 This phrase, “building a new world in the shell of the old,” is generally attributed to the International Workers of the World, an anarchist labor organization founded in 1905. See the organization’s website, www.iww.org.
- 24 See Sheehan (2003) for further discussion of media representations of anarchists.

Chapter 2

- 1 The concept of mutual aid as an anarchist ethos comes from nineteenth-century Russian scientist and anarchist, Peter Kropotkin (2009). While Kropotkin’s account of mutual aid derived from his observations of animal behavior, and thus attributed the practice to natural rather than ethical impulses, mutual aid has since been taken up by anarchist organizers as an ethically mandated expression of solidarity with fellow activists.
- 2 Food Not Bombs is a decentralized network of autonomous collectives who, usually on a weekly basis, acquire free food (often obtaining it from the dumpsters of restaurants and grocery stores), cook it in mass quantities, and serve it to homeless communities. They may also provide prepared food to other activists at protest and cultural events. Food Not Bombs groups exist all over the United States; most major cities and many smaller towns have active Food Not Bombs groups. In Los Angeles, for example, there are multiple groups—on two occasions, I participated in food preparation with

the Downtown LA “chapter,” which happened to meet near my apartment. In addition to its official aim of providing food to hungry people on the streets and at political events, Food Not Bombs is a social hub and frequently serves as an entry point for people who are beginning to get involved with anarchist activism. As the founders of Food Not Bombs observe in their handbook, “The Food Not Bombs table is often a landmark for activists and street folks looking to connect with the movement in a new city” (Butler and McHenry 2000: 26).

- 3 Other studies of ethical consumption have noted the overlap of multiple motivations by consumers. See Connolly and Prothero (2008) and Sassatelli and Davolio (2010).
- 4 Some anarchists might take exception to this logic, arguing that to vote, either in an electoral or an economic sense, is to legitimate a situation in which one must choose the least of many evils. As a writer of the *Why Freegan?* zine put it, “I don’t vote because no matter who I vote for, the government always wins and when you ‘vote with your dollars,’ consumerism always wins, capitalism always wins” (koala!, n.d.: 4). The only ideologically supportable course, according to this argument, is to abstain from the system altogether (i.e. to not vote at all and to not spend money on consumption at all.) Whether one adequately extracts oneself from capitalism by not spending money or from the state by not voting is open to debate.
- 5 There is an extensive literature on the consumer strike as a mode of anti-consumption. See, for example, Smith (1990) and Micheletti (2003).
- 6 As Leiss et al. (2005: 200) explain, “The product has become a totem, a representation of a clan or group that we recognize by its activities and its members’ shared enjoyment of the product. The response to consumption seems to be less concerned with the nature of satisfaction than with its social meaning—the way it integrates the individual into a consumption tribe. Meaning here focuses on questions such as: Who is the person I become in the process of consumption? Who are the other consumers like me? What does the product mean in terms of the type of person I am and how I relate to others?”
- 7 While Binkley (2007a) positions the individualist anti-consumer against the collectivist anti-consumer, arguing for a distinction between those who are pursuing projects of self-realization and those who approach consumption as a means for realizing the shared objectives of a social movement, this dichotomy doesn’t really hold up among anarchist anti-consumers. Binkley’s work is important in recognizing that consumption practices are not always already self-interested; I want to extend Binkley’s analysis a step further by exploring the strategic implications of the multitude of motivations and outcomes of anti-consumption lifestyles.

Chapter 3

- 1 There is extensive literature from a variety of disciplines on the associations between subcultures and body modification. See, for example, Bell and Valentine (1995), DeMello (2000), and Vale and Juno (1989). Much of the theoretical work of these studies is applicable to anarchists as well.

