

A CULTURAL GEOGRAPHY OF TRADE IN 60 OBJECTS

DEVELOPING A PATTERN LANGUAGE FOR A HANDBOOK OF FOLLOW-THE-THING ACTIVISM

Ian Cook et al, University of Exeter

@followthethings

1) INTRO

FILMIC & OTHER WRITING

Two problems:

1) much more advice is given about 'field' methods than writing methods


2) social science writing can squeeze the life out of lively research encounters & findings.

A question:

What other forms of expression can more richly convey that 'life'?

A challenge:

How can they be usefully drawn into academic writing?



Follow the Thing: Papaya

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In a recent round table about *Antipode's* radical geographies, contributors argued that the journal needed more papers which stimulated debate, were accessible to academics and non-academics alike, didn't "preach to the cognoscenti", were written to fit into radical teaching agendas, and were diverse and eclectic in style (Waterstone 2002:663; Hague 2002). This paper has been written to fit this bill. It outlines the findings of multi-locale ethnographic research into the globalization of food, focusing on a supply chain stretching from UK supermarket shelves to Jamaican farm communities in a south London flat. In this paper, we present these academic arguments "between the lines" of a series of overlapping vignettes about people who were (un)knowingly connected to each other through the international trade in fresh papaya, and an entangled range of economic, political, social, cultural, agricultural, and environmental issues. We argue that radical geographers should attempt to de-fetishise commodities, re-connect consumers and producers, tell fuller stories of social reproduction, and thereby provoke moral and ethical questions for participants in this exploitation who might think they're decent people. This paper has been written to provoke such questions, to provide materials to think through and with, for geography's ongoing debates about the politics of

The Idea

... if we accept that geographical knowledges through which commodity systems are imagined and acted upon from within are fragmentary, multiple, contradictory, inconsistent, and, often, incommensurable, then a radical geography that deals with these knowledges comes not from smoothing them out, but through juxtaposing and montaging them ... so that audiences can work their way through them and, along the way, inject and make their own critical knowledges out of them. (Cook and Crang 1996:41)

Follow the Thing: Papaya 643

The Thing



DELICIOUS
JAMAICAN PAPAYA

Producing Papaya





Figure 1: Left: 30 foot trees. Right: packing papaya¹


Once they're picked, they start to die. Twisted off the stem. Just as they have "turned". From fully green, to green with a yellow streak. By farm workers. Men. Walking slowly along an avenue of "trees". Alongside a trailer, full of green plastic crates. Pulled by a tractor. Work that's undertaken in the hot sun. But they're shaded by the leaves splaying out from the tree top. Leaves that shade the fruit

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2) RUSHED HISTORY

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follow your things 1 2 3



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2) RUSHED HISTORY

Fashion



Ballet shoes (*made in Russia, worn in the UK*)

Undergraduate coursework (2006): Maya Motamedi is a student and a ballet dancer. She wears ballet shoes made by a Russian company called Grishko. Grishko are keen for dancers to find out where their shoes are made, what they are made out of, and who put them together. Maya investigates. [Click for more...](#)



Beads (*Made in China, used in USA*)

Documentary film (2005): in New Orleans during Mardi Gras, women who bear flesh get beads thrown at them. Filmmaker David Redmon meets the women who make those beads, gets to know them, and films them working at high speed for low wages. He shows drunken revellers in New Orleans footage from the factory, and shows factory workers footage of their beads at Mardi Gras. What are their responses? [Click for more...](#)



Blouse (second hand) (*donated in England, worn in Zambia*)

Newspaper article (2004): journalist Michael Durham studies the global trade in second hand clothes by following the travels of Dana Simon's blouse. Dana put it in a recycling bank at her local supermarket's carpark in Ashby-de-la-Zouche, UK. Priscilla Msimuko bought it from a Market stall in Chipata, Zambia. What else do they have in common apart from their taste in fashion? [Click for more...](#)



Boxer shorts + (*made in Bangladesh & other countries, worn by one man in the USA*)

Non-fiction book (2008): the 'Made in...' tags in the clothes worn by self-professed 'All-American Guy' Kelsey Timmerman don't say anything about people who made them. So he sets out to find the factories, meet and get to know some of the people who made his boxers, t-shirt, Levis and sandals. What he writes either naively skims over, or brilliantly introduces, complex trade (in)justice debates (or possibly both). [Click for more...](#)



Dress (*made in Cambodia, worn in many countries*)

Spoof catwalk show (2014): six months after police shot into a crowd of protesting garment workers in Phnom Penh, Cambodian garment workers turned to another kind of protest, a fashion show. Wearing the clothes they were paid so little to make and re-creating scenes from the violent crackdown on their street protests on stage, they challenged Western brands to play their part in stopping this violence and exploitation and paying the people who make their clothes a decent wage. [Click for more...](#) in [English](#) or [Finnish](#).

2) WRITING & READING

Fashion

Handprint



Year: 2013

Type: Short film (2 minutes 45 seconds)

Director: Mary Nighy

Client: Eco Age

Availability: free in full on YouTube ([here](#)).

Page reference: Cook et al., I (2020) Handprint. *followthethings.com* (www.followthethings.com/handprint.shtml last accessed <insert date here>)



1

Descriptions

Have you ever stopped to think about how your clothes were made, where they were made and by whom? Most of us probably don't, we just reach for what we find appealing or what meets our needs and buy it, then wear it (Source: Anon 2015a, np [link](#)).

Many people's hands touch our clothes before we put them on (Source: Nighy in Anon 2014a, np [link](#)).

[W]e all wear the stories of the people behind our clothes (Source: Firth 2014, np [link](#)).

What if we could connect to all the people who made our clothes (Source: Anon nda, np [link](#))?

If we could see these people and talk to them, we could begin to think about them and about our clothes in a completely different way (Source: Nighy in Anon 2014a, np [link](#)).

These [issues] are brought to our attention in Mary Nighy's short film called Handprint, which you can now view on YouTube (Source: Anon 2015a, np [link](#)).

[It is a] beautiful and emotive film reminding us of the many 'hands' involved in the making of the clothes, shoes and jewellery we wear (Source: Khamisani 2015, np [link](#)).

“THE TEXT IS BASED ON THE THEORETICAL MENTAL COLLABORATION OF THE READER, WHO MUST FREELY INTERPRET AN ARTISTIC DATUM, A PRODUCT OF WHICH HAS ALREADY BEEN ORGANISED IN ITS STRUCTURAL ENTIRELY.”

UMBERTO ECO (2006, P.30)

2) WRITING & READING

Discussion / Responses

[At the Apsley House event, Anna] Wintour, resplendent in a classic trench coat with bright yellow cuffs, appeared to enjoy the short film, although it seems the British weather failed to meet with her approval. 'I enjoyed the film and felt proud of the accomplishment of Mary (Nigby),' said the Vogue supremo, before adding: 'Despite the rain I am enjoying London so far.' While the eco film was the main topic of post-screening conversation, Amanda Harlech was overheard discussing her daughter Tallulah's career prospects, telling friends she hoped she would become an actress (Source: Styles 2013, np [link](#)).

'Handprint' Is A Remarkably Thought Provoking Film (Source: ABIDE Press 2014, np [link](#))!

WOW. This is stunning / beautiful / smart (Source: Yeoh 2013, np [link](#)).

Couldn't agree more So beautiful, it gives us chills (Source: Fisher 2014, np [link](#)).

Not gonna lie, this made me cry. ... serious goosebumps (Source: Stanchina 2014, np [link](#)).

Moving, depressing - and yet beautifully staged, 'Handprint' shows us in an almost poetic way that our clothes, shoes and accessories have already passed through some hands - apart from our own and those of the fashion seller (Source: Anon ndb, np [link](#)).

