Notes

1 Occupying the Space In-Between

1. Cf. the definition of ambivalence by Henrik Kaare Nielsen in Larsen and Pedersen, 2011, pp. 26–27, emphasizing its sociological aspects in late modernity.
2. See Henrik Kaare Nielsen in Larsen and Pedersen, 2011, pp. 157–158 for a concise sociological definition of imagination and its relation to aesthetic practices.
3. In May 2011 I participated in this education held in New York by the School for Creative Activism at the Center for Artistic Activism. Participants remain anonymous.
4. Nicolas Bourriaud (2002, p. 16) explains Marx's term as follows: "The interstice is a space in human relations which fits more or less harmoniously and openly into the overall system, but suggests other trading possibilities that those in effect within this system."

2 Creative Activism Today

1. This line of argument builds on an article that I published in 2015 in *Culture and Organization*, Vol. 21, Issue 2 (see Harrebye, 2015).
2. This line of argument builds on an article accepted for publication in 2016 in *Open Social Science Journal* (see Harrebye, 2016).

3 First Movers and Circular Cycles of Contention

1. For an overview discussion of how these characteristics of the new social movement have been dealt with within political and cultural strands of new social movement theories, see Johnston, Larana, & Gusfield, 1994, and Buechler, 1995.
2. I am especially interested in the 'cultural' versus the 'political' versions of new social movement theory, cf. Buechler's distinction (1995, p. 457).

4 Paradoxes of Participation

1. The figure is a condensed version of the multi-level regression analysis we made in the article printed in *Comparative European Politics* (see Harrebye and Ejrnæs, 2015). The data we used in this article comes from the European Social Survey (ESS) round 4, conducted in 2008. The sample includes 37,377 respondents from 20 EU countries.

   Dependent variable: In order to measure the level of extra-parliamentary activity an index based on the following questions have been constructed: There are different ways of trying to improve things in [country] or help prevent

things from going wrong. During the last 12 months, have you done any of the following?

- Worn or displayed campaign badge/sticker? (yes/no)
- Signed petition? (yes/no)
- Taken part in lawful public demonstration? (yes/no)
- Boycotted certain products? (yes/no)

The range of the scales goes from 0 (have not been involved in any of the four actions) to 4 (have been involved in all four actions). In the multi-level regression model it has been analyzed how different individual and macro-level variables influence the mean value of extra-parliamentary activities.

Independent variable: At the individual level the central independent variable is here dissatisfaction with the government, and is scaled on the following question: Now thinking about the [country] government, how satisfied are you with the way it is doing its job?

The scale goes from 0 (extremely dissatisfied) to 10 (extremely satisfied). To ease the interpretation of the coefficient we rescaled the variable so it now goes from 0 (extremely dissatisfied) to 1 (extremely satisfied). The micro multi-level regression analysis also included such variables as age, education, employment status, gender, satisfaction with the government, and feeling of being a member of a discriminated group.

2. (1) *The radical activists* were represented by groups such as NTAC (nevertrustacop.org) and Black Block (autonominfoservice.net).
   (2) Examples of groups practicing *confrontational civil disobedience* include Climate Justice Action group (climate-justice-action.org) and major events such as Reclaim Power and Shut It Down (shutitdown.dk).
   (3) The hunger strike and the numerous artistic installations around Copenhagen city are examples of *creative activism*. The Green Men, The Red Climate Agents, and the Blue Wave were similar kinds of colorful happenings, which added a creative element to other events during the COP15.
   (4) *The professional activists* were represented by the organized civil society – e.g. the NGOs at DGI Byen and, those who were allowed inside, at Bella Centre.
   (5) *The occasional activist* participated in the larger demonstrations or at the sponsored Hopenhagen at Rådhuspladsen (hopenhagen.org).
   (6) *The everyday maker* can be motivated to engage directly in helping to reduce pollution or other environmental hazards by making a difference in their everyday lives.
3. In social sciences, a typology is usually based on a combination of key underlying factors (e.g. in cross tables), whose various possible interaction may result in a series of other types. Furthermore they are often thought of as comprehensive and/or exhaustive. The referenced typological analysis develops conceptual representations of concrete summit activities in order better to be able to label different types of activism. Empirical examples are used as illustrations of the 'ideal-typical sensitizing construct' (Buechler, 1995, p. 457), which cannot capture all the complexities of the field and will inevitably oversimplify some of its dimensions, but nevertheless allows for

an organization of diverse dimensions and debates into somewhat coherent positions with a fair degree of internal consistency across various issues.

4. Approximately 30,000 global citizens came from all over the world to Copenhagen to negotiate and demonstrate. One of the greatest challenges for a broad democratic conference is to secure accommodation for the many thousand visitors arriving. The hotels in Copenhagen were booked by the most powerful nations and organizations long in advance. Some lesser-funded visitors stayed on the floors of schools and sports halls, but more than 5,000 activists and campaigners had no place to stay approaching the summit. New Life Copenhagen matched over 3,000 of these visitors with Danish citizens who volunteered to open their homes and host the many guests.
5. To mention some of the most relevant, there were a Climate Justice Fast, the Home Away Resort project, Healing Ritual Host performances, the Guestbook dialogue, the Copenhagen intervention in collaboration with India Research Center and The Yes Men, and the Ecological Burial designed in cooperation with Superflex and a biologist.
6. When the Foreign Ministry called the Wooloo management in for meeting because they preferred that the festival did not match official delegates with private citizens, thereby keeping it a parallel festival, Wooloo stood strong and insisted on working across those boundaries.