- 2 My approach here is strongly influenced by the models of cultural studies provided by Richard Johnson (1986), Paul du Gay et al. (1997), and Stuart Hall (1997, 2006). It should be made clear here that I am using “production” and “consumption” in the sense of sending and receiving communicative messages. We might alternatively think of producers and consumers as performers and audience. Production and consumption in this sense do not imply commodity fabrication and exchange.
- 3 In the southwestern United States at least, the bandana also carries connotations of solidarity with Latin American political causes, such as the indigenous, revolutionary Zapatista movement based in Mexico. Zapatista-made bandanas, among other garments, are sometimes sold at anarchist events to raise funds for that movement.
- 4 Although my account here should look familiar to those knowledgeable of Butlerian theories of performativity, an identity like anarchist is different from an identity like woman, with which Butler and other post-structuralist feminist theorists have been concerned. Specifically, I am rather less concerned with the unconscious and its relation to subjectivity since this is less instructive for understanding the kind of activist identity and performances on which this book focuses. In a way, anarchist identity is much easier to understand in terms of performativity than gender identity is, since the notion that “one is not born an anarchist activist” is a rather uncontroversial one, while the idea that one is not born a woman (pace Beauvoir) is harder for many people to wrap their heads around.
- 5 The similarity between sexual and political identities—namely, that they are both “invisible”—is also noted by Gross (2001) and McKenna and Bargh (1998).
- 6 See Kobena Mercer (1987) for an excellent discussion of the “sense of solidarity” cultivated by African-American radicals through stylistic performance in the post-Black Power era. Many parallels can be drawn between the subjects of Mercer’s work and the anarchist activists described here.
- 7 *Agents provocateurs* are police or other state officials who infiltrate organizations and protest actions disguised as activists and then incite violent confrontation, effectively justifying overt police repression of activist efforts.
- 8 This phenomenon has been much discussed by historians of the US lesbian feminist movement of the 1970s. Women in this movement experienced enormous pressure to adopt a very limited style of self-presentation, and women whose tastes diverged from the subcultural norm had their political commitments to feminism called into question. As a result, many women reported being driven away from feminist activist communities. See Echols (1989), Stein (1997), Faderman (1992), Taylor and Whittier (1992), Whittier (1995), and Phelan (1989).
- 9 This is a perennial question for scholars of spectacular subculture style. See, for example, Bell and Valentine (1995: 152) who lament, “the ways in which body modifications articulate a politics of dissent other than through well-worn notions of the refusal to conform remain unclear.”

- 10 The blog post and its comments can be accessed at www.thelede.blogs.nytimes.com/2009/04/02/protesters-fail-to-bring-down-global-capitalism-with-costumes-puppets.
- 11 Radical black activists of the 1960s, for example, saw their stylistic innovations—such as the afro hairstyle and the raised fist gesture—appropriated by marketing campaigns targeted at mainstream black audiences (often by white-owned companies) (Van Deburg 1992; Mercer 1987). Feminist politics as well have been enlisted in the marketing of commercial products; often these are products that tap into retrograde constructions of femininity, such as cleaning supplies and personal hygiene products (Goldman et al. 1991).
- 12 I am referring here to a line of products sold by the Unilever Corporation, under the Axe brand name.
- 13 This is a not-so-subtle reference to the hard rock band Rage Against the Machine, whose songs are known for their radical political content, but who achieved commercial success after releasing an album on the Sony record label in the early 1990s.

Chapter 4

- 1 This problem is discussed informally in many places. For some more formal observations and critiques, see Cornell (2011b), Olson (2009), and Thompson (2010).
- 2 See Chapter 1, fn. 7 for histories that detail such “pictures of the proper or normative activist subject” with respect to lifestyle practices.
- 3 I understood that people may be hesitant to identify as anarchists (Graeber 2002; Juris 2009). Therefore, when I recruited people to participate in my study, I was always careful to stipulate only that they have an affinity to anarchism, whether or not they felt comfortable claiming the identity outright.
- 4 My use of the word sincere here comes from John L. Jackson’s (2005) discussion of “sincerity” versus “authenticity” with respect to racial identity. For Jackson, sincerity refers to the strength of one’s subjective investment in a particular identification, regardless of how convincingly one performs according to the social expectations for that identity in a given context.
- 5 This resistant subject is not located *outside* the state or the market’s networks of power, but rather the subject has multiple networks of power converging on it, one of which is that of the radical movement. Recognizing this intersection of power helps to explain why attempting to achieve a puristic movement subjectivity and a pure activist lifestyle is a futile pursuit: one will never be able to fully align with *just one* disciplinary discourse since one is pulled in different directions by different discourses. I will return to this idea again in future chapters.
- 6 For Foucault, the authority or institution in question is often one of domination, such as the state. He uses the term “anatomo-politics” to refer to the exercise of power upon the individual human body; this exercise of power is distinct from punishment, rather it generally takes the form of *self-discipline*

toward some positive state of “optimization” and “usefulness” (Foucault 1990a: 139).