The look of slight shock and guilt on the main characters face, I think, let's it down. Remorse appropriate to the ignorance is appropriate. Guilt, shame etc however, I reckon leads to overwhelm for many. A slight variation [that I would prefer]: a pensive, awakening look, then one of acknowledgment and respect (which I think almost happens in this film) ...in that vain anyway. Anyways... that's my opinion (Source: Fin 2014, np [link](#)).

And the Point is (Source: Marchant 2014, np [link](#))?]

I don't get the point, yeah people make clothes, other people make food, what's the matter? At least they have a job (Source: Sol S 2014, np [link](#)).

I don't get why people with a paying job are depicted as slaves. If in those countries everyone could work I don't think they would complain (Source: los lantis Gaming 2014, np [link](#)).

Who said they are getting paid (Source: tokgr0k 2014, np [link](#))?

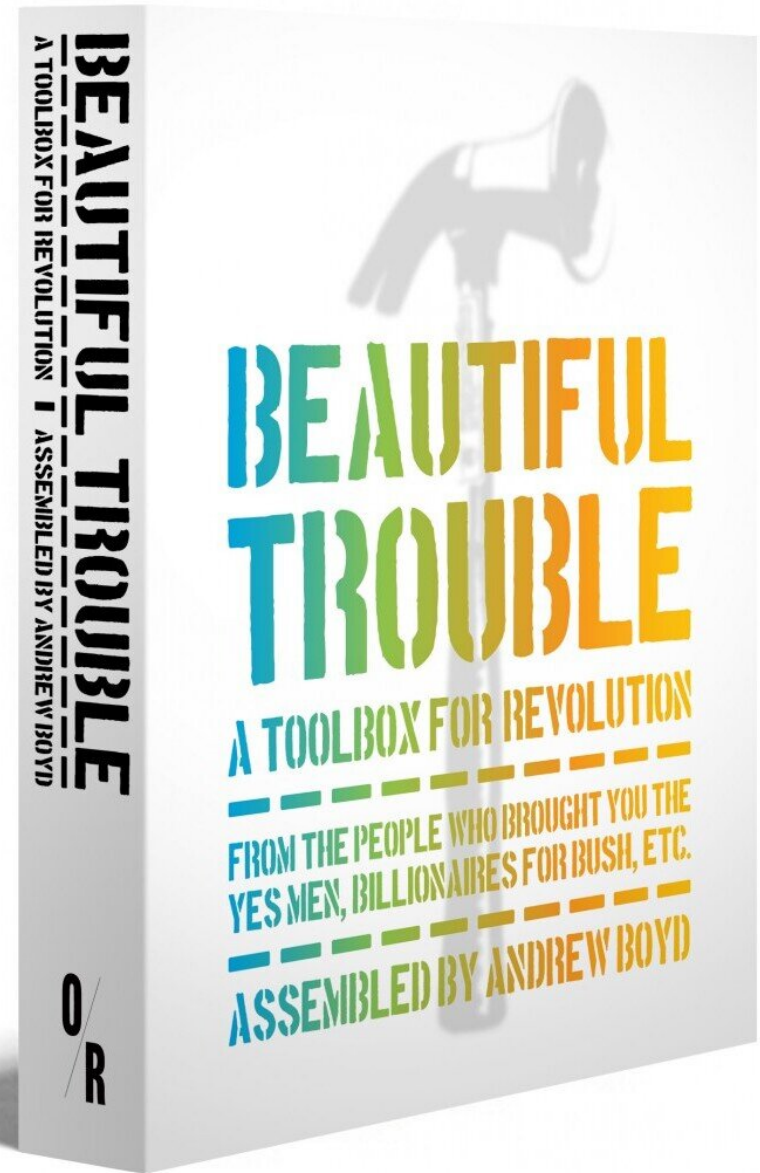
Please allow me to explain what I think could help you understand better ... 'the point' of this video is to make people react from the situation behind the scene which isn't really showed by the fashion planet, this situation were people from emerging countries are being paid at an ridiculous amount for an hard labor job for a lot of time, that people in our countries who are buying these clothes won't accept as a normal salary (Source: Abenzoar 2014, np [link](#)).

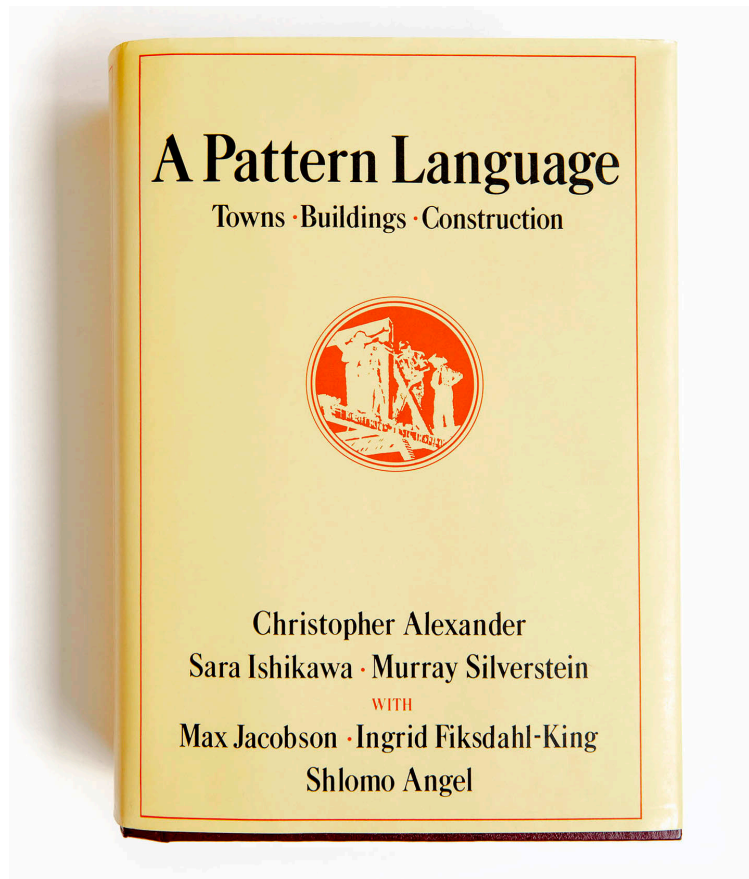
[E]ven the most expensive brands are made by some low payed workers in not very developed country. For example Bulgaria had such industry and work for world companys but the workers get funny money. something like 200 euro / month (Source: Kuyumzhiev 2014, np [link](#)).

“ARTEFACTS CREATED BY DIGITAL TECHNOLOGIES THAT ‘LIVE’ IN DIGITAL ENVIRONMENTS ARE COMPARATIVELY DIFFERENT - IN TERMS OF MATERIAL COMPOSITION, AUTHORSHIP, MEANING-MAKING, CIRCULATION, READING, VIEWING, NAVIGATION, EMBODIMENT, INTERACTION AND EXPRESSIVITY - FROM ARTEFACTS CREATED BY THE WORLD OF PRINT.”

ANNE BURDICK, JOHANNA DRUCKER, PETER LUNENFELD, TODD PRESSIER & JEFFREY SCHNAPP (2012, 29)

3) A PATTERN LANGUAGE





“ALEXANDER’S GOAL WAS... TO CATALOG THE ENTIRE BUILT ENVIRONMENT - FROM TOWNS TO BEDROOMS - AS A COLLECTION OF DISCRETE ‘PATTERNS’, 253 OF THEM. EACH PATTERN WAS EXPLAINED, SUPPORTED BY RESEARCH, AND ILLUSTRATED BY SKETCHES AND PHOTOGRAPHS. THE PATTERNS WERE LINKED TO ONE ANOTHER, SHOWING WHICH ONES WORKED WELL TOGETHER...”

