Protest journey: the practices of constructing activist identity to choose and define the right type of activism

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Abstract

This paper investigates how participants in global justice movements create their activist identity through protest journeys to convergence spaces. Recently, scholars have shown an increasing interest in prefigurative politics, but their focus is not on the mobility process. A focus on activists' journeys to convergence spaces is relevant because social movements enable them to prefigure processes such as choosing accommodation, transportation, and destination. This study discusses the 'protest journey' that is practised by Japanese activists while focusing on activist identity, which is different from organisational and collective identity. Based on open interviews with activists, this paper discusses two key findings. First, protesters' activist identity in a particular protest journey was influenced by two types of movements. In the tourism process, they built organisational identity through social movement organisations (SMOs) and formed a collective identity that was provided by the global justice movement in advance. Second, participants distinguished between ideal and unfavourable places to visit and what behaviours constitute the right type of activism by a true activist on a protest journey. These findings demonstrate that participants in global justice movements form a collective identity, even in the individualised process of a protest journey.

Keywords: protest journey, convergence spaces, prefiguration, mobility, activist identity

Introduction

Recently, occupy movements and global justice movements, among others, have organised huge mobilisations, both nationally and globally. Routledge (2003) conceptualises such events as convergence spaces. In convergence spaces activists stay in certain areas within a limited space for a certain period of time. Many protesters join and live together in, for example, protest camps to recreate their collective lifestyle, not only turning convergence spaces into arenas in which protesters resist governments, firms, and other opponents, but also engage in practices of prefiguration (Maeckelbergh, 2009).

This paper focuses on the mobility process of participants who travel to convergence spaces like mobilisations organised by occupy movements and global justice movements. To regularly take part in such transnational mobilisations, people need to travel all around the world. However, previous research has not focused on this process of mobility. This paper understands the

process of travelling to international social movement events that involve activities in a convergence space as a 'protest journey'. International social movement events that include convergence spaces are mainly protests linked to international ministerial meetings. Such events are mostly organized by the global justice movement and the alternative globalisation movement, and involve protest camps and media centres. A protest journey can include both international and domestic movements, regardless of their frequency.

Much like demonstrating, occupying streets, and staying in protest camps, mobility is an essential part of the process of international mobilisation. People need to consider money, time, and other resources required to take part in such movements because international mobilisation comes at a cost for protesters. Protesters construct their identity as activists in choosing destinations, accommodations, and side trips.

Previous studies have mainly focused on acts of protests, governance, communication, and social reproduction inside convergence spaces. This study argues that the construction of convergence spaces is not only confined to 'the inside' of demonstrations, protest camps, and counter summit conferences, but also includes the entire process of tourist travel and being a tourist. This paper focuses on the journey of Japanese activists to and from convergence spaces, with a focus on movement identity and activist identity. The protest journey reflects an identity that is different from the SMOs that participants normally belong to and the convergence space in global justice movements they will join. In this process, participants are not involved in a concrete organisation, but rather act as individuals: they are certainly connected to the movement itself during the mobility process, but also act on their own behalf, fostered by the SMOs they belong to and anticipatory socialised by global justice movements they will join.

In this study, 'social movement' is defined as a network of informal interactions between a plurality of individuals, groups, and organisations engaged in political or cultural conflicts, on the basis of shared collective identities (Diani, 1992: 2). I analyse the protest journeys of social movement participants by using the concept of 'activist identity' (Luke et al, 2018; Ruiz-Junco, 2011; Silver, 1998; Bobel, 2007; Cortese, 2015; Craddock, 2019; Corrigal-Brown, 2012; Taft, 2017; Jasper, 1997; Mihaylov, 2020; Barr and Drury, 2009; Lyytikäinen, 2013)'. As people, we are always moving, but this movement itself does not necessarily produce an activist identity. The activist identity of protestors becomes most apparent when they head to the sites of protest. In other words, we can say that the essence of activist identity is revealed through the protest journey.

Activists travel long distances to visit convergence spaces and stay in protest camps, occupy houses, or squat places. Protesters construct their identities through their travel process, such as consuming meals, choosing accommodation, and taking side trips to different places. For example, sometimes people travel to the place of protest by LCC (low-cost carrier) airlines because this is more economical. However, climate activists may avoid flying

and rather take busses, train, public mass transportation, or other more environmentally friendly means of transport to arrive at their destination. Regarding food consumption, participants voice their political preferences for certain ingredients and preparation methods. Although activists who are committed to protecting the environment may avoid eating meat, people who fight for the rights of indigenous people may not accept veganism and vegetarianism because many indigenous peoples have traditionally been meat-eaters.

The formation of an activist identity in the process of activist tourism is best understood as a process. First, behaviour in a protest journey is influenced by two types of communities. One is the SMOs that protestors are part of, and the other is the global justice movement they join as 'tourists'. In the tourism process, they build an organisational identity through SMOs and at the same time form a collective identity that is shaped by the global justice movement in advance. Second, participants distinguish between ideal and unfavourable places to visit and what behaviours constitute the right type of activism by a 'true activist' during a protest journey. Additionally, their journey to convergence spaces itself marks the separation from the protestors' daily routine and, in terms of the social context and activists engage in, a step where they determine what they consider to be an ideal social movement.

Drawing on these findings, this paper argues that a protest journey is individual and fluid. Through studying protest journeys, I identified the formation process of an alternative collective identity, based on contemporary, individualised and fluid social movements. In protest journeys, individual protesters choose their course of action based on their preferences. However, the course of individual protest journeys is defined by communication among tourist protesters. In the process of a protest journey, participants embody their identity as an activist, constituting an alternative type of solidarity and collective identity.

