

Provocation 1

CHAPTER 1:

Performance, Dance, and Political Economy: A Provocation

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This text is a provocation addressed to my fellow co-editor, Anita Gonzalez, and to our contributing authors. It sought to initiate our discussion about the relationship between bodies (though the prism of performance and dance) and political economy, articulate the importance of these terms and the increasing significance of their interrelation, and pose the questions to which we invited the contributors to respond.

Bodies & Political Economy

The relationship between politics, economics, and ethics in a society affects not only how just that society is, but also its citizens' experience of *eudaimonia* (that is, of welfare, flourishing, prosperity, and feeling of happiness). In the Classical Ancient Greek categorization of spheres of knowledge, *economy* was subordinated to *politics* and *ethics* (that is, political and ethical concerns were considered more important and therefore economic decisions depended on them), and human's *eudaimonia* could only be conceptualized in relation to justice in the *polis*.^{1 2} Today, the experience has been reversed: *politics* and *ethics* are subordinated to *economy*³, for neoliberal capitalism considers everything, including social relations, in economic terms.⁴ It marketizes all areas of life, transforming people into economic subjects that need to be self-interested competitors⁵, and demands entrepreneurialism and constant productivity. In doing so, Kathi Weeks suggests, it reduces our needs and passions to only work and acquisition, making "workers out of human

beings”, impoverishing our senses, and diminishing our “affective capacities and modes of sociality”.⁶ The neoliberal capitalist configuration of the three spheres of knowledge, then, has affected the relationship between self, others, time, space, and the environment and has led to the exacerbation of inequality, as well as to precarity, unmanageable workloads, injustice, and environmental destruction. The contemporary subject therefore experiences ever-increasing feelings of alienation, anxiety, and melancholia;⁷ the possibility for *eudaimonia* is being indefinitely postponed.

In this text, I discuss why looking at the relationship between bodies (through the prism of dance and performance) and political economy is important and how it might help us reconfigure the current relationship of politics and ethics to economy. To do so, I first address the terms political economy and dance/performance, emphasizing the importance of their specific articulation and interrelation. I then situate the concerns of this book in relation to other texts with similar concerns. I end by pointing to the increasing significance of closely examining the relation between bodies and political economy if we are to imagine a world beyond the present, and open the conversation to you (my co-editor, Anita Gonzalez, and our contributing authors).

The subsumption of everything by economy has been arguably aided by the artificial separation of the study of politics and economics that began with the publication of neoclassical economist Alfred Marshall’s *Principles of Economics* in 1890.⁸ From then until the late 20th century, political economy as a distinct field was replaced by the separate disciplines of sociology, economics, political science, and international relations. Marshall separated his area of expertise (economics) from political economy, privileging the former.^{9,10} Political economy was revived in the second half of the 20th century “to provide a broader framework for understanding complex national and international problems and events”.¹¹ Today, as a *field*, political economy includes the study of “the politics of economic relations, domestic political and economic issues, the comparative study of political and economic systems, and international political economy” and is therefore considered a “holistic study of individuals, states, markets, and society”.¹² This is a critical point because, although

the *field* of political economy recognizes and examines the interrelation of politics and economics, what we instead often observe *in practice* is that economic solutions, despite stemming from political decisions based on political interests, are instead presented as if they are objective data based on mathematical necessity (and therefore as irrefutable). Consider, for example, the financial crises that several European Union countries have faced since 2009 and the “solutions” (in the form of austerity measures) that have been imposed on them, irrespective of the catastrophic effects it is clear they produce. What kinds of politics and, equally importantly, ethics are these decisions based on?

Political economy (that of, for example, neoliberal capitalism) is where politics, economics, and, I suggest, ethics intersect most visibly, because every economic decision is both a political and an ethical decision as well. The term therefore affords the opportunity to point to the intersection of politics, economics, and ethics and the effects of their specific interrelation. It is for this reason that it is used in this book, as opposed to simply neoliberal capitalism.