WITOLD RYBCZYNSKI (2009, NP).



TACTICS

- 8 Advanced leafleting / Lambert & Boyd
- 10 Artistic vigil / Boyd
- 12 Banner hang / Bloch
- 14 Blockade / Russell
- 18 Creative disruption / Mancias
- 22 Creative petition delivery / Meisel
- 24 Debt strike / Jaffe & Skomarovsky
- 28 Détournement/Culture jamming / Malitz

TACTICS

MODES OF ACTION

Specific forms of creative action, such as a flash mob or an occupation.

“Tactics . . . lack a specific location, survive through improvisation, and use the advantages of the weak against the strong.”
—Paul Lewis et al.¹

Every discipline has its forms. Soldiers can choose to lay siege or launch a flanking maneuver. Writers can try their hand at biography or flash fiction. Likewise, creative activists have their own repertoire of forms. Some, like the sit-in and the general strike, are justly famous; others, like flash mobs and culture jamming, have a newfangled pop appeal; yet others – like debt strike, prefigurative intervention, eviction blockade – are mostly unknown but could soon make their appearance on the stage of history. If art truly is a hammer with which to shape the world, it’s time to gear up.

¹ Paul Lewis, Marc Tsurumaki, and David J. Lewis, *Situation normal*– (Princeton Architectural Press, 1999).

TACTIC: Identity correction

COMMON USES

To embarrass your target;
to correct the public record;
to expose corporate malfeasance;
to reframe an issue.

EPIGRAPH

"Artists use lies to tell the truth. Yes, I created a lie. But because you believed it, you found something true about yourself."

—Alan Moore

PRACTITIONERS

Yes Men
Yippies
Situationists
Gonzo journalists

FURTHER INSIGHT

Destructables, "How to Crash a Conference"
<http://trb.la/wjHlM>

CONTRIBUTED BY

Andy Bichlbaum

When trying to understand how a machine works, it helps to expose its guts. The same can be said of powerful people or corporations who enrich themselves at the expense of everyone else. By catching powerful entities off-guard — say, by speaking on their behalf about wonderful things they should do (but in reality won't) — you can momentarily expose them to public scrutiny. In this way, everyone gets to see how they work and can figure out how better to oppose them.

"By catching powerful entities off-guard, you can momentarily expose them to public scrutiny."

This is identity correction: exposing an entity's inner workings to public scrutiny. To practice it, find a target — some entity running amok — and think of something true they could say but never would — something that's also lots of fun. What you say can either be something your target would say if its PR department went absent or berserk (*modest proposal*), or things they *would say* if by some miracle they decided to do the right thing (*honest proposal*). Instead of speaking truth to power, as the Quakers suggest, you assume the mask of power to speak a little lie that tells a greater truth.

The *modest proposal* approach — which the Yes Men and others have used on many occasions to impersonate companies and parody them — can be a hit-or-miss affair. It usually involves an absurd and extreme — but logical — extension of the entity's current practices, like when the Billionaires for Bush put Social Security up for sale on eBay, or when the Yes Men suggested that CEOs in the West would want to remotely monitor and control workers in factories in Africa via a control panel mounted on a huge golden phallus.

In spite of the emotionally satisfying payoff of antics like those, it's the *honest proposal* approach — assuming the identity of a big evildoer and announcing they're doing something wonderful — that has proven to be the more effective way to embarrass a target. When the Yes Men impersonated Dow Chemical on the twentieth anniversary of the Bhopal catastrophe and announced on Dow's behalf that it was finally taking

responsibility for the disaster *see CASE: Dow Chemical apologizes for Bhopal*; or when U.S. Uncut activists announced that GE was paying its 2010 taxes after all *see TACTIC: Hoax*; or when **activists impersonating French officials** announced that Haiti's debt — imposed when Haiti won independence from France, to compensate French slaveowners for their lost "property" — would at long last be forgiven; or when environmental activists impersonated Canada (**in one case**) or the U.S. Chamber of Commerce (**in another**) and announced surprising and wonderful things... In all these cases, the consequences were immediate: voluminous news reports about the unlikely turn of events (and, in the Dow and GE cases, giant temporary drops in each company's stock value). These in turn provided fodder for a wave of other articles about the whole hoax, providing a media platform for the reform programs of campaigners working on these issues.

POTENTIAL PITFALLS: Getting caught by the real folks you are impersonating. Not really a pitfall, just a **plot twist**.

THE REAL ACTION IS YOUR TARGET'S REACTION: Often the most revealing moment in a successful identity correction is the reaction of the target. When you identity-correct a major corporation, you force them to react. They can't let the lie that tells the truth stand in the media. GE had to tell the press it was NOT returning its questionable tax refund to stand in solidarity with struggling Americans. Dow Chemical had to issue a statement indicating it had NOT apologized for the Bhopal disaster and would NOT be compensating the victims.

Related:

TACTICS

Hoax p. 54
Prefigurative intervention p. 82
Infiltration p. 64
Electoral Guerrilla Theater p. 40
Détournement/Culture jamming p. 28

THEORIES

Action logic p. 208
Points of intervention p. 250
Alienation effect p. 210
Ethical spectacle p. 230
Capitalism p. 216
Society of the spectacle p. 266

CASE STUDIES

Dow Chemical apologizes for Bhopal p. 318
Barbie Liberation Organization p. 282
Billionaires for Bush p. 296
New York Times "Special Edition" web
Survivaballs take the UN by storm web

KEY PRINCIPLE at work

OTHER PRINCIPLES AT WORK:

Put your target in a decision dilemma p. 166
Reframe p. 168
Show, don't tell p. 174
Anyone can act p. 98
Everyone has balls/ovaries of steel p. 136
Choose your target wisely p. 114
Play to the audience that isn't there p. 160
Turn the tables p. 190
Do the media's work for them p. 124
Use others' prejudices against them p. 192
Make the invisible visible p. 152



PRINCIPLES

- 96 Anger works best when you have the moral high ground / Russell
- 98 Anyone can act / Bichlbaum
- 100 Balance art and message / Buckland, Boyd & Bloch
- 102 Beware the tyranny of structurelessness / Bolotsky
- 104 Brand or be branded / Fleming
- 106 Bring the issue home / Abileah & Evans
- 108 Challenge patriarchy as you organize / Walia
- 112 Choose tactics that support your strategy / Fine

PRINCIPLES

DESIGN GUIDELINES

Hard-won insights that can inform creative action design.

“Knowledge emerges only through invention and re-invention, through the restless, impatient, continuing, hopeful inquiry human beings pursue in the world, with the world, and with each other.”

—Paulo Freire

After decades of making foolish mistakes, veteran creative activists tend to acquire a set of mental short-cuts. Whether they're conscious of them or not, they bring these operating principles to bear on each new action or campaign they cook up. After a string of late-night truth serum injections and fugue-state urban vagabonding, we managed to pry a bunch of them loose. Enjoy.

PRINCIPLE: Lead with sympathetic characters

IN SUM

Good actions tell a good story; good stories revolve around sympathetic characters.

PRACTITIONERS

Coalition of Immokalee Workers
Cindy Sheehan
Mothers of the Plaza de Mayo
Los Angeles Poverty Department (LAPD)

FURTHER INSIGHT

smartMeme, "Resources"
<http://smartmeme.org/section.php?id=86>

CONTRIBUTED BY

Doyle Canning
Patrick Reinsborough

Assembling a compelling cast of characters is a critical strategic consideration for any action designer. Actions tend to be strong on identifying and vilifying the *antagonists* of the narrative, but an audience will care much more about injustice if they can relate to the people who are being affected. Successful actions are often those that present strong protagonists and other sympathetic characters.