Literature review

Convergence spaces in global justice movements

International protest events mostly involve the participation of large crowds. These protesters insist on alter-globalisation and global justice for international institutions or national governments, such as the World Trade Organisation (WTO), the International Monetary Fund (IMF), and international ministerial conferences such as the G7 Summit and the Conference of Parties (COP). Many studies have noted that these movements focus on multiple issues (e.g. the environment, women, trade, and anti-war efforts). Hence, various actors that engage in diverse social movements from many nations tend to gather at places where mobilisations are organised (Higgins-Desbiolles 2009, Della Porta 2007). The movement under scope in this paper is called the global justice movement, alter-globalisation movement, anti-globalism movement, and so on. In this paper, following Della Porta, I use the term 'global justice movement' (Della Porta 2007).

Routledge (2003) analyses such movements based on grassroots globalisation networks using the convergence space as a conceptual tool. He argues that grassroots globalisation networks forge associational politics that constitute a diverse, contested coalition of place-specific social movements on multi-scalar terrains, including both material and virtual spaces (Routledge, 2003: 334). In this research, I focus on the aspect of material place.

Claeys and Duncan (2019) note the importance of identity politics in convergence spaces and assessed how identity politics play out there. They conclude that diverse actors practise their own identity politics, shaped by gender and age, and produce diversity in convergence spaces as a result of the different places in which these movements reside. However, distinct identities can cause specialisation and fragmentation of the actors involved. Claeys and Duncan show that quotas enable sectoral, geographical, gender- and age-based identity politics to operate successfully as a convergence space (Claeys and Duncan, 2019: 9–10). However, they also argue that there are other identities, such as religion, race/ethnicity, class and caste, sexual orientation and/or gender identity, left to be addressed.

Based on suggestions from Routledge (2003) and Claeys and Duncan (2019), I focus on the relation between identity and prefiguration in convergence spaces. Claeys and Duncan focus only on formal institutions (e.g. constituencies and quotas) in convergence spaces, which reveals the limited inclusion of diverse individuals in convergence space. However, some practises are not institutionalised, such as eating, sleeping and communication with others, but might produce processes of inclusion and exclusion as well.

The findings and limitations of previous studies raises questions about how the preparatory practise of prefiguration by diverse actors in convergence spaces facilitate identity politics. What follows is a literature review about prefiguration and identity, identifying the limitations of previous research. Moreover, I will demonstrate how this research contributes to earlier research on prefiguration and identity by focusing on journeys to convergence spaces.

Prefiguration

Sitrin (2006: 4; 2012: 3) defines prefigurative movements and their politics as movements that seek to create the future world that they desire in their present day-to-day social relationships. Prefiguration reflects the collective action process at a more practical level (Maeckelbergh, 2009, 2011).

Convergence spaces in international protest events such as the summit protests and occupy streets, are accompanied with protest camps (Brown et al., 2017; Feigenbaum, Frenzel and McCurdy, 2013). Protest camps are regarded as accommodation for those who participate in large-scale protest events. However, these camps not only provide lodging for activists but is also a place-based social movement strategy that involves both the acts of ongoing protests and acts of social reproduction necessary to sustain daily life (Brown et al, 2017; Feigenbaum et al, 2013).

In protest camps, protesters often seek to embody the DIY (Do It Yourself) ethos, autonomy, and distance from capitalist society, aspects that permit actors to live according to their own principles in order to express their movement's identity (Feigenbaum, Frenzel and McCurdy, 2013; McDonald, 2006). Much of previous research has investigated questions concerning the challenge of prefiguration in the daily routine of protest camps: decision-making (Rigon, 2015), food consumption (Graeber, 2009; Juris 2008; Feigenbaum, Frenzel and McCurdy, 2013; Glass, 2010) and the creation of public spheres with locally available materials (Heinonen, 2019).

Many previous studies on prefiguration have dealt with practices within a particular place. Some research has focused on mobility, which has been regarded as the main barrier to participation in convergence spaces or opportunities for networking and mobilisation. From a Marxist perspective, Teivainen mentioned that there are structural barriers that prevent poor people from participating in networks that may seem open and horizontal to activists who have the required resources (Teivainen, 2016: 26). Other existing research on global justice movements and prefigurative politics discusses the participation barrier to place-based collective action as mobilisation for global justice movements depends on participants' material ability to travel abroad (Crane, 2017; Flesher Fominaya, 2010; Bédoyan, Aelst and Walgrave, 2004; Doerr, 2009).

In addition, some studies describe a practice called 'summit hopping' (Bédoyan, Aelst and Walgrave, 2004; Daro, 2009, 2013; Russell, Schlembach and Lear 2017). Summit hopping refers to the participation of activists (called summit-hoppers) in international protest events by moving from place to place. Travelling abroad to participate in protests allows protesters to learn the skills of networking, mobilisation, and strategising (Bédoyan, Aelst and Walgrave, 2004, Daro 2009, 2013). Summit-hoppers practically carry their experience from one camp to another with their mobility; that is, summit hopping. (Daro, 2009: 19) However previous research on summit-hopping mainly focused on only the interaction among participants, police and local residents living in areas where global justice movements would take place in convergence spaces.