The misconception or misrepresentation of the extent to which politics and economics are intertwined – or their conscious and deliberate separation – is, in my experience, often also reflected in the lack of conversations in the US and the UK about class, its relation to race, gender, sexuality, ethnicity, location, ability, and age, and, therefore, its relation to power, wealth, and poverty. It is also often manifested in the lack of awareness of the manner in which individuals and groups are embedded in specific political economies and are, or can be, complicit or resistant to them through their actions and practices. The election of Trump in the US and the Brexit referendum in the UK have brought discussions of class back into conversation.¹³ In the academic and professional performance and especially dance worlds, however, although identity politics are examined they are often not accompanied by conversations about our relation, as citizens, academics, and artists, to political economy and class. The level of prominence of these conversations in the dance world varies in different environments and geographical locations, but they seem to occur more frequently amongst oppressed groups, which tend to be more politically

conscious.¹⁴ However, as I will shortly elaborate, dance (broadly conceived) offers important insights into the contemporary political economy of neoliberal capitalism and to its critique.

Dance, understood in this book in an expanded manner to include the body, embodiment, and the choreographic, as a field of scholarly and artistic practice, is undoubtedly affected by and affects the economies of which it is a part. Furthermore, contemporary dance is an economy itself: one that is contested and ill-defined and where financial, institutional, and ideological interests interact as the “field” of “contemporary” dance.¹⁵ Elsewhere, I have argued that the field’s advancement in the UK is prevented due to its relation to the contemporary political economy: the dance world often reproduces neoliberal forms of conduct.¹⁶ However I suggested that dance, broadly conceived, offers important insights into the body and its relation to others and to the environment that are especially important in the contemporary moment. I proposed this is because:

Dance is very skilled at ‘seeing’ time and space and the relationship of the body to them, at finding ways to negotiate, organise, create and break rules, find joy in being in the same space and time with others, working with others, understanding the body – its mechanics, flow, experience and relation to other bodies – and listening to [it], its rhythms and needs.¹⁷

These skills and insights are especially important in contemporary capitalism, in which “[o]ur bodies feel acutely the terrible tension between the rhythms imposed by the outside world – a world ‘of fear, competition and precariousness’¹⁸ – and those necessitated by their own needs and desires”.¹⁹ As Stefano Harney and Fred Moten observe, capitalism has also led to a pervasive soullessness in our working practices, the choreography of our everyday life’s decision-making and activities, and to feelings of disembodiedness and melancholia.²⁰ Therefore, the examination of the relation between political economy and bodies, specifically through the prism of performance and dance, and the exploration of the potential that emerges from it are critical. It is this relation this short book explores.

Some specifics

Conversations about work, labour, and class, as well as the latter's intersections with, for example, race and gender will be important to this conversation. It is also necessary to clarify that the term "class" is primarily being used to refer to groups of people who have the same socioeconomic status and that class is considered to determine (to a great extent) one's political and ideological consciousness.²¹ In other words, we are primarily drawing from Marxist class-theory, which proposes a class-based analysis of political economy and points to conflicts that are inherent in a society's organisation and the resultant intersection of capital and market.²² At the same time, Foucault's critique of capitalism, which emphasizes the organisational aspects of capital and the identification of managers as rulers, is essential to the conversation here as it highlights the relation of class struggle to a critique of neoliberal capitalism.²³ Furthermore, this conversation takes into consideration Bernard Stiegler's distinction between the proletariat and the working class, identifying the former with what he refers to as today's "*proletarianized consumer*": one whose knowledge and attention, and, as a result, libidinal energy has been harnessed and exploited.²⁴ Lastly, in order to understand how class impacts one's actions, it is important to make clear that what is being referred to by "class interests" is a range of issues such as standards of living, working conditions, leisure, level of toil, and material security.²⁵

Looking back

Although much has been written about the relationship between dance/performance and politics²⁶, the relation between dance/performance and political economy that this book examines has not been addressed to the same extent nor explored in the interdisciplinary and dialogical manner pursued here. This book brings into dialogue political theorists, dance and performance theorists

and artists, social theorists, and economists/consumer culture theorists and draws from the fields of dance, performance, theatre, and political economy. The following is a review of texts with similar concerns to this book from these fields.