- 7 In the context of “ethical consumption,” Jo Littler (2009: 14) describes such purism as being characterized by “sanctimonious righteousness.” Drawing on the work of Wendy Brown (2005), Littler asserts that self-righteous moralism ends up shutting down productive debate over ethical goods, rather than bringing people together for political projects. Littler also points out that, “the celebration of a kind of ‘purity’ of activism can give it a mythic force which, while potent and generative, can also exclude a wide range of people without particular forms of social and cultural capital from identifying with it” (44).

Chapter 5

- 1 See also an essay by Goldman’s contemporary Voltarine De Cleyre titled “They Who Marry Do Ill” (2004) and Greenway’s (2009) discussion of late nineteenth-century British anarchists’ views on marriage.
- 2 For a typology of various polyamorous relationship structures involving more than two people, see the alt.polyamory FAQ at www.faqs.org/faqs/polyamory/faq/.
- 3 For a discussion of the specific valence of the term “queer” within sexual activist movements, see Warner (1993). For an introduction to the intellectual movement known as queer theory, and its roots in the homosexual activist tradition, see Jagose (1996).
- 4 “Homonormativity” is a term used by radical queers to critique homosexual identities and relationships that conform to heterosexual ideas of normalcy; for example, gender dichotomous, monogamous, and legally sanctioned. See Sycamore (2008) and Warner (1999).
- 5 See, for example, the websites for Radical Homosexual Agenda (www.radicalhomosexualagenda.org), and Black and Pink (www.blackandpink.org), and posts and forum discussions of queer anarchism on more general anarchist sites like Infoshop (www.infoshop.org), Anarkismo (www.anarkismo.net), and Anarchist News (www.anarchistnews.org).
- 6 Ze and hir are non-gendered, singular, third-person subject and object pronouns. They have been put into use by queer/trans activists as a remedy for the lack of non-gendered, singular, third-person pronouns in the English language.
- 7 I use straight as a synonym for heteronormative, not for heterosexual. To some extent, this means that straight also describes homonormative identities, though any form of homosexuality is relatively “less” hegemonic or straight by virtue of its not being the heterosexual norm. When I say straight, I don’t mean to specify heterosexuality or homosexuality, just relative conformity to heteronormativity.
- 8 I’m not sure how to interpret Minty’s slippage from sexual identity (which was how I framed my question) to “gender identity.” Although gender and sexuality are clearly related, I am unsure whether to interpret Minty’s statement about

“loving womyn” as more about her identification *as* a woman or about her erotic attraction *to* women. Unfortunately, after I received this response (in an email follow-up to our in-person interview), Minty got too busy with work to continue exchanging emails, and so I was unable to clarify her answer.

- 9 The way the author uses the term bisexual in this particular essay is closer to the way I have defined queer here. The use of bisexual is unfortunately confusing; it is clear that the author does not mean to indicate that each and every anarchist is sexually attracted to both men and women, which is what bisexuality is generally taken to signify.
- 10 This is not a new dynamic within political movements that have supported the subversion of mainstream sexual mores. In Emma Goldman's autobiography she describes an encounter with a supporter of free love who attempts to seduce her, and recounts her subsequent frustration when she discovers that he is merely a married man looking to engage in “clandestine affairs” (Goldman 1977: 197). Scholars of the hippie counterculture of the late 1960s and early 1970s have documented the ways in which critiques of sexual moralism were used within the subculture to facilitate men's unrestricted access to women's bodies. Picking up on this issue, Beth Bailey (2002) argues that while images of liberated sexuality were initially used by the counterculture to symbolize a rejection of mainstream repression and conformity, such images stopped being so revolutionary once they began to mirror misogynist fantasies and commonplace marketing techniques. Bailey observes that ultimately, “what were formerly markers of opposition now signaled revolutionary intent less than they demonstrated belonging in a vast and powerful peer culture” (322). Kreutzer (2004) makes an explicit link between this history and contemporary political subcultures: “The recent rise of polyamory as the preferred lifestyle in the radical leftist/anarchist circles parallels the ‘sexual revolution’ of the late 1960s. In both instances, the supposed sexual freedom for women has not been done for our benefit, but for the benefit of men.” It would probably be overly cynical to assume that male proponents of sexual liberation have long been engaged in a coordinated campaign to reassert patriarchal social dynamics within radical movements. However, it seems reasonable to think that, by movements failing to adequately understand and address the ways that resistant practices may reproduce hegemonic privileges, on the whole these practices may benefit individual men more frequently than they benefit individual women. The consequence is that systemic hierarchies are reinforced rather than subverted.
- 11 This phenomenon is discussed at length in a widely reproduced essay titled “The Tyranny of Structurelessness,” by women's liberation activist Jo Freeman (2002). The essay appears in a collection of anarcha-feminist writings alongside a rejoinder titled “The Tyranny of Tyranny,” by Cathy Levine (2002).
- 12 The document, authored by the Pittsburgh G-20 Resistance Project Sexual Assault Group, is titled “Consent Guidelines for G-20 Resistance Spaces and Housing” and can be found at www.resistg20.org/policies.
- 13 BDSM is an umbrella acronym that designates sexual encounters involving dynamics of bondage, discipline, domination, submission, sadism, slave/master relations, and masochism. The erotic appeal of these encounters is founded