It is also important to note that prefiguration practices are not only acted out inside convergence spaces, but also in displaced and individualised movement processes. For example, inside protest camps, people often act as if they are in an alternative world, with their ideals as ideological vehicles. Such a practice is one of prefiguration to experiment, share and diffuse the vision for an alternative world. For instance, western travellers have been decreasing their frequency of air travel out of environmental concerns (Gössling, 2019).

Identity and prefiguration

In considering the process of mobility, which has not been analysed by previous studies of prefiguration, I consider Kevin McDonald's argument to be helpful. McDonald (2006) points out the importance of theorising the activities of

travelling activists with the concept of fluidity. He argues that travelling itself creates a collective identity in the age of individualisation and globalisation: McDonald considers that travel underlines the importance of a grammar of experience associated with displacement and voyages (McDonald, 2006: 44). The characteristic of travelling pointed out by McDonald is theoretically connected with the nature of contemporary social movements. Kevin McDonald, basing his ideas from the findings of Arberto Melucci, argued that contemporary social movements are not rooted in certain places, groups and collectives in the globalised era, but rather by fluid individuals (McDonald 2006). In investigating the tourism process, the reality of social movements in the contemporary globalised world can be captured by focusing on the grammar of experiences associated with displacement and voyages (McDonald, 2006: 44).

According to McDonald, a voyage is the process of creating a collective identity in an individualised society. However, the mobility process in a convergence space experienced to take place alone or with a very small number of people in global justice movements. In fact, the authors of previous anthropological studies regarding international social movements have found that, indeed, the process of moving into convergence space occurs either alone or with a small number of people (Maeckelbergh, 2009, 2018; Daro, 2009; Juris, 2008). Then, how do people create a collective identity as participants in the global justice movement?

In this study, the process of transportation towards convergence spaces is assumed to be a process of identity transition for participants. In order to discuss the transition, the categories of collective, organisational and activist identity that have been presented in previous studies are useful (Melucci, 1989; Gamson, 1991; Polletta and Jasper, 2001; Jasper, 1997; Dunlap and McCright, 2008; Levitsky, 2007).

Why does this paper only address collective, organisational and activist identity, given the numerous categories of identity that have been identified in former studies? The answer lies in the fact that participants of global justice movements temporarily leave the SMOs in which they usually engage and head towards convergence spaces. Along the way, I consider that their identity will move from organisational identity that is specific to a particular SMO (Gamson 1991) and based on the identity created by the feeling of belonging to a specific organisation (Polletta and Jasper, 2001; Jasper, 1997; Corrigal-Brown, 2012) to collective identity, which I consider to be an interactive and shared definition produced by several individuals and concerned with the orientation of action and the field of opportunities and constraints in which the action takes place (Melucci, 1989, 1996).

During the process in which SMO participants are transported to convergence spaces and become participants in global justice movements, individuals embrace an identity that is neither for a particular organisation nor in support of their expected friends in convergence spaces whom they will never meet (See Figure 1)

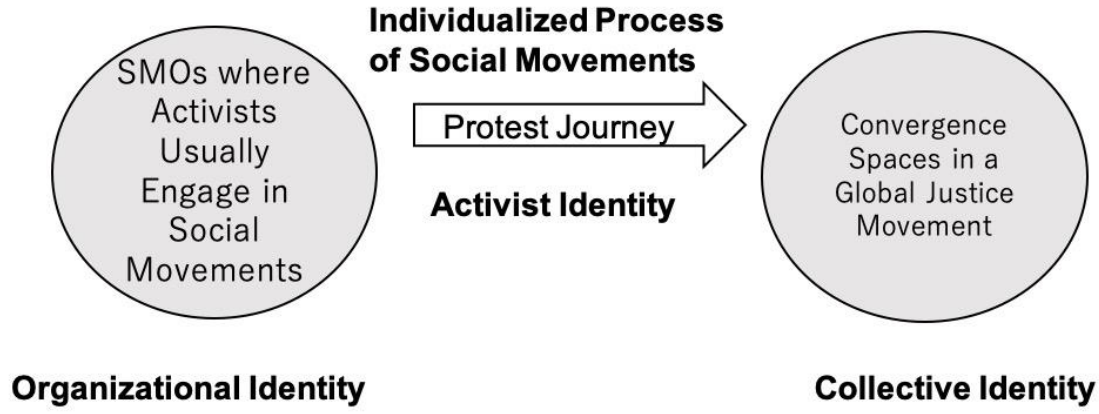


Figure 1. The relationship between movement process and identity

There is a broader layer of movement identity, which may be sustained over time as individuals move from one organisation to another (Gamson, 1991; Jasper, 1995; Dunlap and McCright, 2008). It is participants' self-definition as an activist that predicts their propensity to sustain participation and not permanently disengage from social movements, even if they leave their original group (Corrigal-Brown, 2012, pp. 109–17). The identification as an activist is constructed by the experience gained from previous social movements. (Bobel, 2007, Jasper, 1997; Corrigal-Brown, 2012, Luke et al, 2018, Silver 1998, Ruiz-Junco, 2011, Barr and Drury 2009, Portwood-Stacer, 2013).

Which factors create or enhance activist identity? Previous research has answered this question based on case studies of diverse types of social movements (Barr and Drury, 2009; Bobel, 2007; Portwood-Stacer, 2013; Craddock, 2019; Kennelly, 2014; Cortese, 2015; Taft, 2017; Luke et al, 2018, Ruiz-Junco, 2011, Mihaylov 2020, Lyytikäinen 2013). The findings of these studies can be categorised into two factors: (1) to engage in a 'desirable' or 'right' type of activism and (2) to construct the definition of 'being' an activist.