The role of the messenger who delivers the story of an action is key. Messengers embody the message by putting a human face on conflict and placing the action within a larger context. Those most impacted by the issue tend to make for more sympathetic and compelling messengers. For instance, if the action is about farm workers, it can be more effective to amplify the voices of a small group of farm workers who are taking action than to have a larger group of non-farm workers to speak up on their behalf. (Of course, solidarity actions certainly have their place: *see CASE: Taco Bell boycott.*)

Power holders understand the importance of deploying sympathetic characters. For instance, welfare cuts get presented as benefiting working mothers, or corporate tax cuts sold as job-creation tools to help the unemployed. Time and again, the powerful play one group of sympathetic characters off another, or argue with Orwellian duplicity that the victims of a policy will actually benefit from it.

In these cases, a campaign becomes a contest over who gets to speak for those suffering. With whom do we sympathize, and are those characters actually given space to speak for themselves? A showdown results between messengers jockeying to represent themselves as the authentic representatives of the impacted constituencies.

In recent years, we have seen several uprisings against repressive governments framed explicitly around sympathetic characters. In Myanmar, monks became the new face of the pro-democracy movement, replacing the students of the 1988 mobilizations as the primary messengers. Obviously, many factions of society supported the movement, but with the monks at the front of the marches it was clear that the pro-democracy movement spoke for the conscience of the nation. Similarly, in Pakistan lawyers became the face of the fight against govern-

ment impunity. Who better to embody the message of a need to respect the rule of law than lawyers?

It's important to ensure that the faces of the action are not just representative of the relevant impacted community, but also are easily recognizable to outsiders as key characters in the story. This can come down to the crude but important dynamics of costuming: a single religious leader wearing religious sacraments will communicate that people of faith are involved in the action better than twenty religious leaders wearing jeans and sweatshirts *see PRINCIPLE: Don't dress like a protester.*



Indigenous Ecuadorean leader Emergilda Criollo travels from Amazon rainforest to California to deliver 325,000+ letters urging Chevron CEO John Watson to clean up the oil giant's toxic legacy. Photo by Jonathan McIntosh / Rainforest Action Network.

POTENTIAL PITFALLS: The dynamics of who gets to speak, how the characters are portrayed, and who is cast as the heroes, victims, and villains, are deeply entwined in the dynamics of power and privilege. Activists should take care not to play into narratives of victimization that plague marginalized communities. Navigating these dynamics skillfully and authentically is essential to successful actions and campaigns.

Related:

TACTICS

Artistic vigil p. 10
Identity correction p. 60
Prefigurative intervention p. 82
Eviction blockade p. 44

PRINCIPLES

Take leadership from the most impacted p. 180
Think narratively p. 186
Stay on message p. 178
Don't dress like a protester p. 126
Put movies in the hands of movements p. 164
Reframe p. 168
Bring the issue home p. 106
Consider your audience p. 118
Show, don't tell p. 174
Know your cultural terrain p. 142
Make your actions both concrete and communicative p. 154

THEORIES

Narrative power analysis p. 244
The propaganda model p. 256
Expressive and instrumental actions p. 232
The social cure p. 264
Floating signifier p. 234
The tactics of everyday life p. 268

CASE STUDIES

Taco Bell boycott p. 372
Whose tea party? p. 392
Trail of Dreams p. 384
Modern Day Slavery Museum p. 338
Daycare center sit-in p. 316



THEORIES

- 208 Action logic / Boyd & Russell
- 210 Alienation effect / Bogad
- 212 Anti-oppression / Fithian & D. Mitchell
- 216 Capitalism / Webber
- 218 Commodity fetishism / Malitz
- 220 The commons / Barnes
- 222 Cultural hegemony / Duncombe
- 226 Debt revolt / Kleiner

THEORIES

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORKS

Big-picture ideas that help us understand how the world works and how we might go about changing it.

“Without revolutionary theory, there can be no revolutionary movement, comrade.”

—V.I. Lenin (though he didn't actually say the “comrade” part)

Ever wish someone would take the most complex ideas from the likes of Brecht, Gramsci, Marx, Foucault & Co. and cook them down into fierce, accessible little nuggets of theory tailored to the pragmatic needs of the working revolutionary? Well, somebody did. Have at it.



THEORY:

Society of the spectacle

IN SUM

Modern capitalism upholds social control through the *spectacle*, the use of mass communications to turn us into consumers and passive spectators of our own lives, history and power.

EPIGRAPH

“Politics is that dimension of social life in which things become true if enough people believe them.”

—David Graeber

ORIGINS

French philosopher and activist Guy Debord

PRACTITIONERS

Adbusters
Abbie Hoffman
Situationist International

FURTHER INSIGHT

Guy Debord, *The Society of the Spectacle*. Paris: Buchet-Castel, 1967.
<http://trb.la/yEMEpq>

CONTRIBUTED BY

Dave Oswald Mitchell



Gil Scott Heron's famous words, embodied here at Occupy Los Angeles, October 2011, capture the disconnect between the spectacle and the political reality.

“In societies dominated by modern conditions of production, life is presented as an immense accumulation of *spectacles*,” Guy Debord’s *Society of the Spectacle* (1967) begins. “Everything that was directly lived has receded into a representation.” The political consequence of this separation from felt experience is key to understanding both how we experience the world and how we can change it.

For example, consider how people who witness a cata-

strophic event often say the experience was “like a movie.” Similarly, as activists we are often more concerned with the media attention our actions generate than with their end result. What we feel, what we believe, how we express desire, what we believe is possible — all are filtered through, and constrained by, the media we consume and produce. This is the *society of the spectacle* that Debord, a leading figure in the French Situationist movement, described and decried.

Marx famously argued that under capitalism, the commodity becomes “fetishized” and reduced to its exchange value. Debord applied Marx’s ideas to mass communication, showing how capitalism has penetrated not just what we produce and consume, but how we communicate. The

spectacle — as manifested in mass entertainment, news, and advertising — alienates us from ourselves and our desires in order to facilitate the accumulation of capital.

Increasingly, the spectacle serves as capitalism’s primary mechanism of social control. This is control by seduction and distraction, not force — but no less powerful and insidious for that fact. Debord argued that our lives have been degraded, first from *being* into *having*, then from *having* into merely *appearing*. (Think how much of our day-to-day “activist” behavior is concerned simply with maintaining our self-image as activists: too often, we don’t strike, we strike poses.)

Seeking to free us from the power of the spectacle in order to mount a credible challenge to capitalism, the Situationists introduced the tactic of *détournement*: an attempt to turn the powers of the spectacle against itself *see TACTIC: Détournement/Culture jamming*.

“As activists we are often more concerned with the media attention our actions generate than with their end result.”

Related:

TACTICS

Détournement/Culture jamming p. 32
Identity Correction p. 14

PRINCIPLES

Brand of be branded p. 174
Know your cultural terrain *web*
Do the media’s work for them p. 186
No one wants to watch a drum circle p. 152
Make your actions both concrete and communicative p. 154

THEORIES

Commodity fetishism p. 236
Marxism p. 250
Ethical spectacle p. 244
The propaganda model p. 244



CASE STUDIES

- 278 99% bat signal / *Read*
- 282 Barbie Liberation Organization / *Bonanno*
- 286 Battle in Seattle / *Sellers*
- 290 Bidder 70 / *Bichlbaum & Meisel*
- 294 The Big Donor Show / *Harrebye*
- 296 Billionaires for Bush / *Varon, Boyd & Fairbanks*
- 300 Citizens' Posse / *Sellers*
- 304 Clandestine Insurgent Rebel Clown Army / *Jordan*

CASE STUDIES

WHERE THE RUBBER MEETS THE ROAD

Capsule stories of successful creative actions, useful for illustrating how tactics, principles and theories can be successfully applied.