upon the participants' role-playing with uneven power dynamics. Practitioners of BDSM understand consensuality to be crucial—the willing consent of all parties involved ensures that the fantasy of coercion remains physically and emotionally safe for the participants. Certainly, not all sex between anarchists is based on the fantasmatic eroticization of power differentials, but it is telling that this discussion posited the condition of consent as the common link between anarchism and BDSM.

- 14 The method of “calling people out” is not limited to the sphere of sexual violence. It is used as a technique of discipline around all sorts of practices, as discussed in other chapters of this book.
- 15 A remarkably similar sentiment is expressed in CrimethInc.'s *Days of War, Nights of Love* (2000: 40): “Every time one of us remembers not to accept at face value the authority of the powers that be, each time one of us is able to escape the system of domination for a moment (whether it is by getting away with something forbidden by a teacher or boss, relating to a member of a different social stratum as an equal, etc.), that is a victory for the individual and a blow against hierarchy.”
- 16 Butler's body of work on performativity and subversion is another venue in which personal acts of transgression are attributed with the power to disrupt systems of domination. Butler's theoretical explication of “gender insubordination” (1997a) has been taken up by those who see personal refusals to conform to hegemonic norms as a means of detracting from the hegemony of those norms. In Gramscian terms, by refusing to consent to being governed by gender norms, insubordinate subjects weaken the overall force of these norms. In this vein, it might be thought that anarchist sexual practices make trouble for the hegemonic sexual order. Again though, it is unclear to many readers of Butler in what precise capacity “speech and gesture” are able to intervene in the material realities generated by power differentials (Nussbaum 1999). It can be argued, along Nussbaum's lines, that to merely identify as one thing versus another is a superficial gesture that does little to undercut the material privileges that will still accrue to the disidentifier as a result of their actual participation in heterosexual sexual arrangements, and by the same token, be denied to the oppressed due to their non-participation.
- 17 This is similar to the logic behind the construction, within gay liberation discourses, of “coming out” as a political act. Publicly acknowledging—or outing—one's non-normative sexual identity has been a central tactic of queer activism. It is thought that “declaring one's deviant, transgressive erotic autobiography is a political act brimming with the potential to subvert repression and to facilitate the exploration of sexual practices and beings” (Wilson 1999: 109). Within queer activist projects, there are other reasons for outing: to promote tolerance by showing that already beloved figures may be non-straight, or to expose hypocritical public figures (Gross 1993). These motivations do not figure as prominently in the anarchy-queer project. In the case of queer identification of the kind performed by anarchists, what is happening is less the airing of an erotic autobiography and more the refusal to allow a straight biography to go assumed or unquestioned, even if, empirically, the events of one's sexual life could more or less fit within a straight narrative.