First, some researchers discuss the idea that activist identity is strongly related to which type of activism participant think is 'right'. What makes it 'the right' type of action depends on the social movement. Bobel emphasised that protesters consider dedication a key value for activist identity: they need to show timeless commitment, selfless sacrifice and unparalleled devotion to be a true activist in menstrual activism. (Bobel, 2007, p.154). Craddock mainly argued that activist identity is highly related to the picture of an 'ideal activist', who is implicitly defined by doing 'enough' of the 'right' type of activity, which means radical and direct action in the anti-austerity movement (Craddock, 2017, 2019). Craddock clarified that going out into the streets, participating in demonstration, and engaging in conflict with police are considered 'right' and 'true' activism, while other activities are looked down on by activists.

It is not only direct action that is considered the 'right' type of activism. Anarchists engage in the 'right' movement on a daily basis and commit to

'authenticity' in lifestyle practices (Portwood-Stacer, 2013). For example, Portwood-Stacer finds that anarchists usually do not choose the car for transportation by way of prefiguration. They also take care of their food and clothing habits in their community to commit to the value of anarchist society (Portwood-Stacer, 2013, p.29-30, 69). Veganism, black clothing and tattoos are cultural symbols that each have their own meaning in anarchism and play a role in reflecting their activist identity. Such a connection between lifestyle and what a desirable society looks like for activists, can also be seen in other movements. Christian pacifist activists are sceptical of traditional familism as a way of being true activists (which is why some do not have children), and animal rights activists consider it desirable to not eat meat. (Jacobsson and Lindblom, 2012). While the 'right' type of activism and activist identification differs for each social movement, as previous scholarship discussed, actions themselves include a wide range of forms, from collective direct action to everyday lifestyles.

Second, activist identity is strongly related to people self-identifying as 'activists' and sometimes being aware of themselves as activists in their storytelling (Bobel, 2007; Taft, 2017; Lyytikäinen, 2013; Cortese, 2015; Ruiz-Junco, 2011; Mihaylov, 2020). Taft analysed the aspects of female Russian activists' usage of the term 'becoming' an activist in their stories. They talk about the moment of 'becoming' an activist, but they do not end their own stories with it; rather, they say that activism is a story of continual growth and learning, one in which they continue to 'become' an activist (Taft, 2017). This finding is similar to the concept of 'a perfect standard', proposed by Bobel. In menstrual activism, participants speak in various ways of the 'ideal activist' but these are never achieved. To be ideal activists, they devote timeless commitments and all of their resources to their activism (Bobel, 2007, pp.154-155).

Cortese (2015) and Luke et al. (2018) have also analysed people who define themselves as 'good' and others as 'bad' in social movements. In this case, defining activist is boundary work with other types of activists/activism. (Cortese, 2015). Such work has a similar function to defining the 'right' type of activism, as argued above. Luke et al. (2018) find that people who engaged in anti-flacking activism eschewed 'activist' title because it has a stigma like outsider, and/or as providing information that is not assessed to be neutral or objective.

This study considers the protest journey as a prefigurative act and analyses it from the viewpoint of activist identity. The protest journey and the identity that it constructs is different from an organisational identity that might exist within the SMO that activists normally belong to, and the global justice movement that forms the collective identity to which they are about to join. Previous scholarship has argued that activist identity is related to the 'right type' of activism and definition (and sometimes awareness) of activists.

This paper contributes to existing research on prefiguration and seeks to expand the concept beyond convergence space and collective action to individualised and fluid action. It is theoretically connected to the nature of contemporary social movements. Kevin McDonald's argument, based on the work of Melucci,

claimed that contemporary social movements are not based on certain places, groups and collectives in the globalised era, but fluid individuals (McDonald, 2006). By investigating the tourism process, the reality of social movements in the contemporary globalised world can be captured by focusing on the grammar of experience associated with displacement and voyages, as discussed by McDonald (2006, p.44).

Conceptual framework

This study defines the protest journey as the activists' travel from the place they usually reside to the convergence place where the global justice movements' events are held.

How do we define prefiguration in the protest journey? Prefiguration appears in all activities in a protest camp or convergence place, such as eating meals, communication with others, and dividing bedroom space. During the protest journey, participants could think of it as a process of prefiguration in which their choices of transportation, places to stay, and places to take side trips reflect what they consider to be a desirable 'alternative world' (Sitrin, 2006, 2012; Maeckelbergh, 2009, 2011, 2016).

Furthermore, I focus on the activist identity that protest tourists form during the protest journey. Previous research suggests that activist identity is reinforced (1) when one conducts what is considered the 'desired' or 'right' type of activism and (2) when one defines or is made aware that one is 'becoming' or 'being' an activist. This paper examines these two aspects that allow protest tourists to form activist identities in the course of a protest journey.

The formation of activist identity is likely related to the organisational identity of SMOs that activists belong to in daily life. In addition, as pointed out by previous studies, personal biographies also shape the construction of activist identity. This study focuses on biographies of participants and the organisational identity that they have formed through their daily activities in SMOs they committed in order to examine the formation process of activist identity in the protest journey.

Research methodology

The participants of this study were protesters who travelled to and participated in convergence spaces of global justice movements. This research focuses mainly on the activist identity of activist tourists; therefore, it was necessary to work with participants involved with SMOs that engage in a variety of issues. In addition, as activist identity is related to the biography of activists, it was considered relevant to cover a wide range of biographical attributes such as gender and age. Additionally, it is possible that years of experience in social movements may be related to activist identity (e.g. activists' definition of a real activist and 'good' activism). Therefore, participants' years of experience with activism were taken into consideration as well.