"Success means going from one failure to the next with no loss of enthusiasm."

—Winston Churchill

Revolutionaries practice without safety nets. Our laboratory is the world around us – the streets, the Internet, the airwaves, our own hearts, as well as the hearts and minds of our fellow citizens. We experiment, we fail, we change things up, we try again, maybe this time a little less disastrously, a little more beautifully – until we win. Always we learn. Case studies are where we learn what we've learned.

CASE STUDY: Harry Potter Alliance

WHEN
2005–Present

WHERE
U.S.A.

PRACTITIONERS

Harry Potter Alliance
Nerdfighters
Harry and the Potters
The International Quidditch Association

FURTHER INSIGHT

Video: "TEDxTransmedia 2011 - Andrew Slack - The strength of a story"
<http://trb.la/zUajvX>

Andrew Slack, "Cultural Acupuncture and a Future for Social Change." The Huffington Post, July 2, 2010.
<http://trb.la/xxjucy>

Abby Ohlheiser, "Fans of Action: How Harry Potter Inspired a New Generation of Activists," The Revealer
<http://therevealer.org/archives/9074>

Confessions of an Aca-Fan: The Official Weblog of Henry Jenkins, "How 'Dumbledore's Army' Is Transforming Our World: An Interview with the HP Alliance's Andrew Slack"
<http://trb.la/xQGSgC>

CONTRIBUTED BY

Andrew Slack

In 2005, I was amazed by the Harry Potter fan-phenomenon. The franchise was the highest selling work of fiction in the history of literature. It cut across cultures. Besides the Koran, it was the most requested book in the Guantánamo Bay prison. Fans invested enormous resources into conferences, wrote reams of fan fiction, started Quidditch sports leagues and tournaments and birthed an entire genre of music: Wizard Rock, with literally hundreds of bands, all singing about Harry Potter.



And yet, I was frustrated.

"If Harry Potter were in our world," I realized, "he'd do more than talk about Harry Potter. If we really were fans of the books, we should fight injustice in our world, the way Harry did in his." In the books, Harry starts a student activist group called Dumbledore's Army that wakes the media and government to Voldemort's return. I wanted to create a Dumb-

ledore's Army in our own world that could wake our media and governments to stop global warming and end genocide in Darfur. By tapping into a teenager's narrative connection to Harry Potter, such an organization could create a fun and accessible point of entry into what could otherwise be intimidating social issues.

In mid-2005, I met up with Harry and the Potters, two brothers, both indie rock musicians who dress as Harry Potter and sing wildly popular punk songs at concerts with audiences in the hundreds and sometimes thousands. Together, we and a few others founded the Harry Potter Alliance: a "novel" approach to activism, and began using social media to organize the Harry Potter fanbase. Harry and the Potters reposted my action alerts to their 60,000 followers. Soon, other Wizard Rock bands were reposting the alerts. The biggest fan sites, like The Leaky Cauldron and Mugglenet, caught on and media coverage followed, with J. K. Rowling praising the group in *Time* magazine and on her own site. Soon the HPA was organizing amongst almost every facet of the Harry Potter fandom, and grew to seventy volunteer staff and over ninety chapters around the world.

To date, the HPA has sent five cargo planes of relief supplies to Haiti, donated 90,000 books to needy communities and schools across the world, and has made strides in advocating for human rights, LGBTQ equality, media reform and net neutrality.

J. K. Rowling once worked for Amnesty International. She believes in human rights and other core progressive values and has woven them deeply into the stories. The HPA leverages the identification that millions of young readers have with Harry's values, as well as the rich story parallels between his world and our own. Dumbledore's Army fought media consolidation by the *Daily Prophet* and Wizarding Wireless Network; the HPA fights for net neutrality. Inspired by Harry, who fought inequality facing werewolves, half-giants, and Muggleborns, HPA members have set records phone banking for Massachusetts Equality. We've advocated

Related:

THEORIES

The social cure p. 264
Memes p. 242
Floating signifier p. 234
The tactics of everyday life p. 268
Points of intervention p. 250
Narrative power analysis p. 244
Cultural hegemony p. 222

"Fan and nerd culture make up a huge section of the most active people online."

WHY IT WORKED

“UNLIKE MANY BOOKS OF THIS SORT, IT IS COMPLETELY ENJOYABLE, FUNNY AND CONCISE.” Haliation 2012, np.

“[IT’S SIMILAR TO A] POPULAR TRAVEL GUIDE BOOK, WITH SIDE COLUMNS HIGHLIGHTING KEY POINTS, CASE STUDIES, AND FURTHER INSIGHTS ... [WHICH] MAKES IT COMFORTABLY FAMILIAR AND EASY TO NAVIGATE, OFFERING BITESIZED, ACCESSIBLE TIDBITS THAT ARE RELEVANT AND FAST-PACED. A READER CAN PICK THE BOOK UP, OPEN TO ANY PAGE, AND HAVE AN IMMEDIATE TAKE-AWAY.”
Simpson 2017, 54

“THE BEST THINGS ABOUT THIS BOOK IS ITS MODULAR [INTERLOCKING] STRUCTURE. EACH SHORT PIECE ENDS WITH A LIST OF RELATED PIECES IN THE BOOK ... SO YOU CAN WANDER, WEAVING BETWEEN PRACTICE AND THOERY ... FORGING YOUR OWN PATH. ... IT’S A SLOW DIGESTION TEXT THAT MIGHT BEST BE USED FOR REFERENCE OR INSPIRATION.” Anon 2012, np.

“IT IS NOT ... A BOOK THAT ONE ‘FINISHES’ IN ANY CONVENTIONAL SENSE.”
Mike 2012, np.

4) OUR HANDBOOK



contents

001 Introduction

EXAMPLES

000 Beautiful Clothes, Ugly Reality

000 Handprint

000 Bananas!*

000 Big Boys Gone Bananas!*

000 B'eau Pal Water

000 A Decent Factory

000 Maquilapolis (City Of Factories)



example:
LIFE OF A BULLET

IN BRIEF

Imagine you can follow the life of a bullet from sheet metal in a factory shot into the head of a child soldier, like a Point of View (POV) video game. These are the opening credits of the Nicholas Cage movie 'Lord of War,' set to Buffalo Springfield's 1960s counterculture song 'For what it's worth'. For some, this 3 minute CGI creation is the best part of the movie. For us, it's the most brutally clear follow the thing example we've found.

AK-47 BULLET

Made in Ukraine
Shot in Sierra Leone

KEY FACTS

Type:
Life story of a thing
Duration:
3:01 minutes
Released:
16 September 2005
Director:
Andrew Niccol
Visual effects supervisor:
Yann Blondel
Watch in:
Lord of War (2005)

INGREDIENTS

INTENTIONS
Show industry evils (p.?)
Make human connections (p.?)

TACTICS
Animate what you can't see (p.?)
Follow the thing (p.?)
Shock and awe (p.?)
Use a catchy song (p.?)

RESPONSES
This is sick (p.?)
It's so badly done (p.?)
I've got a better idea (p.?)
We're all implicated (p.?)

IMPACTS
Encouraging what it critiques (p.?)
Make some ripples (p.?)

Description

You're sitting in front of the screen. The movie 'Lord of War' is about to start. Its star Nicholas Cage makes a short speech to camera. Then the music starts. There's something happening here. What it is ain't exactly clear. There's a man with a gun over there. Telling me I got to beware... Buffalo Springfield's 1966 song 'For what it's worth'. Playing over the opening credits. A three minute point of view (POV) mini-movie: the life story of a single bullet. You see what it sees. You hear what it hears. You are the bullet. Emerging from sheet metal in a Ukrainian factory and dying in the flesh of a Sierra Leone firefight. People



along the way inspect, carry, load, fire and are killed by you. In the final slo-mo scene, you whiz down a street into the forehead, the brain, of a black African boy, a child soldier. He stands there, looking you in the eye as you career towards him. Death is the end product. The music stops. The credits fade to bloody red and black. Thrills give way to chills. The film starts with a bang.