Chapter 6

- 1 “Lifestyle change or revolution?” thread in the Infoshop Forums www.forums.infoshop.org/viewtopic.php?f=29&t=6340&p=22961.
- 2 “Debunking Nonsense in the Anarchist Movement” www.infoshop.org/page/MovementDebunker.
- 3 www.infoshop.org/wiki/Lifestyle_anarchism.
- 4 Cornell’s (2011a) discussion of anarchist culture in the pre-WWI period shows that activists were debating these ideas even then. Cornell describes, for example, how anarchist activist Harry Kelly mounted a critique of bohemianism among anarchists, a critique which “presciently warned against the tendency, which grew later in the century, for purported anarchists to simply live their own lives in as free a fashion as their social status allowed for (as ‘bohemians’ or ‘drop-outs’) without investing themselves in the organized struggle to create lasting structural transformations that would increase security and liberty for the least privileged” (91). In the interwar period, the journal *Vanguard* wanted to separate its anarchist-communism/anarcho-syndicalism from anarchist-individualism, so it avoided any issues that “smacked of individualism”—“anything ‘bohemian,’ such as consideration of modern art, or the promotion of progressive gender roles, was out” (290).
- 5 The co-optation of radical critique by capitalist apparatuses such as advertising is discussed by Frank (1997), Klein (1999), and Binkley (2007a).
- 6 “Debunking Nonsense in the Anarchist Movement” www.infoshop.org/page/movementdebunker.html.
- 7 Interestingly, Pritha went on to say, “However, I do not want to want to deny those types of anarchists their struggle- I just don’t agree with it and will continue to be critical of it.” This speaks to the ethical obligations anarchists feel both to respect others’ autonomy and to hold each other accountable for the political effects of their actions. These two ethical principles can, themselves, spawn contradictory feelings and responses among activists who are interested in developing anarchist strategy—another factor that makes the internal debate over lifestyleism a tricky one.
- 8 Milstein (2010: 42) explains this dilemma with specific regard to anarchists: “the gap between what anarchists imagine to be fully ethical and the series of bad choices we all make under the present conditions illustrates that hierarchical social relationships will forever preclude our ability to be free. Anarchism’s emphasis on the whole of life underscores that the current social order already frames the world for everyone down to the tiniest interactions; ‘choice’ itself is already hobbled.”
- 9 See Plant (1992) for a historical discussion of the concept of recuperation as developed by the theorists of the Situationist International in the mid twentieth century. Plant explains that, for the Situationists, recuperation involves dissenting voices not only being co-opted and weakened by the forces of “the spectacle,” but also, through their co-optation, enhancing the power of the commodity system itself (75).

- 10 Harvey (2007: 200) notes this limitation as a common one for grassroots movements against neoliberalism: “They draw strength from being embedded in the nitty-gritty of daily life and struggle, but in doing so they often find it hard to extract themselves from the local and the particular to understand the macro-politics of what neoliberal accumulation by dispossession and its relation to the restoration of class power was and is all about.” Harvey observes that movements of the US Left, from 1968 on, have largely “failed to recognize or confront, let alone transcend, the inherent tension between the quest for individual freedoms and social justice” (43).
- 11 This dichotomy of ideal types of consumers is used by Binkley (2008).
- 12 See Cornell (2011b: 181) and Leondar-Wright (n.d.) for more examples in this vein.
- 13 Even assuming the possibility of individual resistance by significant numbers of people, it may not be the case that there are enough activists out there to have a quantitatively significant impact on the whole capitalist system, or even on one industry or corporation within that system. In this vein, writer Derrick Jensen (a controversial figure among anarchists who take differing stances on lifestyle politics) argues that even if ethical consumption practices were to be adopted by masses of individuals, their material impact might still be relatively small. In an essay titled “Forget Shorter Showers: Why Personal Change Does Not Equal Political Change,” Jensen (2009) points out that the environmental damage caused by individuals is minuscule when compared with that of government and corporate institutions. Thus, exhortations for individuals to minimize their detrimental effect on the planet through changes in personal consumption have the dual negative consequence of displacing responsibility, and perhaps inconvenience, onto those who are least equipped to cope with it, and allowing the worst offenders to go on conducting (unethical) business as usual.
- 14 Indeed, this echoes one of Bookchin’s most convincing criticisms of lifestyle anarchism in *Social Anarchism or Lifestyle Anarchism* (1995).

Chapter 7

- 1 See, for example, Alcoff (1988, 2005), Butler (1990, 2004a), and Hall (1996b).
- 2 My thinking here is indebted to Wendy Brown’s (2005) discussion of Michel Foucault’s (1997c) concept of “local criticism.”