In dance studies, most texts that have addressed political economy are articles or chapters and therefore are limited in scope.²⁷ Work that addresses political economy as it relates to dance *as a field* is found in one book chapter and two journal issues. Jane Desmond's 2017 chapter "Tracking the Political Economy of Dance" in *The Oxford Handbook of Dance and Politics* addresses political economy, however its main interest lies in problematizing "processes of transporting community-based dance practices to the stage".²⁸ The two journal issues, both entitled "Dancing Economies", are the 2009 issue of *Conversations Across the Field of Dance Studies*, edited by Vida Midgelow, and the 2017 *Dance Research* journal issue edited by Lise Uytterhoeven and Melisa Blanco Borelli – my article in the latter, titled "The Contemporary Dance Economy: Problems and Potentials in the Contemporary Neoliberal Moment", is the seed for this book.²⁹ Dance studies books relevant to the discussion here due to the significance of their insights into the relationship of dance to politics are, for example, Alexandra Kolb's edited collection *Dance and Politics* (2011) and Stacey Prickett's *Embodied Politics: Dance, Protest and Identities* (2013).³⁰ The former examines the intersection of dance and political studies, while the latter analyses dance through the lenses of politics, hegemony, and cultural representation. Randy Martin (2012, 2013, 2015), through his body of work, has brought into conversation economy, polity, and culture via the all-pervasive derivative logic.³¹ Connecting finance (the movement of capital) to the history of dance, he demonstrates how the financial market logic informs social values and consequently affects cultural production.³² Stefan Hölscher's and Gerald Siegmund's edited volume *Dance, Politics & Co-Immunity* (2013) explores dances' relation to the political, making connections between politics, dance, community, and globalisation.³³ Furthermore, Ramsay Burt, in *Ungoverning Dance: Contemporary European Theatre Dance and the Commons* (2017), examines dance works since the mid-90s in relation to post-fordism and neoliberalism. Interested in their effects on dance and dancers, he discusses them in terms of

concepts such as virtuosity, responsibility, ethics of relationality, history, and memory.³⁴ Most recently, from dance and sociological perspectives and with a focus on Brussels and Berlin, Annelies Van Assche's *Labor and Aesthetics in European Contemporary Dance: Dancing Precarity* (2020) examines precarity in the European contemporary dance sector and the effects of working and living conditions on the artistic work's process and outcomes.³⁵

Important performance studies perspectives for their work on the relationship between performance and politics are, for example, Bojana Kunst's *Artist at Work: Proximity of Art and Capitalism* (2015).³⁶ Examining contemporary performance works from a philosophical point view, Kunst aims to understand the "ambivalent proximity of art and capitalism" in order to affirm "artistic practice that happens through thinking about the economic and social conditions of the artist's work".³⁷ In *Regimes of Invisibility in Contemporary Art, Theory and Culture: Image, Racialization, History* (2017), Marina Gržinić and Aneta Stojnić (eds), focusing on Europe, revisit theories of new media technology and art to examine global capitalism in relation to biopolitics, (de)coloniality, and questions of migration, class, race, and gender.³⁸ In their second edited volume *Shifting Corporealities in Contemporary Performance: Danger, Im/mobility and Politics* (2018), Gržinić and Stojnić investigate corporeality and embodiment in contemporary artistic practices in relation to "contemporary global necro-capitalism". An interdisciplinary volume, it examines the body "as a site of a new meaning-making politics".³⁹