Inspiration / Process / Methodology

Conceptualised by Andrew Niccol and overseen by Yann Blondel, it was built using Computer Generated Imagery (CGI) - XSI, Shake, After Effects, Photoshop, Matchmover - not by strapping a tiny camera to a bullet. Studying factories, they found bullet-making 'insanely complicated' and simplified it. Arms trade people might find it 'inaccurate'. Stephen Stills wrote the song after Hollywood's 1966 Sunset Strip curfew riots and it became a civil rights anthem for the Vietnam War. Blondel didn't have it in mind when the CGI was created. This jarring film and music combo nails the movie's message: 'violence round the world begins and ends directly at your doorstep'.

Discussions / Responses

It's like a Bond intro. Or bowling alley graphics. An episode of 'How It's Made'. An NRA ad. 'The adventures of the little bullet who wanted to kill'. A magical journey from Russia to Africa. Seeing more of the world than I have. Bullets fear no death. I wish I was a bullet. Longest killcam ever. Wish mine played that song. A 'mindblowing' end. LOLz. He should have seen it coming. It was moving so slowly. Don't stand up in a battlefield. You'll get shot in the head. What an aim! Most bullets miss. 'Imagine how many they had to follow and film before they had an interesting one which fitted with the rest of the story they wanted to tell'. How did they strap a camera to it? Or is it CGI? That killing gave me a warm glow. The killing of a

child soldier, forced to fight? Yeah, but look closely. He had a gun too. It's like a POV game. But how many gamers have fired an actual gun? Or worked in a bullet factory? Do they know who these bullets kill? No! It's just a job, like any other. Gunnies will be mad. Bullets aren't made, shipped, loaded or shot like that. It's not a documentary. It's a movie. Enjoy it. Arms manufacturers should die this way. Bullets don't kill people, people do. The Russians give guns and ammo to spread communism, the US to spread democracy. White people make weapons for black people to kill each other. You could blame the 'white man' or you could get activist. Following the trade's money would be a better story. 10 years on, that CGI looks sooo bad. But the message is still there. Don't shoot people in the face. Two fingers, repeatedly picking up the bullet. Men blankly peering at it along the way. Responsibility is collective. What's that song?

Impacts / Outcomes

It made me want to fire my BB gun. I like guns, but I'm anti-ammo now. If you're shocked by the film, join Amnesty et al's 'Control Arms' campaign to help them press for an International Arms Trade Treaty. The cinema ad shown before the film says that. It's also on the DVD. NGOs and Hollywood are collaborating.

CONNECTED EXAMPLE

AK-47 Teleshop (p.?)

FOLLOWTHETHINGS.COM PAGE

Cook, I. (2019) followthethings.com/lifeofabullet

INTENTIONS

- 000 Defetishise That Commodity**
- 000 Humanise Workers**
- 000 Encourage Informed Discussion**
- 000 Showcase Inspiring Alternatives**
- 000 Rile 'Em Up**
- 000 Leverage Power**
- 000 Listen To Us, The Workers**
- 000 Decolonise**



intention: **LISTEN TO US, THE WORKERS**

IN BRIEF

This is where supply chain workers have some meaningful input into representations of their lives and struggles for audiences of fellow workers, consumers and other supply chain actors. They want them to understand their experiences, their authentic, 'bottom-up' perspectives, their calls for reform or revolution. They are the experts on their own livelihoods, localities, industries, communities and futures. But how do they do this, with whom and with what effects?

RELATED INGREDIENTS

INTENTIONS:

- Humanise workers (p.?)
- Tell the world (p.?)
- Inspire others (p.?)
- Leverage power (p.?)
- Decolonise (p.?)

TACTICS:

- Do it yourself (p.?)
- Collaborate, co-author (p.?)
- Re-enact the realities (p.?)
- Write letters to consumers (p.?)
- Make it hummable (p.?)
- Subtitle it (p.?)

RESPONSES:

- These people are so real (p.?)
- This seems so amateurish (p.?)
- This is sooo fake (p.?)
- I can't understand this (p.?)

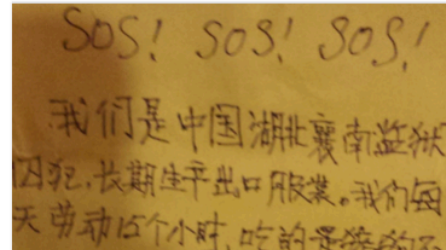
IMPACTS:

- Brands pressured government (p.?)
- The place was shut down (p.?)
- Your're the 'sweatshop' brand (p.?)

EXAMPLES

- The Messenger Band (p.?)
- Beautiful clothes, ugly reality (p.?)
- The letter in the decorations (p.?)
- The letter in the Saks bag (p.?)
- Labelgate (p.?)
- Udita (Arise) (p.?)
- Cicli Sukaesh's N. American tour (p.?)

The intentions behind follow the things activism are most commonly those of filmmakers, activists and others whose aim is - first and foremost - to *humanise* workers (p.?) for audiences of distant consumers. This orthodoxy can reproduce stereotypes of powerless Southern worker victims to whom *shit happens* (p.?), but who can be 'saved' by benevolent Northern

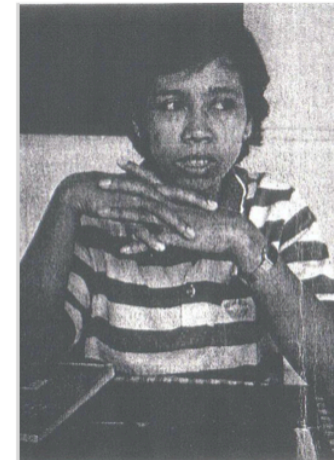


activists and the people who respond to their work (see *thank you, white saviour* - p.?).

There are genres of follow the things activism, however, where workers talk directly to consumer, corporatate, and/or fellow worker audiences, asking them to listen, feel, watch, think and act. Supply chain workers have written and hidden 'help' letters in the packaging of goods they have made for consumers to read when they shop; they have researched, written

and performed songs to fellow workers and their communities about their working conditions and labour rights; they have re-created fashion shows and labour strike crackdowns to persuade Northern brands to press Southern governments to increase minimum wages; they have traveled thousands of miles to share accounts of their Southern 'sweatshop' work and life with Northern consumers and to confront Northern brands about the exploitation from which they profit; and they have collaborated as equals with international filmmakers and NGOs working on any and all of these issues.

If you have to listen to us, the workers, speaking directly, personally, to you, you learn that we have a pretty shit-hot understanding of what's happening to us, why it's happening, and what agency we have to make changes ourselves. We don't need your guilty shopping, we need your political solidarity (see *not guilt, solidarity!* - p.?). We will probably be using our smartphones or professional equipment to make and document our messages. And the internet and its social media platforms. To get to you. And we may have had training with local NGOs at least partly funded by international partners. And supply chains cross language barriers so you



may not understand what we're saying. You may see what we say in subtitles, or you may have to translate it. And we're not fake! Most of the time. Our voices will always be mediated (Spivak 1988).