Table 1 includes the final destination of each of participant, as this might also shape the collective identity of participants. Global justice movements engage in diverse issues and events. Issues covered include the environment, peace, human rights. During events, a variety of activities is organized, such as workshops, camps, demonstrations, and sometimes symbolic events like human chains (Della Porta ed, 2007).

Table 1. Biographical situation of participants interviewed

Participant	SMOs	Movement Experience (years)	Gender	Age	Final Destination
Manabu	supporting people in poverty	2	male	20s	protest against privatisation of public facilities by Nike
Hideo	student movement	4	male	20s	international anti-poverty campaign
Yumiko	feminism and childcare	3	female	30s	international anti-poverty campaign
Chika	peace and anti-war	4	female	30s	protest event against the ministerial conference
Toshi	dissent for existing labour system	2	male	20s	international conference against globalisation
Shinji	dissent for existing labour system	2	male	20s	protest march against neoliberalism
Chihiro	student movement	4	male	30s	international conference against globalisation
Masako	feminism	2	female	30s	alternative summit for anarchism
Atsushi	supporting people in poverty	3	male	20s	protests against the firing of non-regular employees
Etsuko	protest against neoliberalism and globalisation	1	female	30s	anti-G8 summit protest camp
Kota	protest against neoliberalism and globalisation	1	male	30s	anti-G8 summit protest camp
Taisuke	peace and anti-war	6	male	20s	international anti-base rally and human chain
Makoto	peace and anti-war	2	male	20s	world social forum
Osamu	supporting people in poverty	7	male	20s	international conference for labour union
Kasumi	feminism	4	female	20s	conference for youth and precarious workers

Shin	peace movement	10	male	40s	protest against neoliberalism
Nobuo	labour movement	2	male	30s	alternative summit for anarchist
Yoko	student movement	4	female	20s	international anti-base rally and human chain
Seichi	student movement	2	male	20s	international anti-base rally and human chain
Yasushi	peace movement	2	male	30s	anti-war and peace action
Kenichi	peace movement	2	male	30s	anti-war and peace action
Takuya	labour movement	34	male	50s	international conference for labour union
Jun	dissent for existing labour system	21	male	40s	anti-G8 summit protest
Yoshimi	LGBTQ movement	11	none	30s	anti-G20 summit protest
Takehiro	anti-nuclear	3	male	40s	environmental protection camp

The interview questions covered participants' reasons for participating in protests, selecting the means of transportation and accommodation, choosing their destinations and their motivation for activism. More importantly, I focused on dialogues related to two research questions regarding activist identity. That is, (1) 'What is your idea of a desirable social movement?' and (2) 'How would you define an activist, and do you meet those concepts or standards?' These questions play an important role in analysing activists' identity created through a protest journey.

The findings of this article are based on interviews with 25 participants. Names of all informants are pseudonyms. In addition, I collected and documented data from blogs, magazines, leftist journals and interviews with non-participant activists. Rather than making generalized claims about protests, this paper identifies some of the key perspectives and arguments that were evident among participants. Moreover, I indicate the extent to which they were supported by other research materials.

I interviewed individual protesters using semi-structured interviews that lasted for approximately 90 minutes to gain an in-depth understanding of participants' perspectives. In some cases, we had a meal with each other, prepared for a particular demonstration, or shared accommodation. Soon after conducting the interviews, the interviews were transcribed. During the transcription notes were taken. The interviews were coded, using the software of qualitative research and thematic analysis.

Participants of global justice mobilisations remembered their protest journeys extremely well: the transportation they used, the places they stayed, the

locations they made side trips to, and the conversations they had with their colleagues. I conducted interviews with some of them regarding actions they had committed after the protest journey some years later, but they were still able to retain detailed memories of their protest journey and describe their experiences with the many social movements they were involved in after much time had passed.

This study focuses on cultural materials (Polletta and Jasper 2001, 285) that activists use during their protest journey. Polletta and Jasper argue that collective identities are expressed in cultural materials such as names, narratives, symbols, verbal styles, rituals and clothing. This paper seeks to answer the question of how protesters express their activist identity by looking into how activists choose cultural materials in terms of transportation, accommodations and destinations. In so doing, it focuses on participants' gender and type of activism.

Protest journey: who are 'good' activists and tourists?

Best choices and ideal routes reflect the organisational and collective identity

First, this study examined how the 'right types' of activism, as they relate to activist identity, are carried out in the prefiguration process of a protest journey; for instance, choosing transportation means, accommodation, and side-trip destinations. In this section, I describe how protest tourists distinguish between desirable and undesirable destinations in their journey. In the process of selecting destinations, accommodations, means of transportation and other processes, some activists say there are 'desirable' and 'non-desirable' places to visit.

What factors constitute the distinction of such desirability? One is the identity they form through the activities of the social movement organisations they usually belong to, and the other is the anticipatory socialisation (Merton and Lazasfeld, 1950) of their collective identity, as formed through global justice movements. For example, eating meals sold in large supermarkets, department stores and shopping places is not considered suitable for convergence spaces in global justice movements because such places represent capitalism and neoliberalism.