There are many texts within theatre studies that address the relationship between theatre and politics. Influential to the discussion here are, for example, Joe Kelleher's *Theatre & Politics* (2009), which draws on a broad range of philosophical writing and theatrical examples to raise questions about the complex relationship between politics and theatre and the assumptions often made about their relation when they inhabit the same (theatrical) space.⁴⁰ Nicholas Ridout's *Passionate Amateurs: Theatre, Communism, and Love* (2013) investigates modern theater and contemporary performance in the US and Europe. Focussing on questions about the social function of theatre in modern capitalism and its political potential, Ridout suggests that theater can aid our

rethinking of notions of time, work, and freedom.⁴¹ Alan Read's *The Dark Theatre: A Book About Loss* (2020) is a "call for angry arts advocacy". It suggests that performance is no longer a political remedy but a "a loss adjustor measuring damages suffered, compensations due, wrongs that demand to be put right".⁴² Lastly, Michael Shane Boyle's article "Performance and Value: The Work of Theatre in Karl Marx's Critique of Political Economy" (2017) examines the value of theatre from a Marxist perspective. He suggests that although theatre as an aesthetic activity has political usefulness and often "breaks with the capitalist mode", it nevertheless conforms to the process of capitalist production and performing in it ensures capitalist productivity.⁴³ The works discussed here offer significant insights into the understanding of the relationship between theater/performance, politics, and economy; however they are not working in the interdisciplinary and dialogical manner pursued by this book.

There are many texts on political economy. David Harvey's decades-spanning body of work is perhaps the most referenced.⁴⁴ Fewer texts have explored the relation between political economy and class. The seminal thinker on political economy and class in relation to art is Pierre Bourdieu. Bourdieu (1984) discusses the relation of class to art via a conversation of class, taste, and culture. He understands class differently than Marx – for him, one's class depends on the specific composition of economic and cultural capital she possesses and results in her specific "habitus", which in turn provides the framework for her cultural taste and informs her behaviours.⁴⁵ Nevertheless, Bourdieu does not bring dance or performance explicitly into conversation with political economy. With regards to political economy and class, of interest here are Éric Alliez's and Maurizio Lazzarato's *Wars and Capital* (2018) and Jacques Bidet's *Foucault with Marx* (2016). *Wars and Capital* proposes a counter-history of capitalism in order to "recover the reality" of wars of race, class, gender, and sex, of civilization and the environment, and "wars of subjectivity...that constitute the secret motor of liberal governmentality".⁴⁶ In *Foucault with Marx*, Bidet discusses the close links between class struggle and neoliberalism.⁴⁷ He examines Marxist and Foucauldian criticisms of capitalism and presents them as capitalist modernity's two sides. Lastly, in

For a New Critique of Political Economy (2010), Bernard Stiegler proposes that critiquing political economy as ‘*commerce* that has become *exchange*’ necessitates ‘aiming at the examination of both economic and politics, and speaking about them insofar as they are *indissociable*’.⁴⁸ For him the contemporary political economy has resulted in the ‘*proletarianized consumer*’,⁴⁹ weakening fundamentally the Marxist theory of class struggle.⁵⁰ Demonstrating this indissociability of politics and economics is of particular interest to this book.

What sets this volume apart from the aforementioned dance, performance, theatre, and political economy texts is its interdisciplinary perspective, dialogical approach, and examination of the relation of bodies – specifically through the prism of dance and performance – to political economy and class. In addition, the writing in this volume arises from *live* dialogues with the contributing authors and manifests in different modes of articulation (essays and performative writing), which offer different *kinds* of insights into the topics of conversation and make it relevant to different audiences.