REFERENCE

Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak (1988) Can the subaltern speak? in Lawrence Grossberg & Cary Nelson (eds.) *Marxism & the interpretation of culture*. Basingstoke: Macmillan, p. 271-313

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Jamie Doucette and Robert Pray (2010) Between migrant and Minjung: the changing face of migrant cultural activism in Korea. *Asia Pacific Journal* 8(12.2), 1-17

Wanning Sun (2012) Amateur photography as self-ethnography: China's rural migrant workers and the question

TACTICS

- 000 **Connect The Disconnected**
- 000 **Re-Enact The Realities**
- 000 **Channel Emotions**
- 000 **Blame, Shame & Guilt**
- 000 **Connect The Disconnected**
- 000 **Do It Yourself**
- 000 **Showcase Diverse Actors**
- 000 **Message In A ... Pocket**



tactic: MESSAGE IN A ... POCKET

IN BRIEF

Shop-dropping is the opposite of shoplifting. Instead of taking things out of a store without permission, you smuggle them in. Follow the thing shop drops are most often direct messages from workers to shoppers. They include notes placed in the pockets or packaging of goods, new labels sewn into or stuck onto them and, even, factory photos left on smart phones. The most effective ones are the ones that have gone viral. What do they say? Are they real? What do I do?

RELATED INGREDIENTS

INTENTIONS:

- Ask for help (p.?)
- Make it personal (p.?)
- Make a connection (p.?)

TACTICS:

- Do it yourself (p.?)
- Make contact (p.?)
- Follow the thing (p.?)

RESPONSES:

- I can't believe this (p.?)
- This is sooo fake (p.?)
- This is a big responsibility (p.?)
- Can anyone help? (p.?)
- There's people in everything (p.?)

IMPACTS:

- This caused a big stir (p.?)
- I'll never be the same again (p.?)
- The sender was found (p.?)
- Shut it down (p.?)

EXAMPLES

- iPhone Girl (p.?)
- The letter in the decorations (p.?)
- The letter in the Saks bag (p.?)
- Labelgate (p.?)
- China Blue (p.?)

Every commodity contains traces of its makers' labour (Hauser 2004). But workers who shop-drop make these traces easier to find by inserting handwritten notes in what they make for shoppers to find and read. These notes literally *follow the thing* (p.?), like a message in a bottle that travels in trousers, socks, dresses, bags, shoe boxes, Amazon packages and packs of Christmas



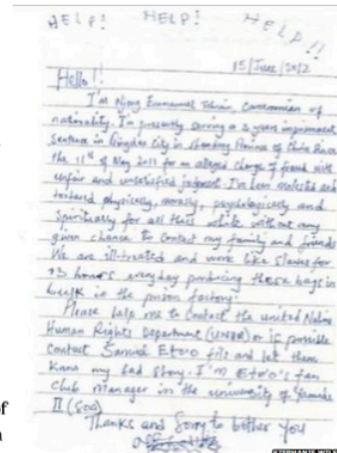
cards. They say 'SOS! SOS! SOS!', 'HELP! HELP! HELP!', 'People who work here suffer punishment', 'Soldier kill family', 'whoever doesn't finish his work will be beaten', bosses 'are evil', and 'wishing you luck and happiness', from a named prison factory in China. Often from a named worker. Hoping one might be found. And acted upon (Cook et al 2017).

What would you do if you found one? What if it wasn't written in a language you could read? Finders of the

most viral notes photographed and posted them on social media to ask for help. What does this say? Is it genuine? What should I do? Will this person get in trouble? Can they be traced? Where are they now? These can make exciting international trade whodunnit stories for journalists to investigate. Maybe the sender can be found. Maybe they could meet the recipient. What would that meeting be like? What a story!

Shopdropping is used by labour rights NGOs, activists and artists too. Most often it's design work that mimics / subverts the branding and messaging of brands' labels. A jeans label in a Turkish Zara store might neatly declare "I made this item you are going to buy, but I didn't get paid for it". A back pocket label on a sandblasted pair of designer jeans might say these are "killer jeans" because 'sandblasting kills'. A price label in an Adidas store might simply say "Exploitation 34p" (Cook et al 2017). You smuggle these into the store to covertly attach. This mischief gets into the press.

But sometimes shopdropping is accidental. Like when a Foxconn quality control worker left some smiley photos of herself on an iPhone she'd been testing. They were found by the person who bought it, were posted online, and



went viral. People suspected this was guerrilla marketing. How could someone who looked so happy work in a factory where so many had committed suicide?

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Kitty Hauser (2004) A garment in the dock: or how the FBI illuminated the prehistory of a pair of denim jeans. Journal of material culture 9(3), 293-313

FURTHER READING

Randall Bezanson & Andrew Finkelman (2009) Trespassory art. University of Michigan journal of law reform 43(2), 245-322

RESPONSES

- 000 I'm So Angry About This**
- 000 The People Are So Real**
- 000 This Is Soooo Fake**
- 000 You're Such A Hypocrite**
- 000 Others Are Responsible Too**
- 000 What Can We Do?**
- 000 Silence These Critics**
- 000 From Guilt To Solidarity**



responses: I'M SO ANGRY ABOUT THIS

IN BRIEF

There's plenty to be angry at when you're faced with the harsh realities of world trade, especially when they are brought home to you as ingredients in the things that sustain your lifestyle. Most (all?) follow the things activism is motivated by anger at violence and injustice. The subjects of their work are often angry too. Anger is deliberately funnelled through this work to motivate its audiences to act. But people also get angry that you're making them angry.

RELATED INGREDIENTS

INTENTIONS:

Defetishise that commodity (p.?)
Rile 'em up (p.?)

TACTICS:

Humanise exploited workers (p.?)
Show corporate dehumanisation (p.?)
Show planetary damage (p.?)
Blame shame and guilt (p.?)
Connect this unconnected (p.?)
Channel emotions (p.?)

RESPONSES:

Boycott! (p.?)
I'm buying ethical now (p.?)
You're such a hypocrite (p.?)
Others are responsible too (p.?)
What can we do? (p.?)
Silence these critics (p.?)

IMPACTS:

You gotta see this (p.?)
Revitalised campaigning (p.?)
Brand damage (p.?)
Nothing (p.?)

EXAMPLES

#NoScarJo (p.?)
Big boys gone bananas (p.?)
Primark on the rack (p.?)
The Oil Road (p.?)
Maquilapolis (p.?)
The True Cost (p.?)
Colin Kaepernick's Nike ad (p.?)

The follow the things genre of cultural activism is saturated with, and provocative of, angry responses. Who wouldn't get riled up by representations of the exploitations, injustices and violences in global supply chains? Commentators reel at this work, saying 'this shouldn't happen. It's so wrong'. Their anger is usually directed towards organisations, governments,



corporations, 'cultures' and/or individuals shown in the work to be acting in ways that jar with their norms of right and wrong, good and bad (see *rile 'em up* - p.?).

Audiences also direct their anger at the makers of follow the things work, especially when they are engaged through a *blame, shame and guilt* (p.?) approach that says they are responsible for this shit happening. Now we've told you this, you cannot carry on thinking you're a good person if you carry on

making harmful shopping choices (see *defetishise that commodity* - p.?). This approach can anger people much more than any exploitation, injustice or violence you might find in your work. Audiences may also respond by angrily picking your work and life apart, pointing out that you're no angel either (see *you're such a hypocrite* - p.?). And angrily arguing with each other in the comments (see *whatabout that?* - p.?).

Follow the things activism can also provoke angry responses from corporations whose supply chain 'crimes' are exposed. Public Relations specialists are often employed to undermine both messages and messengers (see *silence these critics* p.?). But this can backfire when audiences find out and get angry at this censorship (see *the you gotta see this* - p.?).

"We all have a right to be angry at injustice, at oppression', say the Trapeze Collective (2007, p.4), and 'building movements and groups of change is about using this anger constructively. Not falling into traps of hate, powerlessness, blame and desperation but turning those emotions into ones of defiance and strength, hope and inspiration and to intelligent rage." An important skill for the follow the thing



activists is to understand and channel anger's origins, targets and powers in order to encourage more of the first and less of the second response.