5 The Ambivalence of Cynicism, Irony, and Utopia

1. This chapter partly builds on the article that I published in 2015 in *Culture and Organization*, Vol. 21, Issue 2 (see Harrebye, 2015).

6 Mirroring Counter Strategies

1. The cases included in the book are meant to illustrate how the creation of such 'pockets' are facilitated. My understanding of the *raison d'être* of these groups were further qualified in my interviews with renowned creative activists influential at a global scale through their own avant-garde practices and teachings.
2. I would like to thank Nancy Fraser whom I studied under as a visiting scholar at The New School for Social Research in New York in 2011 and who has functioned as my co-advisor in the following last phase of my PhD – and thus has been given the dubious privilege of aiding me in questioning her own work.
3. To supplement her conceptual framework for understanding struggles of social justice, Fraser has developed her normative principle of 'participatory parity'. According to Fraser, public opinion is legitimate if and only if it results from a communicative process in which all potentially affected can participate as peers, regardless of political citizenship.
4. The original German term *ungleichseitigkeit* has also been translated into nonsynchronism (Bloch, 2000), noncontemporaneity (Bloch, 2009), and nonsimultaneity (Durst, 2002).
5. Mirroring neurons (subneurons to the motor-command neurons of the premotor cortex, discovered by neurophysiologist Giacomo Rizzolati in 1992)

adopt other persons' point of view and are able to perform a virtual reality simulation of the other person's action due to their imitation and emulation qualities. When we watch someone else being touched we are therefore able to understand it and feel it. But we do not feel it the same way as when we are touched ourselves. Why? Because our sense receptors tell us that we have not actually been touched. People who have an amputee arm do feel as if they have been touched on their phantom hand when they see someone else's hand being brushed. Their mirroring neurons tell them so, and their sense receptors cannot argue with them (neuroscientist Vllayanur Ramachandran on blog.ted.com). If our 'cultural sense receptors' are numbed, we may find it difficult to distinguish between what we are bombarded with every day (commercial narratives, images, symbols, product associations, and hidden morals) and our own life stories, motivation, and ethics. In this case the human being's neurological disposition for empathy becomes an enabling factor for a cannibalistic culture of silenced greed.

6. Mirroring is the behavior in which one person subconsciously imitates the gesture, speech pattern, or attitude of another. It is a way for individuals to build rapport with others. For infants mimicking and mirroring, acknowledgement allows the infant to establish a sense of empathy and thus helps them build a positive sense of self, self-worth, and self-expression (Meltzoff, 1990, and Rasborg, 2014). As adults it is important, however, that we are presented with a multitude of mirroring possibilities. Seemingly we are. But if we look around us dominating pop politics permeate most of them – and since we know (e.g. Mintz, 1985) that individuals are likely to mirror the person or trends of higher status or power, alternative mirrors create potentially emancipating temporary autonomous zones where the self can be explored or re-evaluated. "When we respond to narcissistic behavior by changing our own behavior, the mirror effect is at work. (and) can in turn evolve into fixed personality traits (…) reflecting the behavior back to the public at large" (Pinsky, 2009, p. 137). The psychological technique called mirroring allows a person to gain control over someone else's actions, even without them being consciously aware of it by mirroring their behavior until it is hard to tell who is copying whom. When they are in sync the person who was initially copying the other, can start to reverse the process so that the unaware is now mirroring the mirroring agent's actions. I point to how similar cultural mechanisms are in place and working at a societal level. The alternative mirrors set up by activists are meant to counter-balance these classical confirming, duplicating, and reproducing psychological and cultural mirroring mechanisms.

7 Professionalization and Cooptation

1. I have done training with them and have visited with my students to drill them about their theory of change. Go to sparkcph.dk for a list of the type of projects that they work on.
2. See, for example, Rosendahl's (2015) account of a thousand plus Climate Camp set up in vicinity of Europe's largest coal mine to train experienced as well as first-time activists to take civil disobedience action.

8 The Gordian Knot – Measuring Effect and Revisiting Theories of Change

1. The variables suggested in Tables 8.1 and 8.2 are inspired by Rucht, 1999; Snow and Soule, 2010; and Olesen and Lindekilde, 2015.
2. Ideas for new impact study designs have been developed in close collaboration with colleague Anders Ejrnæs and the rest of the New CAP (New Civic Assessment Project) team.
3. Smapp is an example of a research center whose goal it is to "forge interdisciplinary collaboration that examines the impact of social media on political behavior by iterating through stages of model development, testing, refinement, and validation. First, from social psychology and political science we derive fundamental hypotheses about how, why, and when social media affects citizens' cognitions and motivations with respect to political participation. Second, we express these questions as empirically testable hypotheses derived from behavioral models (e.g., with quantitative response and predictor variables). And third, drawing from biology and computer science we adapt sophisticated computational methods of approximate inference and machine learning (adapting methods developed for the analysis of Systems Biology data) to evaluate our behavioral models using extremely large social media and social network datasets" (smapp.nyu.edu).

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