Looking Forward

Since 2008 crisis has been normalised, taking different forms across the globe such as the housing market, financial, refugee, and environmental crises. Furthermore, inequality and poverty have been exacerbated to satisfy political interests, while neoliberal capitalism – along with feeding these crises and helping certain groups of people benefit from them while marginalising others – has fed the re-emergence of fascism. It is obvious that we need to imagine a world beyond the present and take sustained action to materialize it. I agree with Slavoj Žižek that we need to look to art and social movements in order to replace the current system with a new one;⁵¹ for art can play a role not only in reminding us we can change things, but it can imagine new worlds and poke us into action.⁵² And

performance and dance (broadly conceived) can offer insights that can help us reimagine and materialise these new worlds.

Along with looking to art and social movements, it is crucial that we embark on a new project of political economy; one that affords us the opportunity to change “our relation to work, transfor[m] our *noetic* processes (processes of perceiving and processing information / thinking), and enhanc[e] our capacity for *being with others*”.⁵³ Kathi Weeks for example suggests that we need non-work time “to cultivate new needs for pleasures, activities, senses, passions, aspects, and socialities that exceed the options of working and saving, producing and accumulating” and which are “quite different from [the sociality] orchestrated through the capitalist division of labor”.⁵⁴ Franco Bifo Berardi argues that if working time was reduced and the relation between income and labor was rescinded, if we did away with “the obligation to exchange living-time for survival”, then this reduction or unplugging could become “the premise for freely deploying cognitive energies for the benefit of everyone”.⁵⁵ In the same vein with Berardi, Bernard Stiegler suggests that what needs to change, above all, is our relation to noetic processes.⁵⁶ He also proposes that it is crucial that we move away from the current “*economico-political complex of consumption*” and make a social and political investment: “an investment in a common desire, that is, in what Aristotle called *philia*”.⁵⁷ This investment in *philia*, he argues, can then “form the basis of a new type of economic investment”.⁵⁸

In addition to a common desire, what is critical to imagining and materializing a new political economy project is collective action, solidarity amongst oppressed groups (for identity-oppression is rooted in capitalist dynamics⁵⁹ and capitalism engendered racism⁶⁰), and a robust anti-capitalist movement. What new insights can the examination of the relation between bodies (through the prism of performance and dance, broadly conceived) and political economy offer that can contribute to this and to a world beyond the present? In our examination of the relation between them, we are interested in the critique and insights they can offer to one another, and the affordances of this dialogical exchange. *What can the discourse and practice of dance/performance contribute to*

contemporary political economy and to its critique? What can current thinking and conversations within the field of political economy contribute to conversations on dance/performance, its role and currency within contemporary political economies, and its futurity? And (again), ultimately, what new insights can the examination of the relation between dance/performance and political economy offer that can contribute to imagining a world beyond the present? Bodies at the End of the World: Performance, Dance, and Political Economy through an interdisciplinary, dialogical, critical, and imaginative examination of this relationship hopes to offer insights for such a world.

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² This of course seems to ignore the existence of slaves and their, and women's, lack of rights.

³ Katerina Paramana. 2015a. "Re-turning to The Show: Repetition and the Construction of Spaces of Decision, Affect and Creative Possibility", *Performance Research: A Journal of the Performing Arts*, 20(5), 116-24.

⁴ Wendy Brown. 2015. *Undoing the Demos: Neoliberalism's stealth revolution*, New York: Zone Books.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Kathi Weeks. 2013. "Imagining Non-Work", *Work and Idleness in the Age of the Great Recession*, Online, https://socialtextjournal.org/periscope_article/imagining-non-work-2/, accessed 9 March 2019.

⁷ Katerina Paramana. 2019. "The Animation of Contemporary Subjectivity in Tino Sehgal's *Ann Lee*". *Performance Research* 24(6), 114-121.

⁸ Michael A Veseth. and David N Balaam. 2014. "Political Economy". *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. Last accessed 3 March 2019 from: <https://www.britannica.com/topic/political-economy>.

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ This separation of politics and economics is mirrored in the European Union itself, which has never been a political union, because it was built as a financial union only (Berardi 2017). Agamben argues that the Union is also 'illegitimate' because the people never voted for it (2013).