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Ian Cook & Tara Woodyer (2012) *Lives of things*. in Eric Sheppard, Trevor Barnes & Jamie Peck (eds) *The Wiley Blackwell companion to economic geography*. Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 226-241

Claudia Ruitenberg (2009) *Educating political adversaries: Chantal Mouffe and radical democratic citizenship education*. *Studies in the philosophy of education* 28, 269-281

IMPACTS

- 000 **You Gotta See This**
- 000 **Let's Get Involved**
- 000 **Get People Talking**
- 000 **You're the 'Sweatshop' Brand**
- 000 **I'm Shopping Differently**
- 000 **I Started An Ethical Business**
- 000 **The Factory Was Shut Down**
- 000 **Nothing**



impact: GET PEOPLE TALKING

IN BRIEF

Every example of follow the things activism in this book got people talking. That was the criteria for selection! The responses section details how this talking takes shape and where it can take the arguments in your work. But generating conversation is also an impact. Nothing happens without this! If your audiences take your work into other spaces, telling their friends, families, students, colleagues, randoms about it, you've done a good job. It's rippled.

RELATED INGREDIENTS

INTENTIONS:

Encourage informed discussion (p.?)
Showcase inspiring alternatives (p.?)

TACTICS:

Crowdfund (p.?)
Show diverse actors (p.?)
Show positive alternatives (p.?)
No easy answers (p.?)
Get it banned (p.?)

RESPONSES:

That's outrageous! (p.?)
What an interesting discussion! (p.?)
This is inspiring (p.?)
Let's do something? (p.?)
From guilt to solidarity (p.?)

IMPACTS:

More people have to see this (p.?)
I showed this to my students (p.?)
I showed this to the people in it (p.?)
Let's get involved (p.?)
I started an ethical business (p.?)

EXAMPLES

Ananas (p.?)
Big boys gone bananas (p.?)
Maquilapolis (p.?)
The True Cost (p.?)
The luckiest nut in the world (p.?)

Follow the things activism informs, encourages and provokes its audiences to talk about who makes their stuff, their pay and conditions, and who has the power and responsibility to make these relations more just and sustainable. This book's *Responses* section details a wide, powerful and sometime baffling range of follow the things talking points. This may include on-



topic responses that the work's makers were hoping for. There are also plenty of other talking points that can muffle, divert or derail these hopes. But there's a fine line between what people say and what they do. Talking can be impact and have impacts.

When audience members take follow the thing activism into spaces to inform, encourage and provoke conversation about the important issues and perspectives that it contains, that's impact. I showed

my film to the people in it. I showed this to my students because we're studying x. I showed it to my friends because we're worrying about y. They were inspired to do z. This is how it can go!

For us, the most inspiring 'get people talking' strategies come from the field of Strategic Impact Documentary (see Nash & Corner 2016). You can build conversation into the making of follow the things docs all the way through - from the germ of your idea to your work's release and beyond. If your intention is to *encourage informed discussion* (p.?), one of your tactics could be to *crowdfund* (p.?) your work - to get together some core supporters to talk with, to talk to each other, and to talk to their friends (about investing) right from the start. These conversations and networks may help to hone the work's content, energies and trajectories (see *The True Cost* - p.?).

Then, once your work is finished, you could show it at film festivals and cinema screenings with a host and expert panellists to discuss it afterwards. They could share their views on it, answer the audience's questions and give advice on what to do. Ideally your panellists would be local trade justice activists, ethical

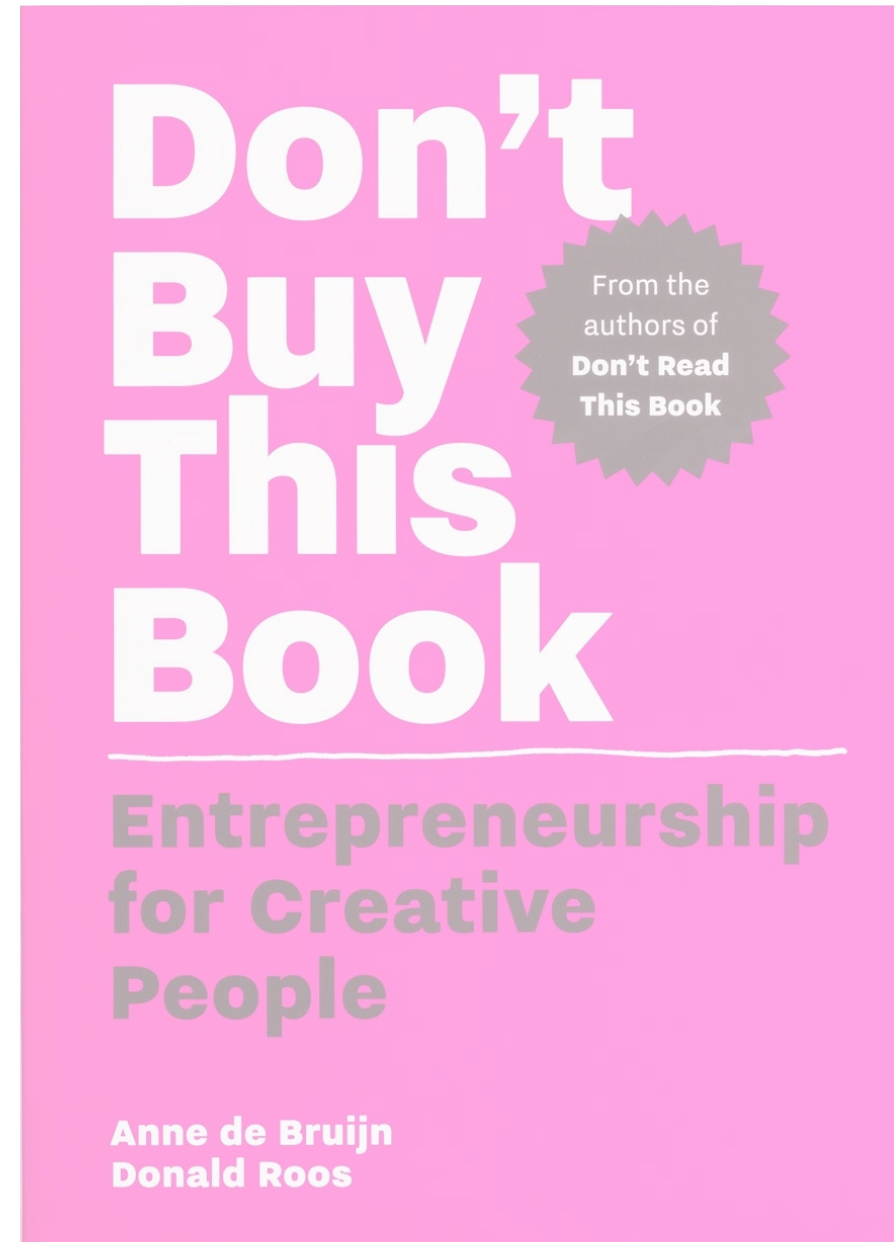


entrepreneurs, politicians, academics and - if at all possible - the filmmakers and one or two workers featured in the film itself (see *Maquilapolis* - p.?). Panel screenings attract audiences who want to do something, and the Q&As and after-talk can help audience members to decide what power and influence they have to make a difference, and to hold each other to account on any pledges that make with each other.

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Kate Nash & John Corner (2016) Strategic impact documentary: contexts of production and social intervention. *European journal of communication* 31(3), 227-242

5) WRITING FOLLOWING



Thanks

**followthethings.com**

Please contact us @ i.j.cook@exeter.ac.uk with any comments and/or if you want to become part of the book's 'user crew'.