In addition, their interest in issues like such as the military, environment and women's rights, developed through daily activities in SMOs, is also reflected in their choices during the protest journey. For instance, protesters refuse to take flights and choose transportation means that use land routes if they are interested in environmental issues. Activists who are sensitive to issues of sexual minorities prefer places that have LGBT-friendly facilities such as special baths and lavatory rooms. Thus, activists create a desirable form of protest through protest journeys based on their organisational identity and expected collective identity in global justice movements.

Protest tourist Chika travelled to Tokyo from the northern part of Japan to take part in a large protest against the ministerial conference about global warming. For one week, she stayed in a guesthouse owned by activists and tried to make side trips around Tokyo.

> (Interviewer: Where did you visit in Tokyo on your side trip?)
>
> Chika: I went to the parliamentary office to visit a friend who worked in Parliament as a member of Congress. After that, I dropped by Irregular Rhythm Asylum (an infoshop for anarchists), and some other places established by anarchists and autonomists in Tokyo. However, this friend of mine — she is not interested in political issues — tried to take me to an aerial show by Japanese self-defence forces. Of course, I refused.[1]

Some people may regard her behaviour of going to places created by anarchists and autonomists while also stopping by the Parliament as strange. Because anarchists challenge the existence of the government, being an anarchist and visiting the parliament are seen as incompatible. Nevertheless, it is a natural behaviour in the context of her organisational identity for the SMOs Chika was part of and the collective identity she was identifying with through participating in the global justice movement. Actually, she was a member of a political party and engaged in the peace movement. Therefore, it was natural for her to visit the Parliament office to meet her friend who is one of the members of Congress. She refused to go to the self-defence aerial show because it went against the beliefs of peace and anti-military that she had developed through SMOs.

Chika became interested in global justice movements, protest camps, and prefigurative politics when she heard the dialogues from anarchists who came to her hometown as part of their info tour several months before the above-mentioned trip. It is not surprising neither that she identified with this collective identity, constructed in the convergence space she was heading to.

In the process of the journey, protest tourists distinguished which behaviours were the 'right type' of activism and others that were not. The short talk between Hideo and Yumiko below shows their shared desired 'tourism practice'. Yumiko, a single mother, was engaged in feminism and the childcare movement, and Hideo, a male protester, had taken part in student activism. Before participating in an international anti-poverty campaign event, they visited a second-hand store owned by youth activists in the metropolitan area and stayed in the extra room of the shop. Hideo and Yumiko extended their stay together and sometimes helped the owner in the business in the store.

> (Interviewer: Which places did you visit during your stay?)
>
> Hideo: I visited the second-hand auction market last week [. . .]. It was a pretty

[1] This interview was conducted on 4 April 2010 in Tokyo, Japan.

> interesting place. I knocked down the price of some goods. Can you see that stereo and the bags? These are the items that I succeeded in buying in the auction.
>
> Yumiko: But he went to Roppongi Hills (a building that houses luxury boutiques and holds commercial events). He watched a movie there.
>
> Hideo: Umm . . . my friend gave me a complementary ticket.
>
> Yumiko: You said that 'I felt comfortable in Roppongi Hills. Wonderful atmosphere and pleasant smell [. . .]'.
>
> Hideo: I wanted to know the atmosphere, smell, and comfortable environment formed by capitalism because we had to know our enemy. (with a laugh).[2]

This dialogue shows that communication with other protesters can affect one's activism. These two activists believed that commercial facilities, especially luxury department stores and boutiques, were not suitable to visit. Yumiko believed that the activist who had fun in Roppongi Hills was not a good activist, but did not say anything when Hideo said he went to the auction market. These comments suggest that sharing the idea of the right type of activism with others enhance an activist identity. More curiously, collective action and campaigns of the SMOs they are part of, are not strongly associated with capitalism or neoliberalism. In fact, they do not seem to be engaged in prefigurational politics in their daily lives based on the value of anti-capitalism and anti-neoliberalism. In that sense, it could be argued that their interactions and actions reflect a different set of values in addition to their organisational identity.

When Hideo and Yumiko were involved in social movements in their hometown, they organised events during which participants of the G20 protests in Korea and the G8 protests in Japan talked about their experiences. Hideo and Yumiko were fascinated by the stories international protesters shared. Their protest journey as activists against globalisation had already begun at this point. Their activist identity was not related to their organisational identity, but they already started to identify with the collective identity of the anti-globalisation movement at this time, instead of a later moment in the convergence space.

The ways interviewees talk about visiting the parliamentary, an infoshop and aerial shows during the protest journey (Chika) and the luxury boutique mentioned (Hideo and Yumiko) illustrate what makes a destination of a side trip during the protest journey desirable. Chika thought that dropping by the infoshop where many anarchists gather and visiting the Paliament office where her friend activist worked, is the 'right' type of destination for her tour. Moreover, doing the tour, for her, proved that she is a 'true activist'.

Hideo and Yumiko constructed their activist identities as anti-globalisation protesters by talking ironically about going to a luxury boutique. Such talk enabled them to share what the right type of activism looks like and constituted a measurement for judging whether one's behaviour is correct or not. To behave

[2] This interview was conducted on 10 September 2016 in Tokyo, Japan.

correctly, they anticipate this socialisation of an activist identity.

As can be seen in Table 1, Chika, Hideo and Yumikos' years of experience in social movements do not span a long period of time, averaging between three and four years. Regardless of their experience, organisational identity and collective identity form what they consider desirable activities.

In addition, participants in global justice movements express their organisational identity and collective identity through their activist identity; not only in terms of their detours, but also in terms of their choice of transportation and how they spend their time on the road (Portwood-Stacer, 2013).