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Ibid.

¹³ Political theorist Jeremy Gilbert (2019) and philosopher Franco 'Bifo' Berardi (2017) have proposed some strategies to face our predicament.

¹⁴ Part of the problem seems to be the constitution of the field of dance in academic settings (and consequently, since we are talking about an ecology, also professional settings). Although in their co-edited volume *Black Performance Theory*, Thomas F. DeFrantz and my co-editor Anita Gonzalez suggest that "[a]cademic definitions of performance broaden, to recognize affinities and differences among the location and experience of 'black life' in a fragmented, postmodern world" (2014: 5), at least in the US and the UK, academia itself is still to a great extent, white, female, and middle to upper class, which affects which work and how it is produced, presented, and theorised. Perhaps the constitution of dance academia stems from the required knowledge (and privileging over other genres) of western dance (ballet and contemporary dance) for entrance into academic programmes. This is compounded by the fact that dance lessons for these required

genres are primarily accessible only to middle to upper class white women, due to both finances and a problematic gendered view of dance.

¹⁵ Katerina Paramana. 2017. "The Contemporary Dance Economy: Problems and Potentials in the Contemporary Neoliberal Moment". *Dance Research* 35(1): 75-95.

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ Ibid., p. 91.

¹⁸ Franco "Bifo" Berardi. 2013. "TedxCalarts: Performance, Body & Presence", *Tedx Online*, 9 Mar, <https://www.new.livestream.com/tedx/tedxcalarts>, accessed 9 March 2013.

¹⁹ Katerina Paramana. 2019. "The Animation of Contemporary Subjectivity in Tino Sehgal's *Ann Lee*". *Performance Research* 24(6), 114-121.

²⁰ Stefano Harney and Fred Moten (2013) 'To work today is to be asked, more and more, to do without thinking, to feel without emotion, to move without friction, to adapt without question, to translate without pause, to desire without purpose, to connect without interruption.' (p. 87).

²¹ Pierre Bourdieu. 1984. *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*. London: Routledge.

²² s- Karl Marx. 1867. *Capital: A Critique of Political Economy Volume I*. Moscow: Progress Publishers.

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²³ Bidet, *ibid*.

²⁴ Bernard Stiegler. 2010. *For a New Critique of Political Economy*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

²⁵ Erik Olin, Wright (ed.). 2005. *Approaches to class analysis*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

²⁶ See for example:

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Marta Savigliano. 1995. *Tango and the Political Economy of Passion: From Exoticism to Decolonization (Institutional Structures of Feeling)*. Boulder: Westview Press.

²⁸ Jane Desmond. 2017. "Tracking the Political Economy of Dance". In *The Oxford Handbook of Dance and Politics*, Kowal, R.J., Siegmund, G., and Martin, R. (eds.). New York: Oxford University Press.

²⁹ - Vida Midgelow (Ed.). 2009. Dancing Economies. *Conversations Across the Field of Dance Studies* XXIX.

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³⁰ - Stacey Prickett. 2013. *Embodied Politics: Dance, Protest and Identities*. Binsted: Dance Books.

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³¹ Randy Martin. 2015. *Knowledge LTD: Towards a Social Logic of the Derivative*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