The following is a conversation with an activist tourist who used a ferry to reach the western region of Japan from the east. The conversation took place in a shared house that he was staying in when I had dinner together with some other activist travellers.

> Shinji: Usually, I travel to my destination by ferry because it is cheap. On a ferry, we can take our vehicles, such as cars and motorbikes, but we cannot use mobile phone because there is no reception or WIFI on the ferry.
>
> Masako: Wonderful! We do not need to think about daily work. We go to other places to escape from such trivial and disgusting labour and routine.[3]

Shinji's reasoning for choosing a ferry as his means of transportation is the cost and flexibility to enjoy the disconnection with all telecommunication devices: Shinji finds this mode of travel comfortable as he can forget his daily routine and work due to the non-functioning of mobile phones on the ferry. Shinji usually campaigns against the existing labour system and was about to head to a convergence space to protest against neoliberalism at the moment of this conversation. It makes sense that a person with such an organisational identity would prefer to travel in a way that allows for separation from the daily routine. On the other hand, Masako is not heading for the same convergence space as Shinji, nor does she express strong antipathy to the existing labour system or neoliberalism. However, by sharing part of his journey process, Masako loosely shared his values. From this dialogue, we can assume that the same kind of propagation of information and values that previous studies have pointed out occurs outside the convergence space.

The dialogues between Chika, Hideo, and Yumiko, as well of that between Shinji and Masako show that protest tourists enact the society they desire through prefigurative politics in the protest journey. They construct an activist identity rooted in the organisational identity of SMOs they are already part of and the collective identity that is expected to take shape in the convergence spaces of the global justice movement.

[3] This interview was conducted on 27 April 2017 in Hokkaido, Japan.

Being a 'real activist': decontextualised movement opportunities and solidarity with others

Related with the activist identity, some activists consider a protest journey as an opportunity to 'be' and 'become', or 'grow up' as an activist. When I asked them if they think of themselves as an activist, nine participants shared their experience of their protest journey. What factors of the protest journey have enhanced their identification as an activist? Takehiro is a male activist who was active in anti-nuclear movement organisations after the earthquake and nuclear disaster in Japan in 2011. In 2013, he conducted a protest journey to the convergence spaces against the international environmental protection camp in northeast Japan.

Before that, Takehiro had participated in anti-nuclear activism and environmental demonstrations and workshops; however, he says the protest journey was an opportunity for him to 'become' an activist. He accompanied his musician friend from a foreign country to a protest event.

> (Interviewer: How did you have a meal every day?)
>
> Takehiro: We had difficulty because some musicians were vegetarian and vegan. In particular, veggie food is not popular in Japan. We sometimes shoplifted rice balls from supermarkets and convenience stores (small supermarkets open 24 hours). I roughly translated the ingredients written on the pack and told them whether or not the food was suitable for them.
>
> (Interviewer: Did you feel resistance to such illegal acts?)
>
> Takehiro: Of course, I do not steal food in the stores in my everyday life (laughing). But I do not hesitate to steal food during the journey — our act is a kind of punk culture and it is against mass consumer society and capitalism.[4]

Like Takehiro, some protesters engage in food theft and dumpster diving while living in protest camps and summit hopping. Shoplifting is a major means of collecting food (Pootwood-Stacer, 2013). In some protest events, activists feed participants in public events with stolen food (Juris 2008), and several protesters steal from local supermarkets (Feigenbaum, Frenzel and McCurdy, 2013). This is seen as challenging capitalism, neoliberalism, and the mass consumption society.

Takehiro said that he takes actions to express his support for environmental protection and preventing global warming as much as he could in his daily life, such as using a bicycle instead of a car and consistently turning off the lights in his room to save energy. However, there is a limitation for individuals to live in prefigurative way in daily life because of restrictions related to resources and the institutions that activists are part of, such as eating a cheap hamburger

[4] This interview was conducted on 3 May 2013 in Hokkaido, Japan.

produced by global fast-food chains. During his protest journey decontextualised from everyday life, Takehiro engaged in the construction of an activist identity by making efforts to support a vegan lifestyle, which is difficult to maintain in Japan, and by engaging in illegal shoplifting.

Tourism presents an opportunity for protest tourists to engage in what they consider to be the 'right' type of activism because it is not part of their everyday life and work. Such trips allow them to perform desired actions that are not available in their immediate surroundings. Therefore, protest tourism might make individuals aware of a stronger activist identity than social movements that they are already engaged in.

Manabu is a Japanese man in his twenties who travelled from the northern region of Japan to the eastern and western areas to join protests against privatisation of public facilities by Nike, a global sportswear brand.

> Manabu: We stayed in Kyoto and then went to Osaka (a metropolitan city in western Japan). I met some members of the labour union at an anti-poverty event I attended there. They said they were going to take a car, so I asked them to give me a lift on the way from Osaka to Nagoya (a city located in central Japan). I met many activists who assisted me during my tour.
>
> One activist I met taught me how to hitchhike, so I attempted to hitch a ride, but the place in front of Nagoya station was not suitable for hitchhiking, so I gave it up, spent a night in a park, and took the train. The next day, I hitchhiked to Tokyo, my final destination.[5]

This trip was the first time Manabu realised that he was an activist, even though he had been working to support poor people for a long time. Furthermore, he remembered the trip in detail, even when I interviewed him again ten years after the trip.[6] This journey, thus, played an important role in the formation of his activist identity.

Sharing a car with someone you meet along the way, hitchhiking and camping outdoors are common events, not only on protest journeys, but also in other types of tourism, such as backpacking and youth tourism. The activist identity Manabu formed through his travels does not seem to be related to the organisational identity he had developed through participation in SMOs, nor does it seem to be related to the collective identity that he subsequently acquired from participating in the global justice movement. However, Manabu may have been able to strengthen his activist identity from other protest tourists by performing his daily activities as a way of prefiguration and learning how to hitchhike and sleep outdoors. For example, he talked about sleeping in the open air as a way to 'reclaim the street', an attempt to liberate the street from the government and return it to the citizens. As a result, Manabu was able to carry

[5] This interview was conducted on 10 August 2010 in Sapporo, Japan.

[6] This interview was conducted on 5 May 2019 in Frankfurt, Germany.

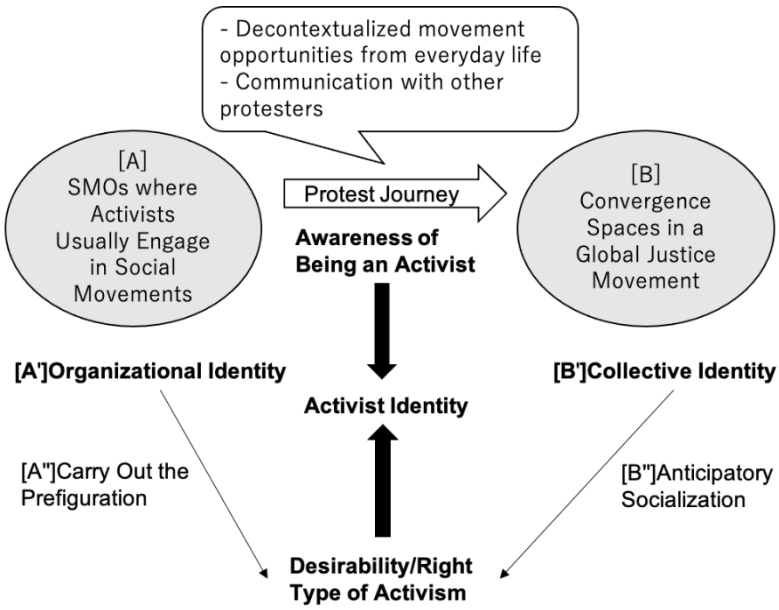
out various tourist activities that matched with what was considered desired tourism practices, as well as with the collective identity of anti-globalisation movements. In order to do this, communication with other protesters was essential.

Discussion

This article discussed how activists create their activist identity through their tourism process in protest journeys. In so doing, it examined the viewpoints of activists about 'the right type of activism' and the definition of activists. Participants distinguished good and bad places to visit during a protest journey, as well as certain behaviour that would reflect ideal activism by 'true activists'. Protesters can practice what they consider to be the right type of activism because protest journeys are disconnected from everyday life and legal or material constraints. In the process of a protest journey, the meaning of behaviour may change, and acts that were considered as ordinary before, may come to be performed as prefigurational practices.

The protest journey is different from the actions that activists usually perform in [A] SMOs and [B] the convergence space in global justice movements, but it is influenced by these two movements. The protest journey provides participants the opportunity to decontextualise movement from everyday movements and communicate with other protesters whom they cannot meet in their daily lives. Through the process of a protest journey, [A"] participants carry out their prefiguration based on political interest fostered in the SMOs they join. In addition, [B"] their practises are anticipatory and socialised from the value a global justice movement has provided. As a result of both practises, participants engage in what they consider the right and desirable type of activism, and the behaviours of people in the protest journey reflect [A'] the organisational identity of the SMOs to which they belong or [B'] the collective identity formed in the convergence space to which they were headed. Finally, they have an awareness of being an activist—or an activist identity—as Craddock (2019) and Bobel (2007) have argued (Fig. 2).

Figure 2 Correlation between activist, organisational and collective identity within a protest journey



Drawing on these findings, this paper proposes a connection between collective identity, individualisation, and fluidisation. As McDonald argued, travelling itself creates a collective identity in the age of individualisation and globalisation because contemporary social movements are not based on certain places, groups and collectives in the globalised era, but rather by fluid individuals (McDonald, 2006; Melucci, 1996). Therefore, this study explored the protest journey as it is both an individualised process and one that we can regard as representing contemporary social movements.

This research has shown that it is possible for activists to construct a collective identity though the individualised process of the protest journey, because they identify in advance with the collective identity that will be further developed in the convergence space in the global justice movement. The concept of anticipatory socialisation (Marton and Lazasfeld, 1950), then, is also at work in contemporary social movements with displacement and voyages. Previous research argued that collective identity is formed in organisations, communities, and convergence spaces that several people, who participate in social movements, engage in. This study makes clear that people can anticipate socialisation of collective identity, even if they are alone.

This study contributes to not only the academic scholarship of social movements and collective action, but also to our knowledge about the practices of activism and social movements. It has showed how activists can foster a collective identity, not only through SMOs and convergence spaces, but also during their tourism process related to their protest journeys as individuals. Even if one lives in an

area where large protest events are rarely held, or if one only goes to demonstrations that take place far away only a few times a year, one can embody a collective identity that is related to that of other participants. This engenders worldwide solidarity, particularly in the contemporary world. In the age of COVID-19, social gathering is an increasingly precious opportunity for us. This study argues that even if a large number of people do not gather together in reality, making a variety of choices in the tourism process promotes anticipatory socialisation and contributes to the formation of a collective identity with others – it is an alternative type of solidarity in the individualisation era.

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