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- ³³ Stefan Hölscher and Gerald Siegmund. 2013. *Dance, Politics & Co-Immunity*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- ³⁴ Ramsay Burt. 2017. *Ungoverning Dance: Contemporary European Theatre Dance and the Commons*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- ³⁵ Van Assche. 2020. *Labor and Aesthetics in European Contemporary Dance: Dancing Precarity*. Cham: Palgrave Macmillan.
- ³⁶ Bojana Kunst. 2015. *Artist at Work: Proximity of Art and Capitalism*. Hants: Zero books.
- ³⁷ Ibid., pp. 1-3.
- ³⁸ Marina Gržinić, Aneta Stojnić, et al. (2017) *Regimes of Invisibility in Contemporary Art, Theory and Culture: Image, Racialization, History*. Palgrave Macmillan.
- ³⁹ Marina Gržinić and Aneta Stojnić (2018) *Shifting Corporealities in Contemporary Performance: Danger, Im/mobility and Politics* (Avant-Gardes in Performance). Palgrave Macmillan.
- ⁴⁰ Joe Kelleher. 2009. *Theatre & Politics*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan
- ⁴¹ Ridout, Nicholas. 2013. *Passionate Amateurs: Theatre, Communism, and Love*. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press.
- ⁴² Alan Read. 2020. *The Dark Theatre: A Book About Loss*. London: Routledge.
- ⁴³ Michael Shane Boyle. 2017. "Performance and Value: The Work of Theatre in Karl Marx's Critique of Political Economy". *Theatre Survey* 58(1): 3-23.
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- ⁴⁵ Pierre Bourdieu. 1984. *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*. London: Routledge.
- ⁴⁶ Éric Alliez and Maurizio Lazzarato. 2018. *Wars and Capital*. Semiotext(e). (Last Accessed 3 March 2019 from: <https://mitpress.mit.edu/books/wars-and-capital>).
- ⁴⁷ Jacques Bidet. 2016. *Foucault with Marx*. London: Zed Books.
- ⁴⁸ Bernard Stiegler. 2010. *For a New Critique of Political Economy*. Cambridge: Polity Press, p. 19.
- ⁴⁹ Ibid., p. 25, emphasis in the original
- ⁵⁰ Ibid., p. 40.
- ⁵¹ Slavoj Žižek. 2010. *Living in the End Times*. London: Verso.
- ⁵² Katerina Paramana. 2015b. *Performances of Thought, Resistance and Support: On the Potential of Performance in the Contemporary Moment*. (PhD Thesis).
- ⁵³ Paramana 2019.
- ⁵⁴ Weeks 2013.
- ⁵⁵ Franco "Bifo" Berardi. 16 March 2017. "After the European Union". *Verso*. (Last accessed on 3 March 2019 from: <https://www.versobooks.com/blogs/3129-after-the-european-union>).
- ⁵⁶ Bernard Stiegler. 2018. *The Neganthropocene*. London: Open Humanities Press.
- ⁵⁷ Stiegler 2010s, p. 6, emphasis in the original.
- ⁵⁸ Ibid.
- ⁵⁹ Ashok Kumar, Adam Elliott-Cooper, Shruti Iyer and Dalia Gebrial. 2018. "An Introduction to the Special Issue on Identity Politics". *Historical Materialism* 26(2): 3-20.
- Kumar, Elliott-Cooper, Iyer, and Gebrial on the contrived, ('socially constructed, yet naturalised') opposition between the terms the terms 'class politics' and 'identity politics' (p. 5):
the Left's failure to articulate a compelling, rigorous history of identity-formation and, by extension, identity-oppression as rooted in capitalist dynamics left a dangerous explanatory vacuum.
Furthermore, it created an organisational culture of individualised, positionality politics that precluded the possibility of broad-based co-operation...If *only* the personal can be political, then solidarity ceases to be desirable – let alone achievable (ibid.).
- Chi-Chi Shi and Annie Olaloku-Teriba suggest that we need to conceptualize identity-based politics outside a 'liberal- capitalist logic' (ibid., pp. 5-6) and Ashley Bohrer argues that what is necessary in order to 'understand capitalist exploitation and oppression' but also 'mobilise to overthrow it' is intersectional Marxism (ibid., p. 15). As Paul Gilroy puts it, 'identity should be the basis for our politics, not our politics in-itself (ibid., p.14).

⁶⁰ Cedric J. Robinson. (2000 [1983]). *Black Marxism: The Making of the Black Radical Tradition*. The University of North Carolina Press.